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## Dimensions in the Evolution of Knowledge

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*Published in:*  
Wissensokonomien

**IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.**

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

*Publication date:*  
2021

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Colominas Aparicio, M., & Renn, J. (2021). Dimensions in the Evolution of Knowledge. In N. Schmidt, N. Pissis, & G. Uhlmann (Eds.), *Wissensokonomien: Ordnung und Transgression vormoderne Kulturen* (pp. 15–34). (Episteme in Bewegung: Beiträge zur einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte; Vol. 18). Harrassowitz.

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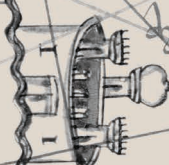
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# WISSENSÖKONOMIEN

Ordnung und Transgression  
vormoderner Kulturen

Herausgegeben von  
Nora Schmidt, Nikolas Pissis  
und Gyburg Uhlmann

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## Wissensokonomien

# Episteme in Bewegung

Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte

Herausgegeben von Gyburg Uhlmann  
im Auftrag des Sonderforschungsbereichs 980  
„Episteme in Bewegung.  
Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt  
bis in die Frühe Neuzeit“

Band 18

2021

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

# Wissensoikonomien

Ordnung und Transgression vormoderner Kulturen

Herausgegeben von  
Nora Schmidt, Nikolas Pissis und Gyburg Uhlmann

2021

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Die Reihe „Episteme in Bewegung“ umfasst wissenschaftliche Forschungen mit einem systematischen oder historischen Schwerpunkt in der europäischen und nicht-europäischen Vormoderne. Sie fördert transdisziplinäre Beiträge, die sich mit Fragen der Genese und Dynamik von Wissensbeständen befassen, und trägt dadurch zur Etablierung vormoderner Wissensforschung als einer eigenständigen Forschungsperspektive bei.

Publiziert werden Beiträge, die im Umkreis des an der Freien Universität Berlin angesiedelten Sonderforschungsbereichs 980 „Episteme in Bewegung. Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit“ entstanden sind.

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Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) –  
Projektnummer 191249397 – SFB 980.

Umschlaggestaltung unter Verwendung von:

Abraham Cresques, *Atlas catalan*. Blatt 11, 1375, Gallica BNF.



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Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://www.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Informationen zum Verlagsprogramm finden Sie unter

<https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

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Verlegt durch Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2021

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Druck und Verarbeitung: Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed in Germany

ISSN 2365-5666

eISSN 2701-2522

DOI: 10.13173/2365-5666



ISBN 978-3-447-11510-0

Ebook ISBN 978-3-447-39045-3

DOI: 10.13173/9783447115100



## Zum Geleit

*Andrew James Johnston und Gyburg Uhlmann*

Der an der Freien Universität Berlin angesiedelte Sonderforschungsbereich 980 „Episteme in Bewegung. Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit“, der im Juli 2012 seine Arbeit aufgenommen hat, untersucht anhand exemplarischer Problemkomplexe aus europäischen und nicht-europäischen Kulturen Prozesse des Wissenswandels vor der Moderne. Dieses Programm zielt auf eine grundsätzliche Neuorientierung wissenschaftlicher Forschung im Bereich der Vormoderne ab. Sowohl in der modernen Forschung als auch in den historischen Selbstbeschreibungen der jeweiligen Kulturen wurde das Wissen der Vormoderne häufig als statisch und stabil, traditionsgebunden und autoritätsabhängig beschrieben. Dabei waren die Stabilitätspostulate moderner Forscherinnen und Forscher nicht selten von der Dominanz wissenschaftlicher Szenarien wie dem Bruch oder der Revolution geprägt sowie von Periodisierungskonzepten, die explizit oder implizit einem Narrativ des Fortschritts verpflichtet waren. Vormodernen Kulturen wurde daher oft nur eine eingeschränkte Fähigkeit zum Wissenswandel und vor allem zur – nicht zuletzt historischen – Reflexion dieses Wandels zugeschrieben. Demgegenüber will dieser SFB zeigen, dass vormoderne Prozesse der Wissensbildung und -entwicklung von ständiger Bewegung und auch ständiger Reflexion geprägt sind, dass diese Bewegungen und Reflexionen aber eigenen Dynamiken unterworfen sind und in komplexeren Mustern verlaufen, als es eine traditionelle Wissensgeschichtsschreibung wahrhaben will.

Um diese Prozesse des Wissenswandels fassen zu können, entwickelte der SFB 980 einen Begriff von ‚Episteme‘, der sich sowohl auf ‚Wissen‘ als auch ‚Wissenschaft‘ bezieht und das Wissen als ‚Wissen von etwas‘ bestimmt, d. h. als mit einem Geltungsanspruch versehenes Wissen. Diese Geltungsansprüche werden allerdings nicht notwendigerweise auf dem Wege einer expliziten Reflexion erhoben, sondern sie konstituieren sich und werden auch reflektiert in Formen der Darstellung, durch bestimmte Institutionen, in besonderen Praktiken oder durch spezifische ästhetische oder performative Strategien.

Zudem bedient sich der SFB 980 eines speziell konturierten Transfer-Begriffs, der im Kern eine Neukontextualisierung von Wissen meint. Transfer wird hier nicht als Transport-Kategorie verstanden, sondern vielmehr im Sinne komplex verflochtener Austauschprozesse, die selbst bei scheinbarem Stillstand iterativ in Bewegung bleiben. Gerade Handlungen, die darauf abzielen, einen erreichten

Wissensstand zu tradieren, zu kanonisieren, zu kodifizieren oder zu fixieren, tragen zum ständigen Wissenswandel bei.

Gemeinsam mit dem Harrassowitz Verlag hat der SFB die Reihe „Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte“ ins Leben gerufen, um die Ergebnisse der Zusammenarbeit zu präsentieren und zugänglich zu machen. Die Bände, die hier erscheinen, werden das breite Spektrum der Disziplinen repräsentieren, die im SFB vertreten sind, von der Altorientalistik bis zur Mediävistik, von der Koreanistik bis zur Arabistik. Publiziert werden sowohl aus der interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit hervorgegangene Bände als auch Monographien und fachspezifische Sammelbände, die die Ergebnisse einzelner Teilprojekte dokumentieren.

Allen ist gemeinsam, dass sie die Wissensgeschichte der Vormoderne als ein Forschungsgebiet betrachten, dessen Erkenntnisgewinne von grundsätzlichem systematischem Interesse auch für die wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Erforschung der Moderne sind.



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# Wissensoikonomien – Einleitung

*Nora Schmidt, Nikolas Pissis und Gyburg Uhlmann*

Der vorliegende Band fasst mehrere Arbeitsergebnisse des Sonderforschungsbereichs 980 „Episteme in Bewegung“ zusammen. Einerseits enthält er die Beiträge der im Juni 2018 in Kooperation mit der Stiftung Humboldt Forum in Berlin ausgerichteten 6. Jahrestagung des SFB. Da andererseits die Jahrestagung von den Mitgliedern einer der Konzeptgruppen organisiert wurde, den *loci* für die interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit am SFB, sind in die Konzeption des Bandes und der Tagung die Diskussionen und Forschungsfragen der Konzeptgruppe eingeflossen. Der Sammelband sollte daher als Tagungsband gelesen werden, der zugleich aber ein im Herzen des SFB entwickeltes Konzept erprobt und ausdifferenziert.

Die interdisziplinären Beiträge dieses Bandes sind nicht durch ein gemeinsames Thema zusammengehalten, sondern durch ein heuristisches Konzept. Das Konzept der Wissensoikonomien ist eine Antwort auf Erfahrungen und Erfordernisse unserer Forschung an Prozessen des Wissenstransfers in vormodernen Kulturen. Ausgehend von der Beobachtung, dass Transfer von Wissen sich in einer Vielzahl von Modalitäten und Geschwindigkeiten, unter sehr unterschiedlichen Bedingungen und teils über sprachliche, geographische und soziale, aber auch über technische, materiale, mediale, religiöse und anders identitätsspezifische Grenzen hinweg ereignet, geht das Konzept der Wissensoikonomien der Frage nach, wann solche Wissensbewegungen selbst systembildenden Charakter erhalten. Die Leitkategorie Wissensoikonomien beschreibt damit ein Spannungsfeld zwischen Ordnung und Transgression. Sie ermöglicht es, die verschiedenen Modi aufzuzeigen, in denen sich Wissen innerhalb von Beziehungsgeflechten konstituiert und verändert sowie regulierende und deregulierende, stabilisierende und fragmentierende Faktoren solcher Systeme auszumachen.

Grundlegend für die Konzeption der Tagung und des Bandes war die Annahme, dass gerade Kontinuität und Stabilität produzierende oder suggerierende Strukturen wie Institutionen, kanonische Textformen oder andere Normativität beanspruchende Ordnungen Transferprozesse generieren.<sup>1</sup> Aufbauend auf Ergebnissen der vorausgegangenen Forschung am SFB knüpft das Konzept der Wissensoikonomien an die Arbeit mit den Begriffen des Transfers, der Institution und der Iteration als transformierender Wiederholung an. Die Annahme des Wandels vermeintlich stabiler Wissensbestände und innerhalb vermeintlich unwandel-

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1 Vgl. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum und Anita Traninger (Hgg.), *Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, Wiesbaden 2016.

barer Institutionen wird im Konzept der Wissensökonomien weiterentwickelt und um die Frage ergänzt, wie solche Transfers eigene Ordnungen ausbilden. Die Beobachtung, dass sich gerade innerhalb von Stabilität suggerierenden Ordnungen Wandel ereignet, führt nicht notwendig in den Rückzug auf Einzelphänomene oder in methodischen Minimalismus von Mikrogeschichten, sondern sie eröffnet vielmehr die Frage, wie Strukturen, Systeme, Netzwerke oder Beziehungsgeflechte durch den Transfer von Wissen entstehen, die quer stehen zu den statischen Kategorien einer Wissensgeschichte, die sich an Kategorien des Kulturraums oder epochalen Grenzen orientiert.

Das Konzept der Wissensökonomien steht in der Tradition unterschiedlicher historischer, sozial- und wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher sowie geisteswissenschaftlicher Forschungszeige: der globalhistorisch orientierten Wissen(schaft)s-geschichte,<sup>2</sup> System- und Netzwerktheorien<sup>3</sup> und der Transkulturalitätsforschung.<sup>4</sup> Ihm eigen ist aber der Anspruch, den systemischen Zusammenhang der vielfältigen Akteure und Faktoren, die bei Prozessen der Neukontextualisierung von Wissen interagieren, zu erfassen.

Dabei problematisieren Wissensökonomien notwendig auch die *Beschreibung* von Phänomenen der Struktur und des Wandels. Sie stellen die Frage, wie moderne und historische Verständnisse von Zeitlichkeit und Dauer, Probleme der Hierarchie, verschiedener Macht- und Deutungsansprüche die Beschreibung vormodernen Wissenswandels geprägt haben und heute weiterhin prägen. Hierbei spielen nicht nur Fragen der Übersetzung und transkulturellen Übertragung unterschiedlich konnotierter Begriffe und Konzepte von Zeit und Historizität eine Rolle, sondern auch die neuen Möglichkeiten der Erfassung, Verknüpfung und Visualisierung historischer ‚Quellen‘ durch die Methoden der Digitalen Geisteswissenschaften.

Die Konzeptgruppe Wissensökonomien und mehrere Teilprojekte am SFB widmen sich auch der Frage, wie die Darstellungs- und Analysemethoden der Digitalen Geisteswissenschaften unser modernes Verständnis vormoderner Wissensbewegungen dienlich sein können. Erste Ergebnisse der Pilotphase dieser Forschungskoooperationen am SFB sind in einem Beitrag dieses Bandes verschriftlicht.

2 Vgl. exemplarisch den Sammelband: Jürgen Renn (Hg.), *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, Berlin 2012, <https://www.mpri-series.mpg.de/studies/1/>.

3 Vgl. Claire Lemerrier, „Formale Methoden der Netzwerkanalyse in den Geschichtswissenschaften: Warum und Wie?“, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 23 (2012), S. 16–41; Franz Mauelshagen, „Netzwerke des Vertrauens. Gelehrtenkorrespondenzen und wissenschaftlicher Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit“, in: Frewert, Ute (Hg.), *Vertrauen. Historische Annäherungen*, Göttingen 2003, S. 119–151. Und als Beispiel für einen historischen Prozess komplexer Vernetzung: Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Mediterranean*, Oxford 2011.

4 Vgl. z.B. Margit Mersch, „Transkulturalität, Verflechtung, Hybridisierung – ‚Neue‘ epistemologische Modelle in der Mittelalterforschung“, in: Drews, Wolfram und Scholl, Christian (Hg.), *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen in der Vormoderne*, Berlin/Boston 2016, S. 239–251.

### Terminologien der Dauer und des Wandels

Die Spannung zwischen den beiden Polen der weit ausgreifenden Verflechtungen und der mikrostrukturellen Genauigkeit ist in einzelnen Fachdisziplinen bereits vielfach diskutiert worden. Aus der Perspektive der Konstellationsforschung machte Martin Mulrow den Vorschlag, die Verbindung von einer engen kontextuellen Verortung historischer Phänomene mit *longue durée*-Prozessen müsse zu einer „Kette von Kontextualisierungen“ ergänzt werden, „die uns beispielsweise von der Spätantike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert führt, in einer miteinander verbundenen Reihe von Mikrogeschichten.“<sup>5</sup>

Keine akademische Disziplin allein verfügt über das Instrumentarium, eine solche „Kette von Kontextualisierungen“ aufzuführen und damit eine umfassende Wissensgeschichte zu schreiben. Das Konzept der Wissensökonomien strebt ebenfalls nicht an, eine solche lückenlose Kette aufzuspannen. Auch kann der Anspruch nicht sein, dynamische Beziehungsgeflechte bei Wissenstransferprozessen erschöpfend zu analysieren. Vielmehr sollen im Bewusstsein der je eigenen Perspektive, einzelne Phänomene in den komplexen Zusammenhängen medialer, materialer, performativer und sozialer Bestimmtheit wahrgenommen werden, ohne sie deshalb künstlich zu isolieren und etwa andere Verbindungen und Verflechtungen zu leugnen.

Mit der Konzentration auf „vormoderne“ Wissensbewegungen ist eine denkbar weite historische Kategorie aufgerufen. Die Beiträge dieses Bandes, die behandelten Inhalte, vom ägyptischen Alten Reich über die verschiedenen religiösen Traditionen des spätantiken Mittelmeerraums, zeitgenössischer Entwicklungen in China bis hin zur frühneuzeitlichen Gelehrtenrepublik zeigen keine konsistenten Vernetzungen, sondern sie stellen sich aus unterschiedlicher Fachperspektive die Frage nach strukturbildenden Faktoren von Wissenstransfer. Dies kann auf sehr unterschiedliche Weise geschehen: Über die Auseinandersetzung mit einer Gattung ebenso wie im Modus der Lehre im Bewusstsein einer spezifischen Tradition, im religiösen Ritus ebenso wie im Handwerk oder im Vollzug der Heilung von Krankheiten. Wie genau haben wir also die komplexe Verknüpfung vormoderner Wissensbestände zu beschreiben?

### Reziprozitäten

Transfer verläuft (nicht ausschließlich in vormodernen Wissenskulturen) nicht unidirektional. In auf Strukturen angewiesenen oder diese generierenden Aushandlungsprozessen von Wissen wirkt Transfer sogar häufig reziprok im Sinne einer Rückwirkung von Übersetzungs-, Übertragungs-, Interpretations- und Adaptionsleistungen auf die „ursprünglichen“ Kontexte der Wissensverhandlung. Und auch im Sinne von durch die Akteure nicht vorausgesehenen Effekten der Neukontextualisierung von Wissen. Etwa werden bei der Adaption einer Praktik Wissens-

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5 Martin Mulrow, „Vor Adam. Ideengeschichte jenseits der Eurozentrik“, in: *Lange Leitung. Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte*, S. 47–66, hier: S. 48.

bestände mittransferiert, bei der Wahl für ein Medium Techniken übernommen oder durch den konkreten Transport von Artefakten, Instrumenten oder anderen Wissensträgern entstehen – auch in der *longue durée* – Deutungsnotwendigkeiten, die wiederum neue Transfers und/oder Systembildungen ermöglichen oder provozieren. Solche Effekte haben auch die Beiträger dieses Bandes beschäftigt.

Mit dem Konzept der Wissensökonomien fragen wir nach den Bedingungen, unter denen solche reziproken Dynamiken zu strukturellen Verfestigungen führen, etwa in Form der Institutionenbildung, der Ausbildung oder Normierung von Gattungen, der Erhärtung von Textströmen in einen Kanon oder der Entwicklung einer iterativen Praxis in einen Ritus.

Wissensökonomische Dynamiken wirken auf die Wissensbestände selbst zurück und gehen über die politischen, technischen, künstlerischen, sozialen, handwerklichen Intentionen der beteiligten Akteure hinaus. Diese Dynamik diskutieren wir mit dem Begriff der Reziprozität, der nicht nur die Rückwirkung von Transfer auf „Geber“-Kontexte innerhalb eines (historisch synchronen, auf direkte kommunikative Interaktionsszenarien angewiesenen) Netzwerks beschreibt, sondern im Sinne einer Multiplizierung von Deutungsnotwendigkeiten als einem Nebeneffekt von Neukontextualisierungsprozessen verstanden werden soll. Wenn durch Neukontextualisierung der Status des Wissenszusammenhangs und -bestandes zur Disposition steht, dann findet zugleich eine Reflexion auf den Ausgangskontext und damit auch eine retrospektive Neubestimmung von Geltungsansprüchen statt. Der frühere Kontext kann als Wissensbasis gestärkt, als überwunden und dadurch geschwächt oder auch in Kontinuität mit dem neuen Kontext gedacht werden. Der neue Kontext kann als innovatives Wissen gefeiert oder als Fortsetzung des Bestehenden bestätigt werden.

### **Terminologien in Bewegung**

Die beobachtbaren Transfers auf Strukturebene, die über kulturelle, religiöse oder andere identitätsspezifische „Grenzen“ hinweg erkennbar sind, korrelieren oft nicht mit den Akzenten, welche die historischen Akteure selbst setzen und den Narrativen, die sie von sich selbst (ihrer Geschichte, ihren Ursprüngen, ihrer Zukunftserwartung etc.) entwickeln. Selbstbeschreibungen und (historische wie moderne) Fremdbeschreibungen von Wissenskulturen können erheblich divergieren. Solche Differenzen betreffen etwa die Wahrnehmung und das Postulat von Stabilität oder Wandel, von Innen und Außen oder Eigenem und Fremdem. Postulate des Bruchs, des Fortschritts oder aber der Beständigkeit oder gar Ewigkeit etwa einer Dynastie, einer Einsicht oder eines Rituals geben solchen Weltbildern und den unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmungen von Zeit und Historizität ihren Ausdruck.

Besonders deutlich werden solche Diskrepanzen von Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibungen etwa in unterschiedlichen Terminologien für historische Epochen. Die Begriffe *Jahiliyya*, die *Zeit des zweiten Tempels* und die *Spätantike* meinen dieselbe historische Zeit, rufen aber ganz unterschiedliche Assoziationen auf und

sind in ganz unterschiedliche Konzepte und Wahrnehmungen von Zeit und Geschichtlichkeit integriert.<sup>6</sup>

Mit der Wahrnehmung solcher Diskrepanzen treten auch moderne Epochenklassifikationen, aber auch die Beschreibung von *Kulturräumen* in den Blick. Mehrere Beiträge dieses Bandes haben sich kritisch mit den Implikationen von Epochenklassifikationen und Thesen zu Kulturräumen, wie der „griechisch-römischen Antike“ auseinandergesetzt oder aber die Übertragbarkeit von an europäischen historischen Phänomenen entwickelten Epochenbegriffen auf außer-europäische Kontexte erprobt.

Wissensökonomien sind somit eine Leitkategorie, die eine Alternative zu teleologischen Narrativen, Eurozentrismen oder anders bedingten ideologischen Perspektiven anbieten soll. Sie erlaubt es, solche komplex miteinander verflochtenen Phänomene zu beschreiben, die oftmals querstehen zu konventionellen, eindimensional abgrenzenden kulturräumlichen und epochalen Kategorien.

### Wissensbewegung im/als Oikos

Die zentrale Ausrichtung des Bandes wie auch des SFB 980 auf Wissens-Geschichte erfordert eine Akzentverschiebung von (transregionaler) Vernetzung, die sich auf materielle, politische oder ökonomische Beziehungen und Verflechtungen allein konzentriert hin zu den spezifischen Bewegungen *von* und *in* Texten, Experimenten, Artefakten, Konzepten und Begriffen, aber auch Praktiken und impliziten Formen der Auseinandersetzung mit Wissen. Wissenstransfer – so unsere Annahme – ist nicht nur Folge von Mobilität, die durch politische oder ökonomische Ereignisse und Entwicklungen zuerst geschaffen wurde. Sondern oftmals sind Aushandlungsprozesse von Wissen an einem solchen Mobilitätswachstum und an Prozessen globaler Vernetzung selbst wesentlich beteiligt. Wissen ist mehr als „fellow traveller“<sup>7</sup> von Migrations- und Mobilitätsphänomenen. Die Neukontextualisierung von Wissensbeständen oder Wissenspraktiken kann selbst den Anstoß zu neuen Transferleistungen, zu neuen Verknüpfungen, zu Innovationen, neuen Deutungen und Erkenntnissen führen.

Um die wechselseitige Verknüpfung ganz unterschiedlicher Dynamiken der Interaktion, von wirtschaftlichen, über mediale, ästhetische, soziale und epistemische Phänomene zu akzentuieren, haben wir die Metapher des *Oikos* gewählt. *Oikos* – das griechische Wort für ‚Haushalt‘ – bezeichnete in der Antike das ganze Geflecht und Interagieren der Akteure, die in einer Hausgemeinschaft zusammenlebten und arbeiteten. Zum *Oikos* gehörten die Mitglieder der Familie, aber auch die Bediensteten sowie die Räume, in denen sie wirkten, die Tiere und Gegenstände mit denen und an denen sie ihre Arbeiten ausführten. Ein *Oikos* war

6 Vgl. dazu die Einleitung „Spätantike – Von einer Epoche zu einem Denkraum“, in: *Denkraum Spätantike. Reflexionen von Antike im Umfeld des Koran*, hg. von Nora Schmidt, Nora K. Schmid und Angelika Neuwirth, Wiesbaden 2016.

7 Jürgen Renn and Malcolm D. Hyman, „The Globalization of Knowledge in History: An Introduction“, in: *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, S. 15–43, hier: S. 31ff.

zudem nie eine isolierte Einheit, sondern immer in Interaktion und Kommunikation mit anderen Akteuren verbunden. Ein *Oikos* beschreibt demnach ein in sich dynamisches Gebilde, das auf sich selbst bezogen und in sich in Bewegung ist, ohne sich dadurch von anderen Beziehungen auszuschließen.

Die Begriffsgeschichte von *Oikos* und *Oikonomia* mit ihren unterschiedlichen Konnotationen von dynamischer Interaktion bietet eine breite Palette von Aspekten, die, trotz ihrer mitunter teleologischen Implikationen, das Konzept der *Wissensokonomien* bereichern. Vom aristotelischen Verständnis von *Oikonomia* als der geordneten Einrichtung und Verwaltung des Haushalts<sup>8</sup> über ihrer theologischen, heilsökonomischen Konzeptualisierung,<sup>9</sup> aber auch als Begründung für Nachsicht und für flexible Akkommodation kanonischer Regeln an die Bedingungen menschlicher Existenz<sup>10</sup> bis hin zur ihrer Operationalisierung als Metapher für den Organismus in Diskursen der Renaissance und der Frühen Neuzeit,<sup>11</sup> sind dem Begriffsfeld sowohl strukturelle als auch temporale Assoziationen eigen.

In Analogie zum *Oikos* lassen sich als Wissensokonomien verstandene Strukturen des Wissenswandels ebenso entlang medialer und materialer Techniken, wie dem Herstellen, Schreiben, Abschreiben und Kommentieren von Büchern nachvollziehen. Mobilitätsprozesse, die Entwicklung von Technologien, Identitätskonzepten und der Aus- und Aufbau ökonomischen Handelns, Institutionalisierungsprozesse und (politische) Strukturen der Verwaltung u. a. sind nirgends auf einen isolierten Faktor (auf das Wissen ebenso wenig wie die Technologie oder wirtschaftliche Bedingungen) zu reduzieren, sondern die unterschiedlichen Faktoren, deren Ausschlagkraft in verschiedenen historischen Kontexten naturgemäß variiert, sind wechselseitig verknüpft.

Wir müssen von komplexen Austauschprozessen zwischen singulären Akteuren, Institutionen, sozialen, materialen und ökonomischen Kontingenzen ausgehen. Die Grenze zwischen dem Innen und Außen eines als *Wissensoökonomie* verstandenen Hauses des Wissens selbst ist keine ontologische Differenz, sondern sie wird vermittels variierender Praktiken ausgelotet, performiert, interpretiert oder postuliert. Mit anderen Worten: die Beziehung der Mitglieder eines solchen Hauses zu Nachbarn und Besuchern wird vermittels juristischer, ethischer und anderer Praktiken vermessen und jeweils verändert.

8 Hannah Rabe, „Ökonomie I“. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Bd. 6, Darmstadt 1984, Sp. 1149–1153

9 Ulrich Dierse, „Ökonomie II“. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Bd. 6, Darmstadt 1984, Sp. 1153–1162; Blossom Stefaniw, „Knowledge in Late Antiquity. What is it Made of and What Does it Make?“, in: *Studies in Late Antiquity* 2 (2018), S. 266–293, hier: S. 284–286..

10 Gerhard Richter, *Oikonomia. Der Gebrauch des Wortes Oikonomia im Neuen Testament, bei den Kirchenvätern und in der theologischen Literatur bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin/New York 2005.

11 Germano Maifreda, *From Oikonomia to Political Economy: Constructing Economic Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Scientific Revolution*, Farnham 2012.



## Über das Netzwerk hinaus

Mit der Multidirektionalität und Heterogenität von Strukturen, die erst in Aushandlungsprozessen ihre Konturen erhärten, knüpft das Konzept der Wissensökonomien an Theorien des Netzwerks an, die in der wissenssoziologischen Forschung entwickelt<sup>12</sup> und gewinnbringend in verschiedene geisteswissenschaftliche Disziplinen, etwa die Geschichte, eingeführt wurden. Die historische Forschung hat mit dem Erforschen von Netzwerken auch die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von ökonomischen und politischen Strukturen und kollektiven Identitäten aufgeworfen.<sup>13</sup> Auch der von den Vertretern der Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie angestoßene Bezug auf „Dinge“ bzw. „Objekte“ des Wissens hat das Konzept des Bandes beeinflusst. Mehrere Beiträge des Bandes nehmen die im SFB schwerpunktmäßig verhandelten medialen und materialen Aspekte von Wissenstransferprozessen auf.

Ohne auf strikte Abgrenzung gegenüber Netzwerken zu beharren, zeigt die Forschung an verschiedenen vormodernen Phänomenen der europäischen und außereuropäischen Geschichte, dass gängige Konzeptualisierungen von Netzwerken die dynamischen Austauschprozesse, die wir als Wissensökonomien beschreiben, nur bedingt erfassen. In wissensgeschichtlicher Hinsicht erschöpft sich die Beschreibung von Netzwerken oft darin, Wissen zu speichern, zugänglich zu machen oder zu verknüpfen; Wissensökonomien generieren hingegen Prozesse der Deutung, der Vermittlung und der Pragmatik. Damit haben sie eine Widerständigkeit und Prekarität, aber auch einen Bedeutungsüberschuss. Wesentlich für dieses Konzept der Wissensökonomien ist zudem ein Verständnis von Wissen als etwas, das in den Dynamiken der Aushandlungsprozesse überhaupt erst konstituiert und in der Folge in neuen Kontextualisierungen permanent modifiziert wird.

## Antagonismen, Negation, Transgression

Gerade auch durch konkurrierende Deutungen entstehende Dynamiken der Wissensaushandlung haben häufig das Potenzial zur Systembildung.<sup>14</sup> Wissensökonomien sind (auch durch die Perspektive auf interkulturelle, interreligiöse Transferprozesse) eine Heuristik, die Dynamiken der Anziehung und Abstoßung von Wissensinhalten, Techniken, Mediengebräuchen und damit auch gerade konkurrierende Deutungen und Selbstbilder als Motor, statt als Hemmnis von Wissenswandel, von Innovationen und Reflexionsprozessen nutzbar machen.

Wenn antagonistische Verhältnisse in Netzwerken und Konkurrenzen eine Rolle spielen, wirft das die Frage nach den Grenzen bzw. der „Umwelt“ eines

12 Vgl. Michel Callon „Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie: Der Markttest“, in: *ANThology. Ein einführendes Handbuch zur Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*, hg. v. Andréa Belliger u. David, J. Krieger, Bielefeld 2006, S. 545–559 wie auch Bruno Latour, *Eine neue Soziologie für eine neue Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 2007.

13 Vgl. Malkin, *Small Greek World*.

14 Vgl. Martin Mulrow, „Netzwerke gegen Netzwerke“, in: ders. (Hg.), *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik*, Stuttgart/Weimar 2007, S. 143–190.

Netzwerks auf. In diachroner Perspektive auch die Frage nach verschwiegenen, nicht genannten oder ausgegrenzten Bezugspunkten, d.h. nach der Bedeutung von Negation für die Funktionalisierung von Neuem: Inwiefern können etwa das Weglassen von bestimmten Praktiken und Techniken, offen ausgetragene Konflikte oder Wettstreite der Deutung als Indikatoren einer prinzipiell zusammengehörigen epistemischen Struktur beansprucht werden? Wie optimistisch können wir zum Beispiel von der Ausgrenzung biblischen Wissens in frühislamischen Korankommentaren als bewusst vertretenem hermeneutischen Standpunkt in einer Wissensökonomie der spätantiken Kommentarkultur sprechen?

Die digitalen Technologien, die heute auch vormoderne Wissensbewegungen auf differenzierte Weise langfristig beschreibbar machen, ergänzen die text-, sozial- oder auch wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen, indem sie Horizonte für eine Pluralisierung von Wissenswandel eröffnen.

### **Aufbau des Bandes – die Beiträge**

Die unterschiedlichen Aspekte des Konzepts der Wissensökonomien haben eine Gliederung des Bandes in vier Sektionen ergeben, die sich mit **(I) Dem Wandel von Wissen in *longue durée* Prozessen** beschäftigen und hierbei Konzepte des Netzwerks, des Territoriums und andere systembildende Kategorien diskutieren.

Mònica Aparicio Calominas und Jürgen Renn skizzieren Dynamiken des Wissenswandels in unterschiedlichen, geographisch weit ausgreifenden Räumen. Sie stellen die Frage nach den Faktoren für epistemische Veränderung in der Konfrontation ganz unterschiedlicher kultureller Kontexte: dem Wissen der Mechanik im Irak der Abbasidenzeit, dem Wissen vom Bergbau in der frühneuzeitlichen Gelehrtenrepublik und interreligiöser Kontakte auf der iberischen Halbinsel.

Catherine Hezser spannt ebenfalls einen Bogen transkultureller Verflechtung. Indem sie reziproke Dynamiken des Wissenswandels in der jüdischen und griechisch-römischen Antike nachvollzieht, korrigiert sie Darstellungen, die beide Wissenstraditionen als getrennte Räume und Traditionen ansehen. Sie knüpft hierbei an Theorien der Hybridität und Transkulturalität an.

Helge Wendt, Linda Gennies, Martin Urmann und Anna Laqua beschreiben unterschiedliche Formen des Wissenswandels in der frühneuzeitlichen Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Autoren entwickeln ein Konzept der Territorialität, das Ihnen erlaubt, die Aushandlung von Wissen in Gelehrtennetzwerken, deren Formen der Selbstidentifikation und Abgrenzung voneinander neu zu fassen: Statt Kontinuitäten und Brüche gegenüber traditionellen Wissensbeständen zu konstatieren, zeigen die Autoren komplexe Reflexionsprozesse von Eigenem und Fremdem, Überlieferung und Innovation in den Kontexten der Grammatik, der französischen Akademien, der Medizin und der Mathematik.

Gyburg Uhlmanns Beitrag untersucht reziproke Bezugnahmen zwischen dem *Corpus Platonikum*, Werken des Rhetoriklehrers Isokrates und dem *Corpus Aristotelicum* und zeigt dadurch, dass solche Dialoge zwischen Autoren und Texten eine zentrale Rolle in den philosophischen Praktiken und den Praktiken der höheren

Bildung im Athen des 4. Jh. v. Chr. spielten. Auf diese Weise kann mit den Mitteln der wissensökonomischen Analyse ein neuer Zugriff auf die Bildungsdiskurse der Zeit und ihre Auseinandersetzung mit früheren Bildungsmodellen erfolgen.

Daneben widmen sich mehrere Beiträge in **(II) Strukturen der Ordnung und deren Beschreibung**. Die Frage der Beschreibung von Ordnung ist sowohl eine wissenschaftshistorische, eine technische als auch eine theoretische Herausforderung der Wissensgeschichte.

Wenn sich Jutta Eming die Frage nach der systembildenden Wirkung der literarischen Gattung des mittelalterlichen Liebes- und Abenteuerromans stellt, gibt sie die wechselseitige Bezogenheit verschiedener literarischer Überlieferungen zu bedenken. Sie schlägt mit der Heuristik der literarischen Gattung als Wissensökonomie eine neue Beschreibungskategorie gegenüber historisch-genetischen, fiktionalitätstheoretischen, kulturanthropologischen und anderen Perspektiven der Gattungstheorie und -geschichte vor und knüpft mit dem Konzept der Allelopoiese an jüngere Theorien der reziproken Verflechtung von Wissen an.

Auch die moderne Beschreibung historischer Zeiträume mit einer spezifischen Epochenklassifikation ist eine wesentliche Ordnungskategorie, mit der sich Michael Puett in seinem Beitrag befasst, in dem er die aus der europäischen Aufklärung stammende Epochenklassifikation der Spätantike auf Phänomene der chinesischen Geschichte überträgt. Puett stellt durch den Vergleich von Phänomenen und Strukturen ein Verständnis von Geschichte als linearem und häufig teleologisch ausgerichteten Prozess in Frage.

Ebenso bieten aber auch und gerade die digitalen Geisteswissenschaften neue Beschreibungen sozialer, kultureller, sprachlicher und anderer Leistungen in der Geschichte an. Der Beitrag von Michael Krewet, Jochem Kahl, Germaine Götzelmann, Linda Gennies, Julia Hübner, Philipp Hegel, Sibylle Söring und Danah Tonne nimmt die Frage in den Blick, welche Potenziale die Techniken der Digitalen Geisteswissenschaften freisetzen, welche Prozesse sich mit ihrer Hilfe besser beschreiben lassen und wo dieses Beschreibungsinstrument Risiken aufweist. Der Beitrag fasst Ergebnisse aus den Kooperationen unterschiedlicher am SFB 980 angesiedelter Teilprojekte mit dem Teilprojekt „Informationsinfrastruktur“ zusammen.

Francesca Rochberg zeigt mit ihrem Beitrag zu akkadischen, sumerischen und babylonischen Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Astronomie nicht nur einen weiteren Kontext der medialen und materialen Innovationen der Wissensgeschichte des Altertums auf, sondern problematisiert zugleich eine hartnäckig überlieferte, eurozentrische Sichtweise auf den Anfang der Wissenschaften mit der griechischen Antike. Das keilschriftliche Wissen der Astronomie fordert den modernen Begriff der Wissenschaft und damit der Wissenschaftsgeschichte heraus durch alternative Konzepte der Weisheit und des Wissens, das zugleich ‚empirisch‘ und ‚religiös‘ verankert ist.

Miltos Pechlivanos zeichnet am Beispiel des Fürsten Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1680–1730) und seiner politisch-kulturellen Projekte die Konturen einer Wissensökonomie, die erst in den Kommunikationsprozessen innerhalb einer Bibliothek

emergiert und sich in der Aushandlung von Auswahlkriterien, Geltungsansprüchen, epistemischen Prioritäten und Konnektivitäten ständig rekonfiguriert wird. Spannungen zwischen den transferierten Wissensbeständen sowie solche bedingt durch die Bedürfnisse der fürstlichen Selbstkultur und Selbsterhaltung werden in der *Bibliothoikonomie* verhandelt. Ihre Akkommodation bringt die Dialektik von Ordnung und Transgression auf den Punkt.

Und schließlich ist die Frage der Beschreibung kultureller Ordnungen ein Thema der (phänomenologischen) Philosophie. Aus der Perspektive der systematischen Theologie widmet sich Patrick Ebert in seinem Beitrag dem Problemfeld der Ordnung von Offenbarung. Statt Offenbarung als das Gegenüber von weltlichen Ordnungsstrukturen zu begreifen oder aber die Offenbarung Gottes als *conditio* solcher Ordnungen zu fassen, zeigen sich Ordnung und Offenbarung als wechselseitig verknüpft. Das dialektische Verhältnis von Offenbarung und Entzug Gottes, dem in der neueren systematisch-theologischen Theoriebildung nachgegangen wird, kann so auch als Phänomen der Wissensgeschichte verstanden werden.

In einer dritten Sektion (III) steht das Verhältnis von **Zeitlichkeit, Materialität und performativen Prozessen wie Ritualen** im Vordergrund.

Rune Nyord untersucht in seinem Beitrag die Artefakte altägyptischer Sarkophage und deren inschriftliche Texte, die ihrerseits rituelle Praktiken widerspiegeln. Er akzentuiert die technologischen Innovationen der Sarginschriften, die sich als Materialisierungen von Ritualen begreifen lassen, deren genauere Funktionen er diskutiert. Er stellt so zugleich die Frage nach den Zusammenhängen von Text, Ritus und materialen Artefakten im Ägypten der Mittleren Dynastie, wie er auch die semantischen und funktionalen Kontexte von Religion, ‚Glaube‘ und Medialität bzw. Materialität eröffnet.

Auch Nora Schmidt nimmt die Bedeutung von religiösen Riten in den Blick. Sie wirft eine neue Perspektive auf den islamischen Ritus der Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka, indem sie frühislamische Kontroversen um den Ursprung des Heiligtums, der Ka'ba, als wechselseitig bezogene und spätantike Wissensbestände fortschreibende Diskursgemeinschaften skizziert und damit die in den islamischen Quellen konstruierten Begriffe von Geschichte hinterfragt.

Der Beitrag von Martin Gehlmann, Lennart Lehmann und Falk Quenstedt diskutiert rituelle Praktiken von Austausch in unterschiedlichen historischen Kontexten mit dem Fokus auf rituelle Repräsentation und Performanz als Momente des Wissenstransfers. Ritualen wird dabei sowohl die Fähigkeit zugeschrieben, Ordnungen zu stabilisieren und zu festigen, als auch das Potential der Transgression, das in solchen performativen Momenten, ob in Aushandlungen medizinischen Wissens in talmudischen Texten, in der Verflechtung von konfuzianischen Akademien in Korea mit ökonomischen und politischen Strukturen oder beim Geschenkaustausch in Reisedarstellungen der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters, sichtbar wird.

In einer vierten Sektion (IV) wird schließlich den Momenten der **Negation, der Transgression und der antagonistischen Beziehung von Wissensgemeinschaften**, Netzwerken und Praktiken nachgegangen.

Der Frage nach der Konstituierung von Wahrheits- und Geltungsansprüchen im Kontext von ökonomischen Wissen in der Volkskultur des frühneuzeitlichen Mailands geht Germano Maifreda in seinem Beitrag nach. Während er die Bedeutung mündlicher Zeugnisse für die Ermittlung von Wahrheit herausstellt, hinterfragt er Dichotomien zwischen Eliten- und Volkskultur bzw. zwischen Öffentlichem und Privatem.

Angelika Neuwirth untersucht die verschiedenen hermeneutischen, textlichen und historischen Kontexte, die der religiösen Bedeutung der *Masjid al-Aqṣā* auf dem jerusalem Tempelberg zugrunde liegen. Sie zeigt die interreligiöse Verflechtung der verschiedenen in Jerusalem erinnerten bzw. verehrten Heiligtümer, deren Ätiologien in den islamischen Kultpraktiken reflektiert werden. Die koranischen Imaginationen des Heiligtums zeigen einen Anschluss an und Abgrenzungen von den jüdischen und christlichen spätantiken Deutungen religiöser Orte und deren religionspolitischen Erinnerungsräumen.

Im Beitrag von Nikolas Pissis werden Wissensverflechtungen zwischen Orakel- bzw. Prophetiensammlungen in Ost- und Südosteuropa der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts behandelt. Ihre wissensokonomische Deutung erfolgt zum einen durch eine Lektüre der Texte als Oikoi, zum anderen durch die Verortung der Autoren in mitunter antagonistischen Netzwerken mit ihren je eigenen Prioritäten.

## Dank

Mehrere Beiträge dieses Bandes sind aus Kooperationen hervorgegangen, die Wissenschaftler am Sonderforschungsbereich aus unterschiedlichen Teilprojekten und Forschungsdisziplinen eingegangen sind, um Workshops während der Jahrestagung zu konzipieren. Die Fragestellungen, Diskussionen und Ergebnisse dieser Workshops werden in Beiträgen verschriftlicht, zu denen alle Forscher als Autoren beigetragen haben. Die Mitarbeiter der Konzeptgruppe Wissensokonomien, die während der zweiten Förderphase des SFB Episteme in Bewegung, von 2016 bis 2020, in regelmäßigen Sitzungen theoretische Ansätze diskutiert und eigene Grundsätze der interdisziplinären Perspektive auf Wissenswandel in vor-modernen Kulturen erarbeitet haben, haben maßgeblich an der Ausarbeitung des Themas der Tagung, der Vorbereitung und Organisation der Tagung und der Fragestellungen des Sammelbands mitgewirkt. Neben denjenigen Kolleg\*innen, die selbst als Autor\*innen eigener Beiträge im Band erscheinen, soll Hanna Zoe Trauer, Martin Bleisteiner, Tilo Renz, Julia Hübner und Jan-Peer Hartmann stellvertretend für die gesamte Konzeptgruppe für diese Zusammenarbeit gedankt sein.

Wir danken der DFG für die finanzielle Unterstützung zur Durchführung der Jahrestagung 2018 und den Herausgebern der Schriftenreihe *Episteme in Bewegung* für die Aufnahme des Tagungsbandes. Bei der Durchsicht und formalen Korrektur haben mehrere Kollegen unersetzliche Hilfe geleistet. Dr. Samuel Wilder hat

mehrere englischsprachige Beiträge sprachlich lektoriert und perfektioniert. Die Mitarbeiter des Teilprojekts A08 (Frühislamische Koranwissenschaften) am SFB, Dr. Samuel Wilder, Maximilian Vogt und Jacob Veidt, haben zur formalen Vereinheitlichung des Bandes beigetragen. Ihnen gilt hierfür der herzliche Dank der Herausgeber\*innen.

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I Netzwerke,  
Wandel in der *longue durée*, Reziprozitäten





# Dimensions in the Evolution of Knowledge

*Mònica Colominas Aparicio and Jürgen Renn*

## 1 Economies of Knowledge in Long-Term Perspectives

Every society has its own ‘economy of knowledge’, or *Wissensökonomie*. It describes the total number of social institutions and processes that produce and reproduce the knowledge available to a society, particularly the knowledge that is at the base of its reproduction as a whole, as well as images and representational forms of knowledge that shape knowledge systems. We also use the term as a corrective to those scholarly approaches that understand the history of knowledge either in terms of ruptures or in terms of a constant progress without taking into account the complex dynamics of the interaction between individual thinking and shared knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of economy of knowledge serves, moreover, to capture the tension that always exists among the three dimensions of knowledge – its social, material, and cognitive dimensions. These tensions need to be understood against the background of a historiographical narrative that has not always given enough importance to the materiality and the social conditions of knowledge. We want to emphasize the importance of these elements as well as their relation to the cognitive aspects of knowledge. Material culture and the non-human environment regulate and restrict modes of action while simultaneously opening up new, unforeseeable opportunities for the formation of knowledge. We propose taking an encompassing perspective on the material culture of human societies that includes the materiality of the non-human or human-shaped environment, external representations such as symbolic systems or scientific instruments, and “technologies of representation” employed for this purpose, whether this is papyrus, parchment, paper, or the Web.<sup>2</sup> We want to illustrate the different dimensions of the evolution of knowledge as well as the dynamics of transmission and transformation of knowledge with four examples: 1. the knowledge of mechanics in Baghdad in the

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1 In keeping with the theoretical assumptions that were presented during the last meeting of the Collaborative Research Center 980 *Episteme in Motion*, we understand economies of knowledge as “an alternative systemic category” and “a historical figure of reflection”. See the announcement of the annual conference of the SFB 890 Wissensökonomie: Transgression und Ordnung in vormodernen Kulturen held in 2018. Compare also the introduction to this volume and Jürgen Renn, *The Evolution of Knowledge: Rethinking Science for the Anthropocene*, Princeton 2020.

2 Peter Damerow, *Abstraction and Representation: Essays on the Cultural Revolution of Thinking*, Dordrecht 1996.

work of Thābit ibn Qurra (9<sup>th</sup> c. CE); 2. theoretical and practical knowledge of the environment in the mining treaties by the German humanist George Agricola (16<sup>th</sup> c. CE); 3. knowledge dynamics in contexts of interreligious contact in the case of the Christian pre-modern Iberian Peninsula (8<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> c.); and 4. the transmission of Western mechanics by Jesuits to China in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century treatise *Qiqi Tushuo* (*Machines from the Far West*).

## 2 The Knowledge of Mechanics in the Early Modern Islamic East: The Work of Thābit Ibn Qurra (836–901)

The treatise on the balance by Thābit ibn Qurra from 9<sup>th</sup>-century Baghdad focuses on an unequal armed balance, usually designated as steelyard.<sup>3</sup> It constitutes our first example illustrating the dynamics of the different dimensions of knowledge and the dynamics of transfer and transformation processes.<sup>4</sup> The steelyard was itself the subject of a tradition of practical knowledge dating back to antiquity. This practical knowledge and its embodiment in material artifacts constituted an important “sedimentary layer” of knowledge in the field of ancient mechanics to which theoretical speculations or further technical innovations could make reference. The extant theoretical traditions of ancient mechanics represented by works of Aristotle, Archimedes, or Heron did not form a homogenous corpus and were not fully accessible to scholars in Baghdad. Within the intrinsic conceptual tensions of this tradition, Thābit’s focus on the steelyard as the primary challenging object of his mechanics, as well as the contingencies in the transmission of antique knowledge, greatly influenced the configuration of mechanical knowledge in the Arabic tradition. The reconfiguration of ancient knowledge in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Baghdad was shaped, in particular, by an economy of knowledge that was profoundly different from that of Greek antiquity.

A closer look at the way that Thābit ibn Qurra and his colleagues and disciples worked reveals that their discussions of Greek textual fragments on mechanics led them to construct a new science of weighing that had no precedent in ancient scholarship. This new science and its concepts owed their existence to a recompilation of extant Greek texts in view of a single challenging object – the steelyard. As mentioned above, many important texts from the Greek or Hellenistic period on the practice and theory of balances were not available to Thābit and his working group. In particular, they evidently had no access to Archimedes’ important treatise *On the Equilibria of Planes* which offers a proof of the law of the lever and thus of the basic physical principle underlying the functioning of the steelyard. Instead, the group around Thābit was evidently familiar with Heron’s *Mechanics*,

3 See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbasid Society (2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, London 2002.

4 The following is a short summary of Sonja Brentjes and Jürgen Renn, “Contexts and Content of Thabit ibn Qurra’s (died 288/901) Construction of Knowledge on the Balance”, in: *Globalization of Knowledge in the Post-antique Mediterranean, 700–1500*, ed. by Sonja Brentjes and Jürgen Renn, London 2016, pp. 67–99.

pseudo-Euclidean texts, and the *Mechanical Problems* attributed to Aristotle. The texts written by Thābit and his disciples reflect both this fragmentary situation in relation to the ancient textual tradition and the contemporary culture of disputation in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Baghdad. This insight makes the long debate about the question of whether the work of Thābit and his disciples had a lost Greek origin or were instead a genuine creation of largely obsolete Arabic science. They are in fact an example of the transformation of ancient traditions of knowledge through their reconfiguration within a novel economy of knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

The resulting change in the architecture of knowledge left lasting traces in the subsequent transmission of mechanical knowledge, both in the Arabic and the Latin worlds. Thābit's new science of weighing was widely disseminated in the Arabic written culture and was integrated, for example, into the work of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century scholar al-Khāzinī. Al-Khāzinī elevated the balance to the rank of a "balance of wisdom", corresponding to its expanded range of application, for instance as a hydrostatic balance, and its cultural significance as a key instrument for trade and an important subject of scholarly discussions.<sup>6</sup> The Arabic science was finally taken up in early Latin scholarship under the heading of *scientia de ponderibus*, particularly in the work of the important 13<sup>th</sup>-century mathematician Jordanus Nemorarius.<sup>7</sup> Jordanus continued the transformation of ancient knowledge systems that Thābit had begun four centuries earlier – within an economy of knowledge that had changed once again and was now dominated by a knowledge system based on Aristotle's philosophy in the context of emerging scholasticism.<sup>8</sup>

One key result of this further reconfiguration was an understanding of different mechanical devices according to a unified conceptual framework. According to this understanding, the different behaviors of weights depending on their position, for instance on a lever, an unequal-arms balance or on an inclined plane, could now be described as a *secundum quid* effect. Given this background, the concept of *gravitas secundum situm* – positional weight – evolved into a fundamental concept of a new mechanics that eventually became the paradigmatic science of the early modern period.<sup>9</sup> The pre-classic mechanics of the age of Galileo can thus be seen as the outcome of a transmission and transformation of ancient knowledge

5 Dhruv Raina, "After Exceptionalism and Heritage: Thinking through the Multiple Histories of Knowledge", in: *1001 Distortions: How (Not) to Narrate History of Science, Medicine, and Technology in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. by Sonja Brentjes, Taner Edis, and Lutz Richter-Bernburg, Würzburg 2016, pp. 25–38.

6 Faïza Larighi Bancel, *Kitāb Mizān al-Ḥikma de 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī*, Tunis 2008.

7 Jordanus Nemorarius, *Liber Iordanii Nemorarii viri clarissimi de ponderibus propositiones XIII & earundem demonstrationes, multarumque rerum rationes sane pulcherrimas completens, nunc in lucem editus, Petreium, Nuremberg 1533*.

8 Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century", in: *Science in Context* 14/1–2 (2001), pp. 249–288. Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Aristote au Mont-Saint-Michel. Les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne*, Paris 2008.

9 Peter Damerow and Jürgen Renn, *The Equilibrium Controversy: Guidobaldo del Monte's Critical Notes on the Mechanics of Jordanus and Benedetti and their Historical and Conceptual Backgrounds*, Berlin 2012, pp. 60–63.

that was repeatedly exposed to different cultural and material contexts, inducing multifarious cultural refractions fundamentally affecting its architecture. These cultural refractions can be understood as the result of an alignment of the transmitted knowledge to the needs of the various economies of knowledge.

### 3 The Role of George Agricola (1494–1555) within the Early Modern Economy of Mining Knowledge

Our next example concerns the way in which knowledge development may be shaped by material contexts that include, in a significant way, the environment, in particular an environment modified by human interventions. In the following, we discuss how early modern mining activities provided a background for the emergence of new forms of knowledge about nature. Our focus is Georg Agricola's major work *De ortu et causis subterraneorum* (On subterranean origins and causes) and, more specifically, the chapter dealing with the causes of hot water springs.<sup>10</sup>

Agricola's reflection about the occurrence of hot water took place in the context of a new economy of knowledge wherein knowledge was exchanged among scientists, artisans, publishers, and engineers and was affected by technological challenges that were intended to be solved by developing new machineries. Within this economy of knowledge about mining, Agricola provided new explanations that aimed to solve practical problems of mining. Miners' observations constituted an important source of information for Agricola in his quest for an explanation of natural phenomena of the earth's underground. Miners were not only able to see and to describe these phenomena but could also add their observations about the "bowels" of the earth. They helped Agricola to provide his diverse audiences with explanations in much debated cases like the reasons for natural hot water or the origin of water mixtures.<sup>11</sup>

Ever since antiquity, the work of miners had turned the earth's interior into a new environment useful both for the material economy and the economy of knowledge, but with problematic ecological consequences.<sup>12</sup> The exhaustive use of subterranean resources could only be successfully achieved in the long term and by the interplay of many different factors of the evolving economy of knowledge of early modern mining. One important aspect was the transformation of ancient knowledge about the relationship between "elements" or materials and thermal processes in mechanical theories concerning the transformation of substances

10 Georg Agricola, *Mineralogische Schriften: De ortu et causis subterraneorum. Von den ...*, vol. 1, ed. by Georg Lehman, Freiberg 1806. Org: Georg Agricola. *Georgii Agricolae De ortu & causis subterraneorum: Lib. V. Interpretatio Germanica uocum rei metallica, addito duplici Indice, altero rerum, altero locorum. Omnia ab ipso authore, cum haud poenitenda acceptione, recens recognita*, Basel 1558.

11 Cf. Francesco Luzzini, *Theory, Practice, and Nature In-between: Antonio Vallisneri's 'Primi Itineris Specimen'*, Berlin 2018, <https://edition-open-sources.org/sources/9/index.html>.

12 Stéphane Boissellier, "Histoire et nature: quand les historiens recherchent le paléo-environnement à travers des traces culturelles. Conclusion ouverte", in: *Histoire et nature: Pour une histoire écologique des sociétés méditerranéennes (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, ed. by François Clement, Rennes 2011, pp. 303–310.

and states of substances. This transformation did not occur for the first time in 19<sup>th</sup>-century chemistry and thermodynamics, as is often assumed, but can already be found in the works of Agricola and his contemporaries.

Another source of knowledge, from which Agricola could profit, was the reconfiguration of local epistemic accomplishments. He had been working as a physician and as the mayor of Chemnitz before investing money and research into the field of silver mining in Joachimsthal (in Czech: Jáchymov). He thus obtained some practical mining knowledge and gained geological knowledge from his own experience, both underground and above surface in the regions of Erzgebirge, Harz, some parts of the Alps, and in Bohemia.<sup>13</sup> In addition to his medical knowledge, he entertained an extensive correspondence network, read printed works and manuscripts, and incorporated knowledge shared in those writings into his own works. He embraced the views of other experts and included their opinions in his work but with different conclusions. His work, like that of many other humanists of his time,<sup>14</sup> consisted of an integration of bits of knowledge from different local communities and contexts into a single account. He received vernacular knowledge of mining<sup>15</sup> from around thirteen newly founded mining settlements in the Saxon-Bohemian region and from other already well-established mining towns.<sup>16</sup> An important part of the knowledge he compiled dealt with the generation of metals, minerals, and water, as well as methods and technologies to mine them.

In this regard, Agricola's approach to compiling may be compared with that of Thābit ibn Qurra. Both used fragments of knowledge and reconfigured knowledge from different sources.<sup>17</sup> Through his published work, Agricola imported this compiled knowledge into a reconfigured knowledge economy that extended beyond the mining towns and the personal correspondences of his network. The quick spread of Agricola's work illustrates the consequences of a knowledge economy based on the new technology of printing with removable letters. The technology allowed for a broad and quick dissemination of the new knowledge. Agricola's early masterpiece *Bermannus* was printed in Basel in 1530, three years

13 Gerhard Laub, "Der Westharzer Silberbergbau bei Georgius Agricola," in: *Harz-Zeitschrift* 30 (1978), pp. 87–100. Eberhard Wächtler, "Die Industrieregion Erzgebirge—Geburtsort des «De Re Metallica»", in: *Georgius Agricola, 500 Jahre. Wissenschaftliche Konferenz Vom 25.–27. März 1994 in Chemnitz, Freistaat Sachsen*, ed. by Friedrich Naumann, Basel 1994, pp. 410–415, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-0348-7159-4\\_44](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-0348-7159-4_44).

14 Cf. Anne Eusterschulte, "Naturwunder aus dem Inneren der Erde: Athanasius Kirchers *Mundus Subterraneus* und die Etablierung einer geokosmischen Wissenschaft," in: *Ludi Naturae: Spiele der Natur in Kunst und Wissenschaft*, ed. by Natascha Adamowsky, Hartmut Böhme und Robert Felfe, München 2010, pp. 177–218.

15 Pamela H. Smith, "The Codification of Vernacular Theories of Metallic Generation in Sixteenth-Century European Mining and Metalworking," in: *The Structures of Practical Knowledge*, ed. by Matteo Valleriani, Cham 2017), pp. 371–392, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-45671-3\\_14](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-45671-3_14).

16 Jiří Majer, "Ore Mining and the Town of St. Joachimsthal/Jáchymov at the Time of Georgius Agricola", in: *GeoJournal* 32/2 (1994), pp. 91–99.

17 Gisela-Ruth Engewald, *Georgius Agricola*, Stuttgart/Leipzig/Zürich 1994, pp. 87–88.

later in Paris, and 1535 in Venice.<sup>18</sup> The posthumously published books of *De re metallica libri XII* were printed in Basel in 1556. Several German translations from the Latin original were published, one printed (again) in Basel in 1557, and another in 1580 in Frankfurt. The work experienced major reconfigurations in 1630 by the pastor Alvaro Alonso Barba who adapted it to the local use in the South American silver-town of Potosí. A Chinese translation and adaptation of *De re metallica* was written jointly by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, who had brought a copy of the book with him to Peking, and Li Tianjing, a Chinese astronomer.<sup>19</sup> Printing became one of the driving forces expanding knowledge economies to a global range. During the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, these translations and also the circulation of mining tracts and manuscripts produced a new miner's vocabulary that was shared in different European countries and in several European vernacular languages. In a reciprocal enrichment, this shared vocabulary of mining helped Agricola and his colleagues to find an adequate terminology for describing observations from the subterranean world wherever these observations may have been performed.<sup>20</sup>

One example of the new cognitive dynamics generated by the specific constellation of environment, theory, and practice characteristic of early modern mining is Agricola's inquiry into the origin of hot springs in his above-mentioned work on mineralogy, *On Subterranean Origins and Causes*. This passage goes far beyond pure environmental observations as they were performed by other "metallurgists", natural philosophers, or miners. Agricola quoted from Pliny and Empedocles, but mainly discussed the various issues without any references, with the evident intention to go beyond the limits of classical mining knowledge. He rather acted as a "generalizing theorist",<sup>21</sup> who aspired to find the reasons that allowed him to explain natural phenomena.

Agricola discussed explanations given by different authors for the natural origin of hot water. He presented and discarded, in particular, one explanation that related heat to the friction of quickly running water. He rejected this explanation with a reference to the experience of miners: "the miners ... observe daily that for however long and however fast the subterranean water may fall onto the rocks, it does not become warm." He concluded that "[t]he movement of the water is thus not the source of its heat."<sup>22</sup> Agricola argued that hot springs arise because of the water's direct subterranean contact with fire. Fire causes water to become hot and, in addition, to move to the earth's surface. He assumed large quantities

18 Annette Bouheiry, "Die Eisenbibliothek und ihre Agricola-Bestände", in: *Mitteilungen Des Chemnitzer Geschichtsvereins* 64 (1994), pp. 121–133.

19 Pan Jixing, Hans Ulrich Vogel, and Elisabeth Theisen-Vogel, "Die Übersetzung und Verbreitung von Georgius Agricolae 'De Re Metallica' im China der späten Ming-Zeit (1368–1644)", in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 32/2 (1989), pp. 153–202, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3631975>.

20 Bernard Palissy, *Discours admirables, de la nature des eaux et fontaines, tant naturelles qu'artificielles*, Paris 1580.

21 Smith, "Vernacular Theories", p. 388.

22 Georg Agricola, *Mineralogische Schriften* 1806, p. 39.

of a material must exist that burned at high temperatures and consistently for a long time, which could not be extinguished by water. Agricola speculated that this material was subterranean burning bitumen—that is, a form of asphalt mixed with several types of rock material – which was in direct contact with water.<sup>23</sup> In a sort of taxonomy, Agricola ordered bitumen, sulphur, and marl to belong to the group of fossil matters.<sup>24</sup> The origin of bitumen was, according to him, a massive conglomeration of resin produced from trees.<sup>25</sup> In other chapters, Agricola also included amber and petroleum in this category of bitumen-containing substances.<sup>26</sup> He could relate this explanation of the origin of hot water springs to the observations he had made in the laboratory on how ignited bitumen reacted with water.

Agricola's account of hot springs and the emergence of subterranean layers became decisive for the early modern economy of knowledge by its dissemination through the representational technology of book printing. Even more importantly, the shared knowledge circulating in the contemporary knowledge economy eventually served as a point of departure for the later geological detection and industrial use of fossil fuels crucial for the Industrial Revolution.<sup>27</sup> The Industrial Revolution, as Joel Mokyr has argued, was indeed closely linked with knowledge generated in the scientific revolution,<sup>28</sup> while conversely this knowledge was also due to the experience of practitioners such as that of the miners on whose observations Agricola relied. Agricola's work is to be placed within a self-reinforcing cycle of knowledge production and circulation, involving both practical and theoretical knowledge. This cycle triggered further developments in the area of mining, providing the basis for exploiting new deposits and for developing new, and ever more efficient, mining methods. Seen from the perspective of the exploitation of fossil fuels and the beginning of industrialization, the codification of practical mining knowledge in the mid-fifteenth century can be inscribed into a history of knowledge in the *longue durée*.

#### **4 Knowledge Dynamics in Contexts of Interreligious Contact: The Case of the Christian Pre-Modern Iberian Peninsula**

Economies of knowledge may change not only due to novel representational technologies such as printing but also because of political changes, with far-reaching consequences for the knowledge systems they produce and reproduce. A striking instance of repeated political changes and their impact on both knowledge economies and systems of knowledge is the knowledge production of Muslims

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23 Ibid., p. 47.

24 Ibid., p. 46.

25 Ibid., pp. 34–35.

26 Ibid., p. 49.

27 John Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry. Vol I. Before 1700: Towards the Age of Coal*, Oxford 1993.

28 Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy*, Princeton 2002 and, Reinhold Reith, *Umweltgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Munich 2011.

in the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula during and after the so-called Reconquista from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. True, the Muslim presence in the territories extended beyond the surrender of Granada to the Christians in 1492; it lasted officially in some regions until the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, unofficially, among the Moriscos, i.e. the Muslims who converted to Christianity (often by force) until the last edicts of expulsion of their communities in 1609–1614. In the period prior to the first decrees of conversion and expulsion of the Moriscos in 1499, the Muslims who remained in the Iberian Peninsula after the military and diplomatic surrender of Muslim strongholds were known as Mudejars (from the Arabic *dajn*). The Mudejars were nominally allowed to continue practicing their faith and to keep their social organization and economy of knowledge chiefly based on Islamic Andalusi patterns in return for the payment of special taxes that had been negotiated in the peace agreements.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps more important is the evidence of the mobility of the Mudejars and the Moriscos within and across the territories controlled by the Christians, and their contact with regions of Islamic influence as long-sustained practices in spite of the increasing constraints imposed on their communities and Jewish communities (who were the other important religious minority at the time) by the Christians.<sup>30</sup>

During this long period of time, a process of negotiation took place among the remaining Muslims in the Christian territories through which their minority religious communities struggled to stabilize Islamic knowledge under the new conditions. We can trace changes in the economy of knowledge induced by the new political and social context that sometimes gave traditional institutions completely new functions. One example is the evidence discussed by Brian Catlos related to the emergence in the kingdom of Catalonia-Aragon of a new upper class connected to trade and commerce that was “[a]nchored in institutions which were neither entirely Islamic nor entirely Christian” and whose members “straddled a middle ground as the leaders of their community and affiliate members of the Christian administration”.<sup>31</sup>

In the area of religious practice, knowledge transmission and the internal reinforcement of group identities—the distinction between Christians and non-Christians or Christians and Muslims—was typically (yet not always) coded in terms of

29 Leonard Patrick Harvey, *The Literary Culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609: A Study Based on the Extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamiá*. PhD diss., University of Oxford 1958; and, Gerard Albert Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden 1994.

30 As Ana Echevarría Arsuaga notes on the basis of the extant literature, the prohibitions regarding mobility applied in later periods to Mudejars under secular lordship (thus, not under royal power or the church). Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “Mudejar Society and Intellectual Production”, in: *A Companion to Aljamiado Literature*, ed. by Alberto Montaner and Heather Bamford (in press), 37pp. at 5 and note 9. We thank Ana Echevarría Arsuaga for bringing this paper to our attention.

31 Brian Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon 1050–1300*, Cambridge 2004, p. 219.



religiously connoted knowledge, and only in a limited fashion in terms of social cooperation. For example, the preservation and good condition of the walls of the Castilian city of Ávila was possible (as late as the 15<sup>th</sup> century) because each religious group was required to perform specific tasks assigned to them. In this way, “knights and hidalgos were obliged to make rounds [...] and good men and citizens were obliged to watch over it [...] and neighbors and vassals [...] were obliged to repair the ramparts [...] and the Moors [...] were forced to do the manual work and the Jews to provide the ironwork”.<sup>32</sup>

Religious knowledge was transformed and recoded when this served to stabilize a group. This is particularly true with regard to the manuscript production of the Mudejars and the Moriscos in Arabic, *Aljamiado* (Romance in Arabic characters) and Romance in Latin characters. Within this corpus, their polemics against the Christians and the Jews served to reinforce the knowledge of Islam and to challenge the balance of power between groups, if only at the level of rhetoric.<sup>33</sup> In some regions of Christian Iberia the number of Mudejars declined, but nonetheless knowledge continued to evolve, precisely in the circulation within and between the local communities in extended networks sustained in time throughout the Christian geography, and beyond. It assumed forms that are commonly understood to be deviations from Islamic orthodoxy, though their faith and norms should be seen as a discursive tradition within a diversified Islam (Talal Asad).<sup>34</sup> That is to say, the transmission of packages of knowledge—sedimentary layers of knowledge and practices—were reconfigured to meet the current needs of the communities in a context of change, and also with an eye to the preservation of knowledge for future generations. In this light, it is possible to understand the agency of the Mudejars and the Moriscos as taking place within frameworks of authority that allowed their minority communities to live as faithful Muslims in a majority Christian environment and in competition with the Jews.

Up until the prohibition of the public practice of Islam in what today constitutes modern Spain and Portugal, the Qur’ān was translated and commented into Latin (Robert of Ketton (1110–1160 CE), Mark of Toledo (d. 1216 CE)), and from Arabic and Latin into Romance languages (the earliest known dated translation from Latin was into Catalan in 1382). Narratives connected to the life of Muḥammad (*Vita Mahumeti*) were also translated and circulated among Mudejars and Moriscos (e.g. *Kitāb al-Anwār*, the *Book of Lights*).<sup>35</sup> The polemics against the Chris-

32 Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Ávila-Sección Histórica, caja 1, leg. 69, my translation from the original quoted by Serafín de Tapia, “Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsión”, in: *Sefarad* 57/1 (1997), pp. 135–178; p. 157 n. 73.

33 This is discussed in extension in Mónica Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam*, Leiden, Boston 2018. See on religious polemics, Gerard Albert Wiegiers, *Islamic Literature*, 1994.

34 Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*, Washington, D.C. 1986.

35 The Latin copy into Catalan was commissioned by Peter III, the Ceremonious, but the text is missing. Also missing is the 15<sup>th</sup>-century trilingual Qur’ān resulting from the collaboration between the Mudejar scholar Yḡa de Gebir and the Christian theologian, Juan de Segovia.

tian majority society and the Jews were part of the mechanisms of Muslim self-affirmation in the territories, but demanded new techniques within the prevailing economy of knowledge. One such technique was the writing of Spanish in Arabic script—which researchers call *Aljamiado*—a phenomenon that “was a sign of continuing intellectual vigor” of the communities.<sup>36</sup> When approached as a sociological phenomenon, *Aljamiado* may be considered as a religiolect, that is to say, as “a language variety [...] used by a religious community”, a consideration that allows us to see such a phenomenon as something more than the result of cultural decay.<sup>37</sup> In a context strongly marked by linguistic variety, both fictional stories as well as prophecies and interreligious polemics appeared alongside Qurʾān copies and commentaries. They do not only reflect the most debated issues in the polemical encounters between the three groups, which eventually led to conversion, but also the theological and philosophical state of knowledge of Muslims more generally.

Indeed polemics constituted an important medium through which Muslim minorities constructed and negotiated their identities. The relevant texts should be considered as taking part in an economy of knowledge that is often described by the term *Convivencia*, in which the construction of different spheres of identity resulted, among other factors, precisely from the production of such texts embedded within particular social practices also aimed at articulating these identities.<sup>38</sup> This text corpus served to pass on what was perceived as fundamental knowledge in and about the community, and thus to postulate a distinction that indicated the

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Although there are some relatively early Mudejar translations of the Qurʾān into vernacular, these are undated; so, the earliest dated copy is by the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Muslim convert to Christianity, Juan Andrés. See, Ryan Szpiech, Katarzyna Starczewska, and Mercedes García-Arenal Rodríguez, “Deleytaste del dulce sono y no pensaste en las palabras”, Rendering Arabic in the Antialcoranes”, in: *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 5/1 (2018), pp. 99–132, especially pp. 100–101. For the trilingual Qurʾān, see Gerard Albert Wieggers, *Islamic Literature*, 1994. For the circulation of manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Anwār* among the Moriscos, see Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*, Chicago 2005, pp. 148–149.

36 Consuelo López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late-Spanish Islam,” in: *Hispanic Review* 63/2 (1995), pp. 193–210; p. 203. See also, Mònica Colominas Aparicio, “Spanish Islam in Arabic Characters. Language, Identity, and Community Boundaries in the Literature of Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Christian Iberia”, *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 7 (2019), pp. 1–27.

37 This claim follows Echevarría Arsuaga, “Mudejar Society”, at 10–12, who uses Benjamin Hary’s definition of religiolect, n. 26. The quote here is from Hary’s publication “Religiolect”, in: *Critical Terms in Jewish Languages: Frankel Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies*, Ann Arbor 2011, pp. 43–45; p. 45.

38 *Convivencia* refers to the sustained contacts between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages and has been the object of heated historiographical debates since the term was coined by Américo Castro in the mid-1950s. Among the vast literature, see Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History* (trans. from the Spanish by Edmund L. King), Princeton 1954; María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, New York 2002; Ryan Szpiech, “The Convivencia Wars: Decoding Historiography’s Polemic with Philology”, in: *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (eds.), Toronto 2013, pp. 254–295.

Muslims' affiliation to an Islamic sphere from which they were currently socially demarcated.

We could, moreover, argue that the Mudejar communities assumed a pivotal position in knowledge transfer, also from a temporal perspective, for this transfer concerned texts that had been produced since the early Islamic period that entered the Iberian Peninsula through al-Andalus or that were composed there, and which otherwise would have been lost.<sup>39</sup> Yet, even more important for understanding the transformation of economies of knowledge was the fact that the carriers of knowledge eventually achieved a new social and cultural status. They came to play a more significant role that enabled them to advance to new domains at the crossroads between the Islamic and the Christian spheres. Legal experts, for example, could work not only as judges of the Muslim communities, experts of jurisprudence (*faqīhs*), or *adelantados* (appointed by the King to administer parts of the kingdom in his name), but also sometimes even as physicians to the Christian king and to other Christians.<sup>40</sup>

A similar picture can be observed regarding changes in the Christian economy of knowledge. Here, too, Christians assumed specific functions in regard to social groups that were of Muslim origin, as for example the office of *almotacén*, which comes from *mustassaf*, derived from the Islamic office of *muḥtasib*, in charge of the regulation of the market activity, who also exercised a vigilance over public manifestations of morality and religion. The function evolved in the Christian territories with different trajectories in Valencia and Castilla and a direct jurisdic-

39 A relevant example is the Arabic copy of Mudejar/Morisco origin of the world history by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, the *Kitāb al-Tarīkh* [The History] (9<sup>th</sup> c.), likely the oldest account of Arabic literature in al-Andalus, so far only known in a unique Arabic manuscript in Oxford and now identified by one of the authors in an Arabic Mudejar/Morisco copy. See, Mònica Colominas Aparicio, "An Arabic Missing Link to Aljamiado Literature: Muslim Gatherings (*Majālis*) and the Circulation of Andalusī and Mashriqī Writings among the Mudejars and the Moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Royal Library of El Escorial, Madrid)/ Un eslabón árabe perdido de la literatura aljamiada: reuniones musulmanas (*maḡālis*) y la circulación de escritos andalusíes y mašriqíes entre los mudéjares y los moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Biblioteca Real de El Escorial, Madrid)", in: *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 41/1 (2020): 95–147.

40 For example, the family Sharafī, some of whose members, like Abrahen Xarafí, were physicians of the Toledan bishop or, as I have argued, were physicians to Pere III the Ceremonious, and likely connected to the production of polemical treatises. See Mònica Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, 2018, p. 5 and, particularly, p. 106. For the evolution of office of *qāḍī* in the Christian territories and the most prominent families in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (I)", in: *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 24/1 (2003a), pp. 139–168 (for example p. 160 and ff.) and by the same autor, "De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (II)", in: *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 24/2 (2003b), pp. 273–289. See for the Sharafís, *inter alia*: Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Une famille de l'élite mudéjare de la Couronne de Castille: les Xarafí de Tolède et d'Alcalá de Henares", in: *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac: tahīyat taqḍīr al-ustādh Luwī Kār-dayāh*, vol. 2, ed. by Abdeljelil Temimi, Zaghuan 1995, pp. 765–772, and by the same author, "À propos d'Abrahen Xarafí: les alcaldes mayores de los moros de Castille au temps des Rois Catholiques", in: *Actas [del] VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Teruel, 19–21 de septiembre de 1996*, Teruel 1999, pp. 175–184.

tion over the Jews. The contents of the “books of the *mustassaf*” were periodically updated to adapt to current social needs, a fact that allows us to measure by comparison the influence of previous models (for example, by comparison with the original model of the city of Valencia from 1293 that underwent revisions until 1563).<sup>41</sup> These changes of economies of knowledge had far-reaching consequences, including consequences for the knowledge systems we are dealing with: translations from the Arabic led to changes in the field of philosophy and medicine among Christians and Jews. Theological knowledge was also adapted in polemics with Islam and Muslims, when, for example, Christian theologians pursued the goal of proselytizing and conversion.

More broadly speaking, a characteristic transgression of boundaries can be identified for all religious communities in contexts of *Convivencia*: majority Christian knowledge was incorporated into the Muslim writings just as Muslim or Jewish writings—in fragments and marginalia—appear in Christian works. Moreover, the use of *Aljamiado* is an indication of the intermediary position of the literate elite, between linguistic worlds and worlds of thought. Knowledge transfer is all too often understood as a merely local, highly contextualized historical phenomenon. In reality, however, in the process very different dimensions—both temporal and spatial—often intermingle. Shared sedimental layers are activated and disruptions in the existing knowledge economies also occur, as is the case in the various examples discussed in the present contribution. Knowledge transfer can thus only be understood as a global history of entanglement with a long-term effect and is therefore always part of a globalization of knowledge.

Such a process of globalization of knowledge may be observed in the aftermath of the long history of Muslim presence in the Iberian territories, when the prohibitions of practicing Islam and Judaism resulted in many members of these two religious minority communities becoming Christians or abandoning the Iberian Peninsula in order to begin new lives in North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, the Low Countries, or France. They took with them writings and participated in intellectual discourses in their new homes. Some of them continued to exist as groups and cultivated their own bodies of knowledge which they further developed in new economies of knowledge. In the diaspora, some groups left their Iberian encapsulation behind them, forming new constellations or dissolving altogether, depending on their new place of settlement. Moriscos and Jews not only made important contributions to knowledge transfer on the Iberian Peninsula and between Christian and Islamic economies of knowledge, but were also part of a history of entanglement that continues to influence the mutual understanding (or lack of understanding) among the three major religious communities to this day.<sup>42</sup>

41 Thomas F. Glick, “Muhtasib and Mustasaf: A Case Study of Institutional Diffusion”, in: *Viator* 2 (1971), pp. 59–81; Pedro Chalmeta, “El almotacén a través de los *llibre del mustaçaf*”, in: *Aragón en la Edad Media* 20 (2008), pp. 203–223.

42 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wieggers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, Leiden 2014, and Gerard Albert Wieggers, “Moriscos in North

## 5 The Transmission of Western Mechanics by Jesuits to China: The Treatise of the *QiQi Tushuo* (17<sup>th</sup> Century)

Similar to the case of the Mudejars and Moriscos just discussed, the transfer of European scientific knowledge to China in the period between the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was shaped by an encounter of different knowledge economies. This knowledge transfer was probably one of the most intensive and comprehensive transfers of scientific knowledge prior to the age of modern globalization. From the European perspective, the transfer was part of a missionary enterprise that included not only the dogmas and practices of Christian religion, but also the wider cultural, philosophical, and scientific contexts of which religion had become part. The transfer was, in short, a matter of conveying a comprehensive, religiously grounded world view.

From the Chinese perspective, in contrast, the knowledge offered by the Europeans fell into very different categories and its embedding in these larger contexts hardly mattered to them. For the Chinese court, the most relevant aspect of the new knowledge was astronomical knowledge that could be used to improve the calendar, an undertaking that had been perceived as a challenge for the Chinese economy of knowledge long before the Jesuits arrived because of the key role of the calendar for courtly rituals. The relation between this calendrical knowledge and a scientific and philosophical worldview, so central to the Europeans' concerns, was not of equal importance to the Chinese scholars trying to solve this problem.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, the transfer of European scientific knowledge to China in the early modern period also had an impact beyond the narrow field of calendrical calculations. This was not only due to the wider range of the knowledge systems of which astronomical knowledge was part in the European context, which comprised cosmological, geographical, medical, or mechanical knowledge. Indeed, the Jesuits came from different parts of Europe and were experts not only in astronomical but also in mechanical and other kinds of knowledge. They brought numerous scientific books and started to produce new ones, as well as translations of European literature into the Chinese language, as the already mentioned translation of Agricola's *De re metallibus*.<sup>44</sup> But the wider range of exchange between European and Chinese scholars was also due to the broader interests of Chinese scholar-officials, for instance, in the improvement of agriculture or of mechanical technology. Thus, in spite of the fundamental differences between the two

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Africa after the Expulsion from Spain in 1609 and Their Discourse about Exile and Diaspora", in: *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile*, ed. by Yosef Kaplan, Cambridge 2017, pp. 165–178.

43 See Matthias Schemmel, "The Transmission of Scientific Knowledge from Europe to China in the Early Modern Period", in: *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, ed by Jürgen Renn, Berlin 2012, pp. 269–293, <http://edition-open-access.de/studies/1/15/index.html>; Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*. Cambridge 2005.

44 Jixing et al., "Die Übersetzung".

knowledge economies just outlined, there was an overlap of interests that created opportunities for cooperation and the generation of new knowledge at the fringes of the central concerns of the respective knowledge economies.

A key example is the transfer of European mechanical knowledge to China, which was at the beginning little more than a marginal activity, but eventually had a long-term impact on the development of physical knowledge in China.<sup>45</sup> The *Qiqi Tushuo*, or *Machines from the Far West*, is the first book by which Western mechanics was made available in Chinese. The complete title is “Records of the Diagrams and Explanations of the Strange Machines from the Far West”. The book was the result of an intercultural dialogue in which new forms of knowledge emerged from a process of transfer and translation. The manuscript saw the light in Peking, in 1627, thanks to the collaboration between the Jesuit Johannes Schreck from Württemberg and the Chinese mathematician and scholar-official Wang Zheng.<sup>46</sup>

Most of the theoretical knowledge of mechanics expounded in this book was completely new to 17<sup>th</sup>-century China, while the two cultures shared considerable common ground as far as practical knowledge and mechanical technology was concerned. This common ground was an important presupposition for the possibility of collaboration between the two scholars. The book was the result of just a few months of exchange and common work. The communication across linguistic borders and epistemological practices (such as machine drawings) activated this sedimentary layer of a shared material culture that was a result of earlier globalization processes. Texts such as the *Qiqi Tushuo*, composed jointly by European Jesuit scientists and Chinese scholar-officials, may have initially played only a marginal role, but proved to be effective in the long term. They were among the

45 For the following see Baichun Zhang and Jürgen Renn. *Transformation and Transmission: Chinese Mechanical Knowledge and the Jesuit Intervention*. Preprint 313, Berlin 2006; Baichun Zhang, Miao Tian, Matthias Schemmel, Jürgen Renn, and Peter Damerow (eds.), *Chuanbo yu huitong: Qiqi tushuo yanjiu yu jiaoyi* [Transmission and Integration: “Qiqi tushuo”]. Nanjing 2008; Iwo Amelung, “Weights and Forces: The Introduction of Western Mechanics into Late Qing China”, in: *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung and Joachim Kurtz, Leiden, Boston 2001, pp. 197–232.

46 See Jürgen Renn and Matthias Schemmel, “The Encounter of Two Systems of Knowledge in the Life and Works of the Jesuit Scholar Johannes Schreck”, in: *The Art of Enlightenment*, ed. by Lu Zhangshen, Beijing 2012, pp. 74–82; Jürgen Renn and Matthias Schemmel, “Wie oft sind die Naturwissenschaften entstanden?”, in: *Nova Acta Leopoldina* NF 414 (2017), pp. 1–13. Malcolm D. Hyman and Jürgen Renn, “Survey: From Technology Transfer to the Origins of Science”, in: *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, ed. by Jürgen Renn, Berlin 2012, pp. 75–104, <http://www.edition-open-access.de/studies/1/7/index.html#1>. For further biographic details see: Kim Yung Sik Kim, “A Philosophy of Machines and Mechanics in Seventeenth-Century China: Wang Zheng’s Characterization and Justification of the Study of Machines and Mechanics in the ‘Qiqi Tushuo’”, in: *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 31 (2010), pp. 64–95. For Schreck’s biography see: Claudia von Collani and Erich Zettl (eds.), *Johannes Schreck-Terrentius SJ. Wissenschaftler und China-Missionar (1576–1630)*, Stuttgart 2016.

resources that ultimately helped to achieve the modernization of China in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>47</sup>

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, this long-term impact eventually became effective in spite of the very different constitution of the European and Chinese knowledge economies at the time which also implied very different dynamics. In Europe, where mechanics, astronomy and metaphysics, religion and the state were extremely closely connected, new scientific discoveries in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries resulted in disruptive changes of the underlying economies of knowledge. This becomes evident, in particular, when considering that debates on astronomy, such as those about the Copernican system, turned into heated controversies about worldviews and even menaced the religious-political institutions of power in Europe, as may be illustrated by the fates of Giordano Bruno or of Galileo.<sup>48</sup> Conversely, in China, astronomical or scientific debates hardly affected the prevailing economy of knowledge which remained stable even across major political ruptures such as the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty.

Despite the existence of such fundamental differences, the two economies of knowledge shared not only a similar technological basis but also a comparable book and printing culture. Moreover, in Europe as well as in China, scholars held important, albeit different social functions at the court. On this background, the Jesuits were able to quickly learn how to adapt themselves to the Chinese culture in order to become acknowledged members of the circle of court scholars. This similitude in scholarly culture was one of the foundations for identifying fields in which Chinese and European scientists could understand each other. The challenge of their cooperation consisted in a mediation between a European system of theoretical knowledge and Chinese conceptions of systems of knowledge. The result was a highly original restructuration of scientific knowledge shaped by an intercultural dialogue.

## 6 Final Remarks

From the long-term historical perspective taken in this contribution, we have seen that earlier accumulation and transfer processes, for instance, of material objects or technological practices, may lead to a long-term sedimentation of material culture that affects later knowledge production and circulation processes. We have also seen how knowledge can shape religious and social identities and how knowledge structures change when crossing the borders between different economies of knowledge, a process we designate as “cultural refraction”. In particular, the transfer of knowledge may involve the breakdown of connections within

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47 Matthias Schemmel, “The Transmission of Scientific Knowledge from Europe to China”; Hsien-Chun Wang, “Discovering Steam Power in China, 1840s-1860s”, in: *Technology and Culture* 51/1 (2010), pp. 31–54.

48 See, for example, Neil Tarrant, “Censoring Science in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Recent (and Not-So-Recent) Research”, in: *History of Science* 52/1 (2014), pp. 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/007327531405200101>.

elaborate systems of knowledge and between knowledge and institutions, because such connections existing in an initial context may dissolve or may be reconfigured in the course of the transfer process. Similarly, implicit knowledge, which is part of the self-evident knowledge of the original economy of knowledge, is not necessarily found in the new context.

Since economies of knowledge are closely connected to the organization of a society, they are generally more stable than any newly acquired knowledge, which is typically assimilated to already existing cognitive and social structures. However, when economies of knowledge change due to political or cultural upheavals, this has far-reaching effects on the systems of knowledge reproduced within them. At the same time, there is obviously a constant and usually gradual interaction between economies of knowledge and knowledge systems on the one hand, and between economies of knowledge, material economy, and ecology, on the other.<sup>49</sup> In the pre-modern societies studied here, this interaction led to the emergence of a self-reinforcing and accelerating feedback mechanism between economies of knowledge and material economies.<sup>50</sup> While this process may have started in Europe, and initially affected other, non-European economies of knowledge only marginally and gradually, it eventually assumed a global dimension.<sup>51</sup> Today it has become obvious that the global dynamics of accelerated growth of both material and knowledge economies have dramatic ecological consequences. We can only understand (and perhaps cope with) these dynamics when analyzing them also as aspects of a more comprehensive, long-term history of knowledge of which we have offered here just a few glimpses.

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49 Helge Wendt, "Introduction: Competing Scientific Cultures and the Globalization of Knowledge in the Iberian Colonial World", in: *The Globalization of Knowledge in the Iberian Colonial World*, ed. by Helge Wendt, Berlin 2016, <http://www.edition-open-access.de/proceedings/10/3/index.html#1>.

50 Matteo Valleriani, "The Epistemology of Practical Knowledge", in: *The Structures of Practical Knowledge*, ed. by Matteo Valleriani, Boston, Cham 2017, pp. 1–19.

51 Renn and Schemmel, "Wie oft sind die Naturwissenschaften entstanden?"



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# Dynamics of Knowledge Transfer Between Jewish and Graeco-Roman Culture: Using Insights from Cultural Studies

*Catherine Hezser*

The term “knowledge economy” and the investigation of knowledge systems and networks has become an important part of the sociological study of modern societies in recent years. Many of these studies are based on contemporary social media (internet, mobile phones) and the ways in which they innovated information exchange.<sup>1</sup> The term is broad enough to be applicable to many aspects of the use, transfer, and innovation of knowledge within society in areas such as education, finance, and governance.<sup>2</sup> When used as a heuristic term, knowledge economies can also be identified and studied in ancient societies. Various types and forms of knowledge were generated, circulated, and exchanged among Jews and between Jews and non-Jews in Roman Palestine in late antiquity. This knowledge was always context-specific, changeable, and adaptable to new circumstances.

In the past, Jewish culture in the Land of Israel in the first five centuries C.E. has often been juxtaposed to and compared with Graeco-Roman and early Byzantine culture as if the two were distinct entities that encountered, clashed with, or influenced each other. The notion of “knowledge economy” allows us to study the knowledge that was generated in Roman Palestine as a whole. I shall explore how insights from Cultural Studies may help us to go beyond the imagined Jewish/Graeco-Roman dichotomy. Although approaches within Cultural Studies usually focus on modern societies, there are sufficient similarities in social and cultural processes that allow us to explore ancient societies under similar parameters.

The first such context is empire-building. The Roman conquest of territories with its subsequent creation of provinces that were linked to the Roman Empire, yet, at the same time, independent in some regards, is comparable to modern empire-building, as in the cases of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. How did the culture in the integrated territories change after they became part of a larger political unit? Can we distinguish between various native or national cultures that

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1 See, e.g., Paul Cunningham et al. (eds.), *Building the Knowledge Economy: Issues, Applications, Case Studies*, Amsterdam 2003.

2 Isabel Salavisa and Margarida Fontes (eds.), *Social Networks, Innovation and the Knowledge Economy*, Abingdon and New York 2012; Rob Cross et al. (eds.), *Networks in the Knowledge Economy*, Oxford 2003.

co-existed with an over-arching empire-wide international culture, or did political integration lead to cultural changes in the conquered territory?

The second context is the question of cultural attraction. What are the reasons behind the attractiveness of some aspects of a culture for non-natives? Even apart from political conquest, associations of political dominance and power associated with certain cultural outputs may play a role. In this regard, the impact of American culture on European cultures after World War II can be compared to Hellenization in antiquity. A few exceptions notwithstanding, in both cases attraction rather than compulsion seems to have governed the adoption of new practices and ideas.

The third context is the modern notion of cultural “hybridity”. Is it possible to apply such a concept to ancient societies? Which aspects of Jewish culture would have been hybrid? To what extent did regional and social differences in hybridity exist? What would have been the impact of such differences on knowledge transfer, interaction, and communication between individuals and groups within society? In modern societies, hybridity is linked to mobility, education, and urban contexts. Were these aspects also relevant in antiquity, and how so? How would rabbis in Roman Palestine, that is, local Jewish intellectuals, fit into such a scheme?

### 1 Empire-Building and Cultural Change

From the late fourth century B.C.E. onwards, Jews in the Land of Israel became part of the Hellenistic and afterwards the Roman Empire. While the amount of political self-determination would have varied – periods of direct dominance by foreign rulers were interrupted by periods of quasi-independence under Hasmonean and Herodian rule – throughout this period Jews were in direct contact with Greek and Roman culture, which they adopted, assimilated, integrated, rejected, and rebelled against in various ways and to various degrees. Greek and Roman culture was present in the form of persons (Greeks and Romans who sojourned in the territory), institutions (such as temples, theatres and amphitheatres, gymnasia, bathhouses, courts, archives, philosophical, legal, and rhetorical schools), and artefacts (e.g., statues, wall paintings, pottery, imported food, wine, and spices; jewelry, amulets). It could be heard (e.g., in conversations, theatre plays, rumours, public speeches), seen (e.g., in artistic displays, pantomimes, observed customs and practices), smelled (e.g., foods, market displays), and touched (e.g., statues, textiles, experiences in bathhouses). At least for those Jews who lived in Jerusalem and the so-called Hellenistic cities in Second Temple times and in cities such as Caesarea, Bet She’an (Scythopolis) Sepphoris, and Tiberias in Late Roman times, Graeco-Roman culture would have been all-pervasive and part of their everyday life experience.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Aryeh Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 BCE–70 CE)*, Tübingen 1990, p. vii, has already pointed out in his “Foreword” that “Eretz-Israel has never been inhabited in the entirety by a single nation”. In both First and Second Temple times, under Jewish sovereignty and foreign rule, Jews would have lived alongside members of other ethnic groups. On rabbis

The editors of the volume, *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, have emphasized that these larger political systems “powerfully transformed the lives of people [...] in ways quite different from other, non-imperial societies” and therefore “invite comparative analysis”.<sup>4</sup> Even if Graeco-Roman culture was not enforced on the conquered people, it would have been associated with power, wealth, and sophistication, whereas regional traditions might have been associated with localism, submission, and inferiority. Power would have been embodied in public officials, publicly posted decrees, and military presence. Wealth was evident in the building works. Sophistication involved infrastructure, architecture, and technological changes such as the creation of urban centres; road networks, and harbours. It also concerned education, Greek *paideia*, represented by schools that offered rhetorical, philosophical, and legal instruction to provincials of a high social status who aspired to participate in empire-wide upper-class conversations.

As far as personal identity is concerned, locals’ identity would be based on a variety of parameters such as gender, ethnic origin, education, wealth, office, profession. Loyalties extended to families and neighbours as well as to villages and cities. For example, both patronyms and places appear in the identification of rabbis and non-rabbis in rabbinic sources. People could and did combine several types of identity. They were both Judaeans and Hellenes, citizens of Tiberias and Romans, rabbis and aristocrats. Wealthy urbanites would have combined local and supra-local identities, identifying themselves with their provincial cities as well as with the Hellenistic or Roman Empire at large.<sup>5</sup> The imperial administrative structure enabled them to expand their businesses. As Greek speakers they benefited from Greek educational opportunities. Network relations to fellow-aristocrats opened them and their children doors into the empire-wide upper classes. The correspondence between a fourth-century Jewish patriarch and the rhetorician Libanius, with whom the patriarch’s son allegedly studied, are an example of such beneficial connections.<sup>6</sup>

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and urbanization in the Roman period see Hayim Lapin, “Rabbis and Cities in Later Roman Palestine: The Literary Evidence”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50 (1999), pp. 187–207; idem, “Rabbis and Cities: Some Aspects of the Rabbinic Movement in its Graeco-Roman Environment”, in: *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, vol. 2, ed. by Peter Schäfer and Catherine Hezser, Tübingen 2000, pp. 51–80; Aharon Oppenheimer, “Urbanisation and City Territories in Roman Palestine”, in: idem, *Between Rome and Babylon: Studies in Jewish Leadership and Society*, Tübingen 2005, pp. 30–46; Jürgen Zangenberg, “Urbanization”, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. by Catherine Hezser, Oxford 2010, pp. 165–88.

- 4 Susan E. Alcock et al. (eds.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* Cambridge 2001, p. i.
- 5 On the combination of various identity markers, especially as far as wealthy urbanites are concerned, see Susan E. Alcock, “Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire”, in: *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. by Susan E. Alcock et al., Cambridge 2001, p. 345.
- 6 English translations of these letters are published in Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2: *From Tacitus to Simplicius*, Jerusalem 1980, pp. 589–97. For a discussion see Martin Jacobs, *Die Institution des jüdischen Patriarchen. Eine quellen- und traditionsskritische Studie zur Geschichte der Juden in der Spätantike*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 259–72.

Carla Sinopoli has pointed to the diversity of non-elites and their varied responses to empire: “For some, empires provided possibilities for social and economic enhancement”, e.g., through “production of valued resources”.<sup>7</sup> For others, empire might have meant displacement, enslavement, and heavy taxation. Although most rabbis would not have belonged to the land-owning upper strata of Palestinian Jewish society, as Jewish intellectuals they seem to have been eager to present themselves as equal to Graeco-Roman scholars. Even if they did not directly acknowledge it, they seem to have fashioned themselves in analogy to Graeco-Roman intellectuals, especially philosophers and jurists, in various regards.<sup>8</sup>

Rabbis would have benefited from the Roman expansion of the road network, which increased their mobility and enabled them to establish inter-regional network connections with like-minded Torah scholars elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> By the third century C.E. this mobility of Palestinian rabbis to Babylonia, probably primarily for business reasons, had enabled the spread of the rabbinic propagation of Torah study into Sasanian Persia.<sup>10</sup> Palestinian rabbis were able to find students and adherents among the Babylonian Jewish population, some of whom then decided to relocate to Roman Palestine to study with them. When they eventually returned to Babylonia they would not only bring their newly acquired Torah expertise with them, but also often returned to their homeland with the knowledge of Graeco-Roman culture they had gained in Palestine.

When focusing on the opportunities and experiences that the Hellenization and Romanization of Palestine brought about, the question arises whether the integration of the Land of Israel into these larger cultural and political realms may have been beneficial for some Jews in some regards. This is a complex question that has also been posed in connection with modern colonial empires. To what extent is empire-building negative and to what extent can it have partly positive consequences for the regions that are subjected to imperial rule? May all or some sectors of the population benefit from their incorporation into larger empires at least in some regards? Are changes that result from imperialism sometimes positive for regional developments? On the one hand, the seizure of land, exploitation of the poor, and heavy taxation would have had a negative effect on the Jewish population. On the other hand, the Hellenistic and Roman conquests widened

7 Carla Sinopoli, “Imperial Integration and Imperial Subjects”, in: *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. by Susan E. Alcock, Cambridge 2001, p. 199.

8 See Catherine Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language: Rabbinic Body Language: Non-Verbal Communication in Palestinian Rabbinic Literature of Late Antiquity*, Leiden and Boston 2017; eadem, “The Codification of Legal Knowledge in Late Antiquity: The Talmud Yerushalmi and Roman Law Codes”, in: *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, vol. 1, ed. by Peter Schäfer, Tübingen 1998, pp. 583–5; eadem, “Guidelines for the Ideal Way of Life: Rabbinic Halakhah and Hellenistic Practical Ethics”, in: *From Strength to Strength: Essays in Honor of Shaye J.D. Cohen*, ed. by Michael Satlow, Providence 2018, pp. 389–404.

9 See the overview in Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Travel in Antiquity*, Tübingen 2011, pp. 54–88.

10 Catherine Hezser, “Crossing Enemy Lines: Network Connections Between Palestinian and Babylonian Sages in Late Antiquity”, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 46 (2015), pp. 224–50.



local people's horizons and introduced them to new languages (Greek and Latin), areas of knowledge, architectural techniques, food, wine, and material culture that they would not have encountered otherwise.

When focusing on the Roman Empire and its impact on Jews in Palestine after the two revolts, that is, from the later second century C.E. onwards, the so-called *Pax Romana* is noteworthy.<sup>11</sup> The *Pax Romana* brought "relative peace and stability" to Roman Palestine.<sup>12</sup> This was the heyday of the Palestinian rabbinic movement, when rabbis were able to establish themselves as the foremost Jewish religious leaders, with legal practices that resembled the adjudication of Roman jurists,<sup>13</sup> and disciple circles including sophists and philosophers.<sup>14</sup> Rabbinic study was introduced as a particularly Jewish type of higher education that substituted for Homer and Vergil the Jewish biblical heritage.<sup>15</sup> While rabbis may have rejected Graeco-Roman mythology, with which the provincial population became familiar through temples, statues, and theatre performances, as well as non-kosher food and libation wine, some aspects of Graeco-Roman culture seem to have been viewed positively and were imitated and adapted.<sup>16</sup> Namely, these aspects related to intellectual culture and scholarship. As Richard Hidary has shown in his recent study, many similarities between rabbinic, sophistic, and rhetorical study and public presentation can be found in rabbinic literary sources.<sup>17</sup> He points out correctly that "the definition of 'influence' of one group upon another must be broadened to include borrowing, rejecting, adopting, adapting, subverting, converting, combating and combining".<sup>18</sup> A similar claim can be made for rabbinic halakhic discussions in comparison with Roman civil law. Many halakhic rules found in Palestinian rabbinic documents cannot be understood properly without

11 On the *Pax Romana* see Adrian Goldsworthy, *Pax Romana: War, Peace and Conquest in the Roman World*, New Haven, 2016.

12 Richard A. Gabriel, "Review of Adrian Goldsworthy, *Pax Romana: War, Peace and Conquest in the Roman World*, by Adrian Goldsworthy, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2016", *HistoryNet*, available at: <http://www.historynet.com/book-review-pax-romana.htm>, accessed 2 June 2018.

13 See Jill Harries, "Courts and the Judicial System", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. by Catherine Hezser, Oxford 2010, pp. 90–95.

14 Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, pp. 102–6.

15 See Catherine Hezser, "The Torah versus Homer: Jewish and Greco-Roman Education in Late Roman Palestine", in: *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, ed. by Matthew R. Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts, London 2016, pp. 5–24.

16 On temples see Nicole Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina: The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine, Second to Fourth Century*, Tübingen 2001; Emmanuel Friedheim, *Rabbanisme et paganisme en Palestine Romaine: Étude historique des Realia talmudiques (Ier-IVème siècles)*, Leiden 2004. On statues see Yaron Z. Eliav, "Roman Statues, Rabbis, and Graeco-Roman Culture," in: *Jewish Literatures and Cultures: Context and Intertext*, ed. by Yaron Eliav and Anita Norich, Providence 2008, pp. 99–115. On theatre performances see Zeev Weiss, *Public Spectacles in Roman and Late Antique Palestine*, Cambridge, MA 2014.

17 Richard Hidary, *Rabbis and Classical Rhetoric: Sophistic Education and Oratory in the Talmud and Midrash*, Cambridge 2018.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

the broader discursive context of Roman law.<sup>19</sup> It was only in this broader context of Hellenism and Romanization that Palestinian rabbis were able to establish themselves as Jewish intellectuals who preserved the Jewish biblical heritage by adopting Graeco-Roman forms of jurisdiction, moral reasoning, oral dispute, transmission of traditions, and written anthologies.

## 2 The Attractions of Politically Dominant Cultures

What makes some cultures so attractive that those who did not grow up in them nevertheless want to be part of them? An example of such a process is the Americanization of Europe after World War II, which also produced resistance and anti-American sentiments. After the Second World War and especially from the 1960s onwards, American culture “invaded” European societies and was eagerly adopted by young people. As Alexander Stephan has pointed out, “... postwar Europe would not be the same without the ubiquitous presence of America”, although for some countries such as Germany, America had been the enemy nation until then.<sup>20</sup>

Like American culture, Greek culture was not forcefully imposed on Jews and other ethnic groups. The very term Hellenism, as coined by Johann Gustav Droysen, denotes a merger between Greek and various regional Near Eastern cultures and seems to imply that the local adoption and integration happened voluntarily.<sup>21</sup> Droysen saw Hellenistic Judaism as the seedbed of Christianity, an idea that Martin Hengel expanded in his work, *Judaism and Hellenism*.<sup>22</sup> What neither Droysen nor Hengel were interested or expert in is rabbinic Judaism. That even post-70 Judaism could be Hellenistic escaped their attention. Like Roman culture itself, in which the Hellenistic impact continued to play a significant role, especially as far as education, philosophy, and art are concerned,<sup>23</sup> rabbinic Judaism is unlikely to have developed in the way it did without the prior experience of centuries of Hellenism.

Rabbis’ embeddedness in Hellenistic culture did not only concern loanwords and literary forms, which Saul Lieberman, Henry Fischel, and Samuel Krauss

19 See Catherine Hezser, “Did Palestinian Rabbis Know Roman Law? Methodological Considerations and Case Studies”, forthcoming in: *Mélanges. Ecole Française de Rome*.

20 Alexander Stephan, “Cold War Alliances and the Emergence of Transatlantic Competition: An Introduction”, in: *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*, ed. by Alexander Stephan, New York/Oxford 2006, p. 1.

21 On Droysen’s positive understanding of Hellenism as a creative development that prevented Greek classical culture’s decline see Robert Southard, *Droysen and the Prussian School of History*, Lexington 1995, pp. 11–2. The first German-language volume of Droysen’s *Geschichte des Hellenismus* appeared in 1833 (*Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*).

22 On Droysen and Christianity see Paul Cartledge, “Introduction”, in: *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, ed. by Paul Cartledge et al., Berkeley 1997, pp. 2–3.

23 See Geoff W. Adams, *The Roman Emperor Gaius ‘Caligula’ and His Hellenistic Aspirations*, Boca Raton 2007, pp. 26–7. On Greek and Hellenistic philosophy in the Roman Empire see Peter Adamson, *Philosophy in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, Oxford 2015, p. 145: “... Rome itself played host to many a philosopher, including those who spoke and wrote in Greek”. Obviously, Hellenistic philosophy also continued in the Near East in Roman times.

have investigated in the past.<sup>24</sup> It concerned the very notion of the *hakham* or wise man, surrounded by a circle of students, who personified the cultural tradition of the past and adapted it to new circumstances.<sup>25</sup> Rabbis' self-styling as Jewish intellectuals in accordance with the Hellenistic philosophical model involved clothing (the *tallit* equalled the *pallium*), hairstyles (statues and busts of Graeco-Roman thinkers always include the beard), demeanor (walking and talking, followed by students/clients), the dual modes of seated teaching and *perambulatio*, the interpretation of an ancient base text (the Torah instead of Homer), and the dispute form as the main literary form in which rabbinic thinking is presented in the documents, to name only a few aspects of this cultural assimilation.<sup>26</sup>

Even if rabbis do not mention specific philosophers, sophists, jurists, and rhetoricians, they must have been familiar with their comportment and impressed by their scholarly reputation. Joseph Geiger has shown that Graeco-Roman intellectuals were present in the so-called Hellenistic cities of Palestine from the first century B.C.E. onwards.<sup>27</sup> Robert Hidary has argued for the "widespread presence of rhetoric in Palestine during the first century C.E." already, as evidenced by the employment of rhetoric by Josephus and in the New Testament.<sup>28</sup> As informal legal adjudicators jurists would have functioned in the major cities such as Caesarea.<sup>29</sup> The Greek-speaking intellectuals who sojourned in Palestine would have been mobile and visible at various locations except, perhaps, the rural areas.

Although the majority of rabbis, who did not belong to the upper strata of society and had not received a Greek education, are unlikely to have known the details of these intellectuals' philosophical and legal views or rhetorical theories, they would have been able to observe their ways of walking and talking in the street and marketplace, the ways in which lay-people talked about and venerated them, their learned discourse and disputes with colleagues and students, and the advice they gave to all those who approached them. Rabbis would have known that these intellectuals considered themselves superior to the so-called unlearned

24 Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E. – IV Century C.E.*, 2nd ed. New York 1962; Henry A. Fischel, *Essays in Greco-Roman and Related Talmudic Literature*, New York 1977; Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum*, Hildesheim 1964.

25 Catherine Hezser, "Interfaces Between Rabbinic Literature and Graeco-Roman Philosophy", in: *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, vol. 2, ed. by Peter Schäfer and Catherine Hezser, Tübingen 2000, pp. 162–6: "The Social Phenomenon of the Sage".

26 For a more detailed discussion of these similarities see Hezser, *Body Language*, pp. 26–33 (walking and talking), pp. 41–51 (*pallium*); pp. 51–63 (beard), pp. 102–6 (study sessions). On the importance of dispute in Hellenistic and rabbinic culture see Simon Goldhill (ed.), *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, Cambridge 2008.

27 Joseph Geiger, "The Athens of Syria: On Greek Intellectuals in Gadara" [Hebr.], *Cathedra* 35 (1985), pp. 3–16; idem, "Greek Intellectuals of Ascalon" [Hebr.], *Cathedra* 60 (1991), pp. 5–16; idem, "Greek Rhetoricians in Eretz Israel" [Hebr.], *Cathedra* 66 (1992), pp. 47–56; idem, *Hellenism in the East: Studies on Greek intellectuals in Palestine*, Stuttgart 2014.

28 Hidary, *Rabbis*, pp. 9–10.

29 Harries, "Courts", pp. 86–95.

and that they were seen as repositories of the most important and advanced areas of knowledge that Graeco-Roman society had to offer. Rabbis may also have been aware of these intellectuals' criticism of popular mythology and their tendency to view Zeus as the highest God.<sup>30</sup> Such notions would have separated them from the allegedly idolatrous practices of the common people and made it easier for rabbis to use them as (unacknowledged) role models.

While other Jews may have been attracted to Dionysiac festivals and theatre performances,<sup>31</sup> rabbis positioned themselves within the intellectual culture of Roman Palestine that evolved out of centuries of Greek intellectual presence in the region.<sup>32</sup> Their combination of theory and practice as well as their emphasis on self-control resembled Stoic guidance.<sup>33</sup> Their development of halakhah in areas of civil law, adjudication practices, and transmission of case stories came close to Roman jurists' activities.<sup>34</sup> Many of their forms of argumentation and dispute find counterparts in Graeco-Roman rhetorical and sophistic theory.<sup>35</sup>

What determines the attractiveness of parts of a culture for non-natives? Generally speaking, the cultural "products" must be readily available, able to beat the competition, and either subvert or adapt to local tastes. Official governmental support has ambiguous consequences: it can either help distribute and propagate its products or create a sentiment of revulsion amongst locals.<sup>36</sup> The Graeco-Roman cultural "products" that became widely available in Roman Palestine from the first century onwards were entertainment venues in the form of theatres, amphitheatres, hippodromes, and bathhouses, that offered cheap entertainment and socializing for the masses. In view of the scarcity of other leisure time options that were as fanciful, loud, uplifting, and open to everyone, the attractiveness of mime and pantomime performances, chariot races, gladiatorial fights, mock sea battles, physical exercise activities, games, and bath-related prostitution is not surprising. Despite rabbis' repeated admonitions to their fellow-Jews to visit synagogues and study houses instead of theatres and circuses, the attractiveness of Graeco-Roman

30 On Stoic theology see P.A. Meijer, *Stoic Theology: Proofs for the Existence of the Cosmic God and of the Traditional Gods, Including a Commentary on Cleantes' Hymn on Zeus*, Delft 2007.

31 See Weiss, *Public Spectacles*, pp. 200–8: "Jewish Attendance at the Roman Public Spectacles—Rabbinic Dicta vs. Communal Practice"; Catherine Hezser, "Towards the Study of Jewish Popular Culture in Roman Palestine", in: *The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious' (Qoh 10,12): Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. by Mauro Perani, Berlin/New York 2003, pp. 273–82.

32 See Catherine Hezser, "Rabbis as Intellectuals in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Christian Scholasticism", in: *Scholastic Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras: Greek, Latin, and Jewish*, ed. by Sean Adams, Berlin/New York 2019.

33 Catherine Hezser, "Self-Control in a World Controlled by Others: Palestinian Rabbinic 'Asceticism' in Late Antiquity", *Religions in the Roman Empire* 4 (2018), pp. 9–27.

34 Hezser, "Codification of Legal Knowledge", pp. 581–641.

35 Hidary, *Rabbis*, passim.

36 Günter Bischof, "Two Sides of the Coin: The Americanization of Austria and Austrian Anti-Americanism", in: *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*, ed. by Alexander Stephan, New York and Oxford 2006, p. 165.

popular culture for Palestinian Jews can be considered uncontested. Everyone who lived in some proximity to these venues would have attended the staged events. That these performances familiarized the local population with Graeco-Roman mythology and the ever-present emperor-cult was probably the main reason for their introduction in the provinces and their financial support by the Roman authorities. They elicited the (probably ineffective) outrage of rabbis who may have attended some of these events themselves.

While Graeco-Roman popular culture would have been absorbed by the Jewish masses, the high culture of intellectual pursuits would have been something that upwardly mobile provincials would have been aspiring to. This would have concerned the acquisition of Greek *paideia* among the upper strata of Jewish society. Greek *paideia* linked local elites to their counterparts elsewhere in the Roman Empire. As Richard Miles has pointed out, "The Graeco-Roman élite, wherever they lived within the Roman empire, considered that through education they were linked with one another in a universal brotherhood ... This sense of shared culture and identity ... served to generate and reinforce power".<sup>37</sup> Josephus and the early third-century C.E. patriarch R. Yehudah ha-Nasi can be considered examples of wealthy Jewish aristocrats who possessed Greek learning and participated in this empire-wide culture.

Ordinary rabbis, on the other hand, seem to have mostly belonged to the middle strata of society. At least this is the impression that references to rabbis' professions in amoraic texts provide.<sup>38</sup> Members of the middle strata of society tend to imitate the mores of the upper classes without being actually considered their equals.<sup>39</sup> In his book on *The Ancient Middle Classes*, Emanuel Mayer has illustrated the middle classes' aspiration to emulate and imitate the behaviour and lifestyle of the upper strata of Roman society.<sup>40</sup> Obviously, due to a lack of sufficient resources, they could do so only on a smaller scale. This tendency to imitate the élite is evident, for example, in the way in which the more moderate houses are decorated with wall paintings. It is also evident in funerary portraits in which the probably illiterate carry book rolls and writing tablets. As Paul Zanker has shown, "the widespread adoption of the imagery of *paideia* on the funerary reliefs", which "are preserved in large numbers", indicates "the central importance of philosophy,

37 Richard Miles, "Communicating culture, identity and power", in: *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. by Janet Huskinson, London 2000, p. 48.

38 On rabbis' social statuses see Catherine Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*, Tübingen 1997, p. 257–66. For second-century C.E. rabbis see Shaye J.D. Cohen, "The Place of the Rabbi in the Jewish Society of the Second Century", in: idem, *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, Tübingen 2010, pp. 282–96, who assumes that in tannaitic times rabbis belonged to the élite.

39 See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2008.

40 Emanuel Mayer, *The Ancient Middle Classes. Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100 BCE – 250 CE*, Cambridge, MA, and London 2012, p. 47.

scholarship, and learning” in ancient society of the first centuries C.E.<sup>41</sup> In funerary portraits men are presented as “thinkers”, “with the head propped up on one hand”.<sup>42</sup> The Roman fresco of a young woman holding a stylus and a wax tablet, found in a house in Pompeii, is well-known.<sup>43</sup> Such depictions do not tell us anything about the actual education or literacy of these individuals. They rather indicate the wide-spread aspiration to be counted among the learned strata of society.

Whereas rabbis were probably not interested in adorning their houses with Roman-style wall-paintings, they clearly admired the life-style of Graeco-Roman intellectuals, who belonged to the upper strata of society. Rather than having themselves portrayed with a book roll, they engaged in study and attracted disciples who could compensate for slaves in the public realm. Rabbis’ comportment in public was of crucial importance for gaining recognition as scholars in late antique society.<sup>44</sup> By walking and talking like philosophers, by wrapping themselves in philosophers’ cloaks, surrounding themselves with disciples, and advising lay people in public, by looking down on the “unlearned” and upholding the value of scholarship, that is, by fashioning themselves as particularly Jewish types of intellectuals, rabbis participated in the late antique aspiration for learning and veneration of the wise.

### 3 Ancient Judaism and Cultural Hybridity

Like all cultures that develop in contact with other cultures, ancient Judaism can serve as an example of cultural hybridity. The notion of cultural hybridity was introduced by Homi Bhabha in connection with colonialism. In his book, *The Location of Culture*, he argues that contacts between the colonizers and the colonized subjects, especially the subalterns, lead to hybrid identities.<sup>45</sup> Resistance to and appropriation of aspects of the dominating culture can be considered two sides of one and the same coin. In the more than two decades since the publication of Bhabha’s programmatic essay, the study of cultural hybridity has become more complex and was carried forward by other scholars.<sup>46</sup> Scholars increasingly look at both sides of a cultural encounter and include pre-modern societies in hybridity studies.<sup>47</sup>

41 Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995, p. 190.

42 Ibid. p. 192.

43 See the image at <https://www.ancient.eu/image/3840/> (5 June 2018).

44 Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, pp. 252–4.

45 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Abingdon and New York 1994, p. 172.

46 See, for example, Pnina Werbner and Tariq Moodod (eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, London 1997; Joel Kuortti and Jopi Nyman (eds.), *Reconstructing Hybridity: Post-Colonial Studies in Transition*, Amsterdam and New York 2007; Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman (eds.), *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, Abingdon/New York 2017. Numerous studies that examine particular modern and pre-modern societies under this rubric have been published since the 1990s.

47 E.g., Phillip Myers, “Hybridity and the Ancient Western Mediterranean”, in: *Hybridity: Law, Culture and Development*, ed. by Nicolas Lemay-Hébert and Rosa Freedman, Abingdon/New

At times and places where people from different ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds encounter each other, the notion of clearly definable and bounded ethnic or national identities can hardly be maintained. Ancient societies were not less hybrid than modern ones, although widespread globalization and the ease of internet communication and travel have increased. The possibility of contact with people located beyond one's family and local sphere. In ancient cities such as Alexandria, Rome, and Caesarea people of many different ethnic, religious, and cultural origins lived side-by-side and interacted with each other in daily life. Such interactions would have left their mark on their identities and the environment. We can therefore expect to find hybrid identities, hybrid artefacts, hybrid architectural styles, hybrid institutions, and hybrid practices in Roman Palestine.<sup>48</sup>

Obviously, cultural hybridity needs to be understood as a spectrum rather than a concept with a fixed meaning. The frequency, range, and quality of the contacts determine the degree and nature of hybridity. A set of people that separates itself from its surroundings and has only few and superficial contacts with others, such as Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) Jews nowadays, is much less hybrid than people who live close to and frequently interact with those of other ethnic and religious backgrounds. Even those who separate themselves from society and embark on a life in the desert, however, such as members of the Qumran community and the Egyptian desert monks, would have spent parts of their life amongst "ordinary" people and would continue to meet them for instruction and advice. Therefore, these communities would also be more or less hybrid, irrespective of whether the members perceived themselves as such.

As far as ancient Judaism is concerned, Michael Peppard has suggested that the concept of hybridity may help understand the relation between names and ethnic identities in the inscriptions from Bet She'arim.<sup>49</sup> He argues "that the onomastic data from Beth She'arim allow us to see a part of Galilee in late antiquity that was ethnically characterized by hybridity".<sup>50</sup> Therefore "a conception of late antique Jewish ethnicity as a well-defined, uniform, and already given category" must be dismissed.<sup>51</sup> Daniel Boyarin has used the term hybridity in connection with the blurred boundaries between Jews and Christians in the second century, and the Ebionites in particular.<sup>52</sup> With regard to the Ebionites, James Carleton Paget writes:

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York 2017, pp. 105–121; John and Erica Hedges, *Creolised Bodies and Hybrid Identities: Examining the Early Roman Period in Essex and Hertfordshire*, Oxford 2006; the contributions in Katerina Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Abingdon and New York 2008.

48 On these varieties of hybridity see Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, Cambridge 2009, ch. 1: "Varieties of Object".

49 Michael Peppard, "Personal Names and Ethnic Hybridity in Late Ancient Galilee", in: *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, ed. by Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin, Tübingen 2007, pp. 100–1.

50 *Ibid.* p. 106.

51 *Ibid.*

52 Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Philadelphia 2004, pp. 14–6.

“It is the hybridity of the sect that Epiphanius opposes and he locates that, at least in part, in the attempt to mix what he sees as Judaism and Christianity”.<sup>53</sup> With Ivan Marcus one may argue that “Jewish hybridity characterizes much of ancient Jewish history [...] Hybridity also characterized some Jews who lived under direct Roman administrative rule from the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. to the middle of the fourth Christian century”.<sup>54</sup>

Unlike ultra-Orthodox circles nowadays, ancient rabbis were not interested in separating themselves from their environment and in preserving the ancestral tradition as a fixed and unchangeable entity. On the contrary, they fully participated in daily life in a Roman province and adapted – and thereby renewed and innovated – traditional practices and beliefs to contemporary circumstances. One may therefore argue that rabbinic Judaism itself is a hybrid form of Judaism, based on both resistance against and adaptation of Graeco-Roman forms of argumentation, ways of thinking, identity formation, and problem-solving that are merged with the “indigenous”, but also already hybrid, biblical tradition.

Interestingly, different degrees of explicitness pertain to the ways in which rabbis rejected, accommodated to, and adopted Graeco-Roman cultural practices. In rabbinic literary sources certain “idolatrous” religious customs are explicitly rejected, whereas others are ignored, side-lined, or reinterpreted. Graeco-Roman institutions could be frequented (e.g., bathhouses), criticised (e.g., theatres), or taken for granted (e.g., courts, administration). Aspects of Graeco-Roman higher education could be imitated (e.g., oral disputes, seated sessions and *perambulatio*), while the content was different. Rabbis could present themselves as particularly Jewish exemplars of ancient intellectuals without mentioning Graeco-Roman philosophers by name. They could give legal advice and devise legal rules like Roman jurists without having attended Roman law schools. The provincial context enabled rabbis to transform Judaism into a Graeco-Roman scholastic tradition while at the same time remaining truthful to Judaism’s Near Eastern roots.

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<sup>53</sup> James Carleton Paget, *Jews, Christians and Jewish Christians in Antiquity*, Tübingen 2010, p. 373.

<sup>54</sup> Ivan G. Marcus, *The Jewish Life Cycle: Rites of Passage from Biblical to Modern Times*, Seattle and London 2004, p. 6.



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# Epistemic Territories

## Dynamics of Knowledge in the Early Modern Republic of Letters

Linda Gennies, Martin Urmann, Anna Laqua, Helge Wendt

### 1 Introduction

In its study of knowledge change in selected premodern cultures from Europe and beyond, the Research Center 'Episteme in Motion' seeks to transcend the modern conception of premodern knowledge as static and dominated by tradition. We argue that premodern knowledge underwent constant change and that it could, in fact, be highly self-reflective and even conscious of its temporal and historical character. These features have often been neglected by modern scholars who either take for granted the premodern cultures' self-descriptions as traditional or – in the case of the early modern knowledge systems central to this paper – who work with historiographical concepts such as "rupture" or "revolution".<sup>1</sup> Thus, hybrid forms of knowledge and entanglements in complex processes of epistemic change have been overlooked or unduly simplified by being labelled as *either* 'traditional' or 'novel'.

In order to analyse the complex constellations of knowledge change, the Research Center has employed the term 'transfer', re-defining it as a fundamental *re-contextualization of knowledge* rather than as a mere replacement of earlier epistemic forms by new ones, or a direct movement of knowledge content from A to B.<sup>2</sup> The notion of transfer seeks to reveal the internal dynamics of knowledge change instead of simply describing situations of bi- or multilateral exchange. The term

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1 See for example H. Floris Cohen, *The Scientific Revolution. A Historiographical Inquiry*, Chicago/London 1994, especially the introduction with further references on the classical concept of the 'scientific revolution'; Alfred Rupert Hall, *The Revolution in Science. 1500–1750*, London 1989 [1954]; Michael Hunter, *Archives of the Scientific Revolution. The Formation and Exchange of Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Woodbridge 1998. The notion of a 'rupture' or 'revolution' however has been criticized by historians of science for over twenty years. See for example Peter Dear, *Discipline & Experience. The Mathematical Way in the Scientific Revolution*, Chicago 1995; Robert S. Westman, *The Copernican Question. Prognostication, Skepticism, and Celestial Order*, Berkeley 2011. For another critique of this notion see William E. Burns, *The Scientific Revolution in Global Perspective*, New York/Oxford 2016, Arun Bala, *The Dialogue of Civilizations in the Birth of Modern Science*, New York 2006 and Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution*, Chicago 1996.

2 For this notion of transfer see Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, "Institution – Iteration – Transfer. Zur Einführung", in: *Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, Wiesbaden 2015 (Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 1), pp. 1–13.

'economies of knowledge', then, is precisely meant to understand the entangled and reciprocal transfer of premodern knowledge, which freely transgresses the boundaries of epistemic structures conventionally believed to be clearly separated, for example, scholasticism and humanism. By speaking of *economies of knowledge*, we essentially aim at overcoming such clear-cut differences and at finding less pure but more complex notions and descriptions of the intricate entanglements of knowledge forms, such as deductive reasoning, scientific experimentation and practical experience.

The present paper is the product of a collaboration between scholars of the Research Center, all of which work on different areas of the early modern period. The term *epistemic territories*, then, is the preliminary result of this cross-project work on connections, hybridizations and demarcations of forms of knowledge in the early modern period. The four case studies discussed below bring into focus the powerful processes of inclusion and exclusion as well as the various epistemic demarcations which shape the (self)descriptions of premodern agents. However, with the concept of *epistemic territories*, we are not aiming at the restoration of clearly separated epistemic structures in premodern cultures. Rather, the study of the necessarily exclusionary acts of self-identification and affiliation with a certain scholarly group or epistemic practice is meant to complement the concept of *economies of knowledge*. The notion of epistemic territories is to be conceived as an analytical tool for unveiling the deep structures of processes of knowledge transfer and change in premodern cultures. We understand epistemic territories as contact zones where entanglements and exchanges of knowledge occur both in spite of and as a function of supposedly clear-cut epistemic identities.<sup>3</sup> As premodern agents and early historians define their area of expertise and identify the epistemic objects and practices belonging to it, they create an apparent reality which interferes with the dynamic transfer and recontextualization processes of the underlying economies of knowledge.

A very influential binary opposition in the study of early modern learning is the confrontation between "traditional" text knowledge, such as dialectics and rhetoric, on the one hand, and "future oriented" empirical knowledge based on the observation of nature on the other.<sup>4</sup> The latter especially has been described as the chief concern of early modern academies, which, despite their origins in the Italian language academies of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, would have found their true destination in the scientific academies of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and in a factual, conflict-free form of rational discourse.<sup>5</sup> However, the study of one of the ma-

3 Cf. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zones", in *Profession* (1991), pp. 33–40 and Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity", in: *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000), pp. 1–47.

4 See Robert Mandrou, *Des humanistes aux hommes de science (XVI<sup>ème</sup> et XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1973; Simone Mazaauric, *Savoirs et philosophie à Paris dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1997.

5 See James E. McClellan, *Science Reorganized. Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century*, New York 1985; Roger Hahn, "The Age of the Academies", in: *Solomon's House Revisited. The Organization and Institutionalization of Science*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr, Canton 1990, pp. 3–12.

major fields of activity in which academicians all across Europe spent an enormous amount of time actually points in a different direction. It reveals, as we shall see, that despite the modern self-fashioning of the academies, more traditional forms of debate persisted at these institutions of learning, a coexistence which led to specific epistemic amalgamations highly relevant in our context.

The example of different medical actors (physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, midwives and others) in 17<sup>th</sup>-century London illustrates the fact that early modernity was not a period in which the increasing importance of empiricism resulted in the complete displacement of scholarly knowledge and erudition. Even though the aforementioned actors undertook numerous endeavours to define what their, and only their, epistemic territory should be, on closer inspection here too there existed a unique coexistence of various forms of medical knowledge, including the scholarly and practical.

Similar observations can be made in the field of early modern grammar writing, where differing professional objectives – of scientifically oriented scholarly grammarians on the one hand and didactically oriented foreign language teachers on the other – led to the development of apparently separated epistemic traditions. On closer inspection, however, complex and dynamic processes of knowledge transfer and recontextualization come to light that refute the simplistic contrast between theoretical and use-oriented grammar writing.

The final chapter of the present article discusses the representation of past economies of Antique mathematical knowledge within historiographic works from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some late early modern scholars and philosophers began to reflect upon the territorial extension of knowledge circulation in the period of Thales, the so-called ‘father’ of Greek mathematics. Perspectives that were more nationalistic competed with interpretations that were more regional, which presumed a more or less important transfer of knowledge.

In the concluding remarks, finally, we want to reflect upon the notion of power within the concept of *epistemic territories*.

## 2 The Case of the Prize Contests of the French Academies

(Martin Urmann)

When it comes to the interplay of order and transgression inherent in early modern *economies of knowledge*, the prize questions of the French academies of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries offer a particularly instructive example. In fact, we are dealing with what has to be considered a popular medium of the republic of letters, and one that is, epistemically speaking, particularly hybrid in character. Especially from the 1720s on, the so called ‘concours académique’ became a widespread forum for intellectual exchange, appealing to more and more participants all over France (and beyond) as well as provoking vivid and, with Rousseau’s *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (1750), even scandalous debates. This broad appeal of the prize questions was due to the fact that the contests, judged on the basis of strict anonymity, were open to the general public without any restrictions based on social rank, gender,

wealth, or institutional membership.<sup>6</sup> This made the *concours académique* unique among the institutions of learning in early modern Europe. The number of participants also made it unique: by the time it was abolished during the French Revolution by the *Convention nationale* in 1793, the *concours académique* had mobilized over 12.000 participants in more than 2.300 different contests altogether.<sup>7</sup>

The origins of the genre date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the contests were established at the Académie française as poetry and eloquence prizes, awarded annually in one of the two categories from 1671 on. Contrary to what one might expect for a period of such far-reaching transformations of knowledge, the *concours académique* was first of all a medium of the panegyric on Louis XIV in the poetry contests and a forum for the discussion of traditional theological and moral topics in the case of the rhetorical prize questions. In fact, the latter were established at the Académie française as a 'devotion prize' (*prix de dévotion*) with a very narrow focus on subjects such as: 'On the disorders that overcome man when he does not devote himself solely to God and pays too much mind to worldly matters' (1675); or: 'On the purity of mind and body' (1677). The prize contest for the year 1681 even required a comment on, 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum'.<sup>8</sup>

As to the discourses submitted and indeed selected for the prizes, they took these rather conventional guidelines very seriously, both on a stylistic level and regarding the positions they advocated. The question for the contest of 1673, for example, was proposed in the form of a thesis to be defended: 'The science of salvation is opposed to vain and wicked knowledge and to lamentable and forbidden curiosities'. The winning contribution made a rather simple but vehement argument in favour of religious knowledge, which is praised in the starkest possible contrast to idle philosophical curiosity.<sup>9</sup>

From an epistemic point of view, both the form of the prize questions and the mode of argumentation in the discourses are highly significant. The submissions for the eloquence prizes actually reveal themselves as heavily influenced by both

6 Cf. Daniel Roche, *Le siècle des Lumières en province. Académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680–1789*, 2 vols, Paris 1978, vol. 1, pp. 324–355.

7 In comparison, the total number of academicians in France during the 18<sup>th</sup> century amounts to 6.000 male persons. For these figures see Jeremy L. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice. Academic Prize Contests and Intellectual Culture in France, 1670–1794*, Ithaca/London 2012, pp. 44–46.

8 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 26–32 and pp. 354–355 (Appendix F). Translations are my own if not indicated otherwise.

9 See my article, "Zwischen *prix de dévotion*, Wissensreflexion und Reformdiskurs. Die Preisfragen der französischen Akademien als literarische und epistemische Gattung und die Frage nach dem 'Jugement du Public' an der Akademie von Besançon aus dem Jahr 1756", in: *Aufklärung* 28 (2016), pp. 105–133, here pp. 117–119. There are some exceptions to this overall trend, especially the prize-winning texts by Mademoiselle de Scudéry ('De la gloire', 1671) and Fontenelle ('De la patience', 1687), which are of eminent philosophical and literary quality. But they must be considered as the exceptions to the rule of conservative rhetoric that is characteristic of the early rhetorical prize questions.



the rhetorical and the dialectical traditions of the question as an ‘epistemic genre’.<sup>10</sup> It is thus a technique of knowledge characteristic of scholasticism, of the *quaestio* and notably the practice of disputations at the universities, that strongly shapes the academic genre of the prize contests. In fact, the texts submitted to the early eloquence prizes all seek to defend a thesis by refuting the arguments put forward against it. In the end, a definitive answer is given to the question at stake. These epistemic continuities are all the more surprising as early modern academies actually presented themselves in strong opposition to the universities and reproved the old methods of the “schools”.<sup>11</sup> The prize questions show, however, that the rhetorical and dialectical tradition of agonistic debates about knowledge was still strong at the academies, despite the cooperative ideals of politeness and *honnêteté* they were eager to advocate.

Nevertheless, the 1720s mark a caesura in the development of the prize questions. It was then that new fields of knowledge were explored and that the range of subjects treated in the prize competitions started to increase considerably. This was above all due to the new disciplines of the *concours académique*, namely the scientific prize questions (established first at the Académie de Bordeaux in 1715 and then at the Académie royale des sciences in 1720) and the historical contests held at the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres as well as at the provincial academies. Especially the scientific competitions produced genuine contributions to contemporary research, as the numerous successes of the Bernoulli and the Euler family and of Lavoisier indicate.<sup>12</sup> Through the rapidly growing number of these questions the new empirical knowledge of nature found its way into a genre that had originally been established for cultivating the tradition of poetry and eloquence and hence, epistemically speaking, the knowledge of the textual tradition.

Despite the changing functions and topics of the *concours académique*, the rhetorical and poetical prize questions remained one of the pillars of this popular medium during all of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since the 1720s, however, an important shift both as regards the subjects proposed and the forms of argumentation becomes recognizable in the rhetorical prize questions. Under the influence of Enlightenment discourse, the contests, notably at the provincial academies, dealt more and more with the new philosophical topics of the age, in particular with the changing role of the arts and sciences and the epistemic status of rhetorical knowledge in relation to the observational knowledge of the flourishing natural sciences. Now we are confronted with questions such as: ‘How much poetry and literature are indebted to the sciences’ and, in turn, what the sciences owe to poetry and literature, at the Académie des Jeux Floraux in Toulouse in 1753 and 1757; ‘If the multiplicity of scholarly working in all genres is more useful or more harmful to the

10 For this notion see Gianna Pomata, “Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, 1500–1650”, in: *Histories of Scientific Observation*, eds. Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, Chicago/London 2011, pp. 45–80, here p. 48.

11 Hahn, “The Age of the Academies”, pp. 4–6.

12 Cf. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice*, pp. 92–97.

progress of science and literature', at the Academy de Pau in 1754; 'What does the philosophical spirit consist in?' at the Académie française in 1755, and, naturally, 'Whether the restoration of the sciences and arts has contributed to the purification of morals', the most famous competition, won by Rousseau at the Académie de Dijon in 1750.<sup>13</sup>

In the prize-winning answers to these questions a significant change in the mode of argumentation takes place, away from the agonistic rhetorical (and dialectical) tradition of taking sides, towards a more comprehensive discussion of knowledge and of the new facts and methods in a changing world of learning. Nevertheless, the eloquence prizes still remain heavily influenced by the oral tradition and the ideal of addressing the (assembled) audience immediately – with all the rhetorical and epistemic consequences that entails. We are thus, deeper than at previous stages in the history of the *concours académique*, in a hybrid epistemic territory between the older rhetorical and dialectical tradition, on the one hand, and the empirical ideal of rationalistic discourse aiming at exact knowledge and the accumulation of facts, on the other. This is even more true as, since the 1720s, an important branch of the rhetorical prize questions aimed explicitly at launching a debate over the contemporary development of knowledge. This led to what one could call a self-reflection of the rhetorical production of textual knowledge,<sup>14</sup> a self-reflection which is essentially provoked by the challenge of rhetorical knowledge through the new methods of the exact sciences. In this case, we are confronted, to an even greater degree, with an epistemic territory situated *between* the knowledge of the textual tradition and the observation of nature.

To describe such epistemic amalgamations, we are of course not without certain concepts and terms such as 'learned empiricism', which refers to the combination of book learning and methods of observation in the practice of early modern astronomers and physicians.<sup>15</sup> Another useful category is that of the 'rhetoric of proof' ("la rhétorique de la preuve"), proposed by Stéphane Van Damme.<sup>16</sup> As the case of the academic prize contests shows, it is worthwhile to dig deeper into such questions of epistemic entanglements in the early modern period especially when they are conceived of as *economies of knowledge* specifically combining traditional and novel forms of learning.

13 On this development see my article: "The Reconfiguration of *Natura* and *Ars* in Cartesian Rhetoric and the Epistemological Reflections in the Prize Questions of the French Academies", in: *Aristotelianism and Natural Knowledge at Early-Modern Protestant Universities*, eds. Volkhard Wels and Pietro Omodeo, Wiesbaden 2019, S. 315–342.

14 See Urmann, "Zwischen *prix de dévotion*, Wissensreflexion und Reformdiskurs", here p. 128.

15 *Historia. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, Cambridge, Mass. 2005, here pp. 17–30.

16 Stéphane Van Damme, "Culture rhétorique et culture scientifique: crise ou mutation de la poétique des savoirs dans la Compagnie de Jésus en France (1630–1730)", in: *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 55/154 (2005), pp. 55–69, here p. 62–65.

### 3 Epistemic Territories of Medicine in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century London

(Anna Laqua)

When thinking about the notion of self-fashioning, we are confronted with an apparent paradox. Although the investigation of early modern knowledge economies reveals various hybrid forms of knowledge, this is not necessarily reflected in the self-description made by the actors themselves. This is evidenced by the self-fashioning of the academies which distanced themselves from the rhetorical and dialectical traditions of the universities.

Along these lines, the members of the early modern Republic of Letters often seemed to insist upon the existence of firmly separated epistemic territories, and furthermore showed a willingness to defend the boundaries of what they recognized to be their primary territory.

As we will see even more clearly than in the example of the Prize Contest of the French academies, this kind of marking of one's epistemic territory could include the defamation of the actors and the forms of knowledge one wished to distance oneself from.

The conflict between physicians and apothecaries in 17<sup>th</sup>-century London is a case in point.

Being based on contrasting areas of expertise, this conflict simultaneously informs us about contemporary tensions between theoretical forms of medical knowledge on the one hand, and the forms of knowledge that are predicated more on practical skills, experience, and empiricism on the other.

These tensions become particularly visible when one considers the London College of Physicians as the institution representing the traditional, learned form of medicine. The College of Physicians, which was established in 1518, oriented on Italian models, found itself challenged by a variety of medical practitioners, who were in most cases not university-trained.<sup>17</sup>

Having been granted royal authorization by Henry VIII, the College engaged in overseeing the great number of medical practitioners in a seven-mile radius of the City of London. The College's activities included summons, hearings, searches, destruction of drugs, fines as well as prison sentences. The dispute between the College and the London apothecaries in particular was one that was at times fraught with disdain and scorn.

In marking their epistemic territory, the College fellows strived to define what constituted proper medical knowledge and proper medical practices. They also

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17 On the education and the professions of English physicians, apothecaries, and barber-surgeons see for example: Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800. Servants of the commonweal*, Harlow 2000, pp. 181–251; Phyllis Allen, "Medical Education in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England", in: *Journal of the history of medicine and allied sciences* 1 (1946), pp. 115–143; F. N. L. Poynter, "Medical Education in England since 1600", in: *The History of medical education. An international symposium held February 5–9, 1968*, ed. Charles Donald O'Malley, Berkeley 1970, pp. 235–249. On the master-apprentice relationship of the education of midwives, see in particular Doreen Evenden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 50–78.

authorized certain actors to perform the practices which were now defined as legitimate.

These epistemic demarcations were by no means universally shared. This can be seen, for instance, in the behavior of the apothecary Richard Bacon, resident in Fleet Street, who was summoned before the College Censors in 1615. Bacon, who had been given drugs and clysters by a physician, was accused of having passed them on without the physician's permission. Being confronted with the accusations, Bacon simply, as the College's record book states, 'maintained that he could act thus but the Censors declared it was illegal.'<sup>18</sup>

In the view of the College and a number of other practitioners, however, it was crucial to be aware of one's epistemic limitations and to not transgress these boundaries. This can be seen, for example, in the French physician Jean de Renou's *pharmacopoeia*, which was translated by the English apothecary Richard Tomlinson in 1657. In the chapter 'What an Apothecary ought to be,' de Renou/Tomlinson state: "The subject of Pharmacy is the Materials of Medicine; [...] and the Apothecary that dares to attempt or assay further, breaks his bounds and limits, and is to be accounted a Mountebank, a Quack, a Deceiver."<sup>19</sup>

Others, like the puritanically minded physician John Cotta, also stressed the necessity to remain in one's proper knowledge domain. Cotta, who wasn't a College fellow, nevertheless unequivocally valued learned medicine over practical forms of medical knowledge based mainly on experience. In pointing out the merit of division of labour, however, Cotta's argument was more pragmatic than moral: "The fewer offices the lesse distraction, & where lesse distraction, there is the better bent unto the more maine and proper scope."<sup>20</sup>

The negotiation of what could be considered as crossing the boundaries of one's epistemic territory took place not only in treatises like Cotta's and in the censorial hearings of the College, but also in contemporary drama. In 1697, for instance, the satirical writer Thomas Brown authored the comedy *Physick lies a bleeding, or, The apothecary turned Doctor*. Brown's *dramatis personae* consist of a physician, four apothecaries, and the so-called *Truman*, 'A Gentleman of honest Principles, endeavouring to shew each Person their Faults, and persuading them to act in their own Sphere only.'<sup>21</sup>

The apothecaries in this play are depicted as being greedy, dishonest, and fraudulent. According to Truman, who echoes the author's own opinion of apothecaries, their apprenticeship training hadn't qualified them for legitimate medical

18 Margaret Pelling and Frances White, "BACON, Richard", *Physicians and irregular medical practitioners in London, 1550–1640*, Database, URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/bacon-richard> (accessed April 13, 2019).

19 Jean de Renou and Richard Tomlinson, *A Medicinal Dispensatory, Containing The vvhole Body of Physick*, London 1657, p. 4.

20 John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie of the vnobserued dangers of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England*, London 1612, p. 48.

21 Thomas Brown, *Physick lies a bleeding, or, The apothecary turned Doctor, a Comedy, Acted every Day in most Apothecaries Shops in London*, London 1697, 'The Names of the Principal Actors', n. pag.

practice. For instance, the apothecary *Jack Comprehensive* boasts about his areas of expertise: "Sir, I am, in short, generally call'd Doctor only, but I also profess myself a Surgeon: An Apothecary, I should have said first, then Surgeon, Chymist, Druggist, Confectioner, Distiller, &c. And, to Persons of Quality, Corn-Cutter."<sup>22</sup>

Being written at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the comedy indicates the lingering rivalry between English physicians and apothecaries throughout that century. Only when the so-called Rose Case of 1704 legalised the treatment of patients by apothecaries could this profession legally emancipate itself from the College's censorship and become more independent and self-governing.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the dispute between physicians and apothecaries was in full swing. Whereas the conflict flourished in genres as diverse as treatises, pamphlets, and drama, an important instrument of self-fashioning, of marking one's epistemic territory and rendering certain parts of knowledge non-transferrable, was language.

In this sense, the College used the Latin language as a means of distinction when publishing a *pharmacopœia* in 1618.<sup>23</sup> The book listed what the College considered legitimate drugs and their ingredients, with the intent to standardize and police pharmaceutical practices.

The average apothecary's knowledge of Latin was limited to what he had learned in grammar school, while other practitioners, such as midwives, were unlikely to understand any Latin at all or could have been completely illiterate.

The physician, apothecary, and astrologer Nicholas Culpeper published an unauthorized translation of the *College's pharmacopœia* in 1649, adding the definition of terms as well as instructions for use.<sup>24</sup> This was seen as a provocation by the College.

By translating the original text into the vernacular, Culpeper greatly extended the target audience. It was the instantiation of his political agenda of empowering the individual to treat himself. Medical knowledge, according to the passionate republican, shouldn't be the arcana of an elite, but rather common property. Culpeper's vision in a sense was the attempt to dismantle the epistemic hegemony of learned medicine as represented by the College.

Accordingly, in 1652 Culpeper launched an angry attack on his contemporary physician colleagues. He particularly took aim at the learned physicians who – unlike he – had studied medicine at Oxford or Cambridge.

Whereas their Italian colleagues didn't shy away from visiting patients at their sickbeds, thereby gleaning important medical knowledge, according to Culpeper,

22 *Ibid.*, Act II, Scene II, p. 25.

23 College of Physicians of London, *Pharmacopœia Londinensis. In qua medicamenta antiqua et nova vsitatissima sedulò collecta accuratissimè examinata quotidiana experientia confirmata describuntur*, London 1618.

24 Nicholas Culpeper, *A Physicall Directory Or A translation of the London Dispensatory. Made by the Colledge of Physicians in London*, London 1649.

the English physicians would “walk in the Clouds, their waies being not [...] discernable to a vulgar view”.<sup>25</sup>

Hinting of course at the basis of a classical university education in medicine, Culpeper was sceptical of the erudite curriculum at Oxbridge, which still consisted primarily of the reading of Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna. Moreover, unlike London, neither Cambridge nor Oxford possessed any hospitals, where future doctors could have put their scholarly knowledge into practice. As a result of such training, Culpeper accused the learned doctor of possessing “not a grain of Wit but what was in print before he was born”.<sup>26</sup>

Culpeper, who himself had abandoned his theological studies in Cambridge, had started his medical career as an apprentice to several London apothecaries. His attack on the Oxbridge-trained physicians, who would subsequently become fellows of the London College of Physicians, renders visible the tensions between the more practical forms of medical knowledge of apothecaries, surgeons, midwives and others on the one hand and the predominantly scholarly knowledge of the university-trained physicians on the other.

In reality, neither Culpeper’s depiction of learned medicine as being completely free from empiricism and practical knowledge, nor the dramatist Brown’s claim of the apothecaries’ remoteness from theoretical knowledge are historically accurate. Actors like the Baconian physician John Bulwer, with his special interest in bodily communication and Deaf culture, bear witness to this. Most likely trained in Oxford, he did not “walk in the clouds” as Culpeper has claimed of his contemporary learned physicians, but through the streets of London, giving the readers of his medical treatises an account of what he observed there. Bulwer thereby incorporated his empirical observations into his medical knowledge.<sup>27</sup> He was no exception in doing so. As has been stated before, the early modern period gave rise to all sorts of hybrid forms of epistemic amalgamations, Bulwer’s medical knowledge being one of them. Although (or perhaps precisely because) the boundaries of certain epistemic territories became flawed in early modern times, we find these boundaries all the more sharply defined and staunchly defended by the historical actors in question.

25 Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physician or an Astrologo-physical Discourse of the vulgar Herbs of this Nation. Being a compleat Method of Physick, whereby a man may preserve his Body in health; or cure himself, being sick*, London 1652, ‘The Translator to the Reader’, n. pag. While Culpeper’s critique is polemical and politically motivated, it is nevertheless not without substance. The actual education of the physicians in Italy (for example in Padua) was indeed more practical than the one in England. See Lynda Ellen Stephenson Payne, *With Words and Knives. Learning Medical Dispassion in Early Modern England*, Aldershot 2007, p. 17.

26 Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physician*, ‘The Translator to the Reader’, n. pag.

27 On the increasing epistemological importance of observation and empiricism in Early Modern European medicine, see Gianna Pomata, “Sharing Cases. The *Observationes* in Early Modern Medicine”, in: *Early Science and Medicine* 15 (2010), pp. 193–236.

#### 4 Implicit Epistemic Demarcations in Early Modern Grammar Writing

(Linda Gennies)

In the case of early modern grammar writing and the description of vernacular languages, a comparable paradox can be observed between apparently separated epistemic territories on the one hand and actually shared economies of knowledge on the other. Both learned grammarians and foreign language textbook authors tended to distinguish themselves from one another, while at the same time reproducing and transferring very similar grammatical knowledge. However, contrary to their medical counterparts from 17<sup>th</sup>-century London, the epistemic demarcations between grammatical scholars and didactic practitioners were neither violently nor openly drawn or maintained. Rather, they carved out their respective epistemic territories in a more implicit manner, as traditional grammarians simply made no mention of early modern textbook authors and vice versa. From the perspective of a learned grammarian, this should come as no surprise. Since early modern monolingual grammars were predominantly written for a native-language and theoretically oriented readership, contemporaneous foreign language textbooks with their basic, use-oriented pronunciation guides, word lists and model dialogues must have seemed irrelevant to traditional grammarians.

With regards to said textbooks, however, the lack of references to professional grammarians in the prefaces of even the most ambitious authors' works appears rather remarkable, since the grammatical descriptions included in those textbooks were most certainly copied from already existing grammatical treatises. On the one hand, scholarly and textbook grammars resemble each other too closely to have been developed independently from each other. What is more, considering the highly precarious situation and backgrounds of early modern textbook authors,<sup>28</sup> for each of them to have undertaken the time-consuming task of developing a grammar of their own, i.e. describing modern vernaculars in Graeco-Latin structures, appears neither economically nor intellectually viable.

Still, textbook authors would not refer to traditional grammars even to prove the quality of their work and sources or to display their own erudition. Instead, they frequently alluded to the "best authors" of their time as sources of guidance, albeit only rarely giving names. Moreover, a few authors also made honourable as well as dishonourable mentions of their peers, allying with some colleagues while discrediting others and thereby displaying their active involvement in the profession. In this way, the 17<sup>th</sup>-century author Pierre Lermite du Buisson advises his potential German readership in the preface of his French language book to 'beware of the *Guidon* or the Grammar of Duez, which serves no purpose but to give it to the servants'.<sup>29</sup> More importantly, however, textbook authors highlighted their

28 See Mark Häberlein, "Fremdsprachenlernen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Bildungsverläufe, Lehrende und Lernende", in: *Perspektiven auf Mehrsprachigkeit*, eds. Anja Ballis and Nazli Hodaie, Berlin/Boston 2018, pp. 9–22.

29 Pierre Lermite du Buisson, *Grammaire Nouvelle & Curieuse [...] Neue Grammatica*, Hamburg 1686, 'An den günstigen Leser', n. pag. Translations in this chapter by L.G.

own practical knowledge and experience, elaborating on the praise they received for their teaching practice or for previously published textbooks. Alexandre Joli, another 17<sup>th</sup>-century French language teacher, thus states how ‘all the lovers of our language, who do me the honour of learning it from me, in this city, solicited me to give them veritable instructions, that I was finally constrained, to please them, to have printed the following remarks, in dialogue form, in order to make them more intelligible for all sorts of people’.<sup>30</sup>

Early modern foreign language teachers and textbook authors thus appeared fundamentally practical in orientation, aiming at imparting functional knowledge of a certain language rather than at its extensive and accurate description. Preoccupied with selling books, and hence with gaining a living, most of them do not seem to have considered themselves scholars and consequently did not claim any scientific validity to their activities in the field of language description.<sup>31</sup> By exclusively focussing on the promotion of use-oriented knowledge and not reflecting upon the grammatical tradition they were perpetuating, textbook authors implicitly defined an epistemic territory of their own, which would retroact both on the nature of the linguistic knowledge they conveyed and on the specific modes of knowledge transfer.

Contrary to what the apparent demarcation of distinct epistemic territories might indicate, the emergence of early modern foreign language textbooks was, however, far from representing an actual rupture in the history of linguistic knowledge, as traditional grammatical knowledge continued to be transferred – all the while being recontextualized and thus changed.

In fact, textbook authors pursued two complementary teaching approaches, a rule-based and a usage-based approach, which prompted the selection of different linguistic contents and didactic methods. Following the traditional rule-based approach, the description of early modern vernaculars according to Graeco-Latin structures was adopted from contemporaneous grammarians,<sup>32</sup> assuming, for example, the existence of eight *partes orationis* or of five to six grammatical cases in the languages described. In addition to inflectional paradigms and other formal descriptions, early modern foreign language textbooks would then also give rules of appropriate language *use*, which were often part of general considerations on good behaviour. The textbook author Pierre Deschamps, for instance, dedicated a short chapter of his *Nouvelle Grammaire* on the five ways of politely addressing someone in German.<sup>33</sup>

30 Alexandre Joli, *Méthode nouvelle et tres-utile [...] Neue und sehr nützliche Methode*, Hamburg 1671, pp. 1–2.

31 See also Monika Becker, *Familiar Dialogues in Englyssh and Frenche: sprachliche Interaktion und ihre Vermittlung in der frühen Neuzeit*, Trier 2003, p. 10.

32 See Gerda Haßler, “History of European Vernacular Grammar Writing”, in: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (28 March 2018), URL: <http://oxfordre.com/linguistics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-386> (09.10.2019).

33 See Pierre Deschamps, *Nouvelle Grammaire ou Méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de temps la Langue allemande*, Paris 1690, pp. 132–135.



Furthermore, following the emerging usage-based approach to foreign language teaching, the textbooks commonly included model dialogues as examples for both grammatically correct and situationally adequate language use. While the transmission of knowledge in dialogue form is part of a long pedagogical tradition,<sup>34</sup> foreign language textbook authors would fill their dialogues with contents that responded more to the practical needs of their target audience, displaying everyday communicative situations a travelling merchant or nobleman might encounter, e.g. stopping at an inn or conducting trade. At the same time, the nature of the model dialogues themselves changed, as the former purpose of pedagogical dialogues, i.e. the literary representation of propositional knowledge, would only be partly preserved, for example in the explication of general principles of foreign language learning. To an increasing degree, however, the textbook dialogues were essentially mimicking real-life conversations and thereby teaching verbal communication as such.<sup>35</sup>

To conclude, despite the allegedly clear-cut epistemic demarcations between theoretical and practical grammar writing, traditional grammatical knowledge was in fact transferred to the first textbooks for the teaching of modern vernaculars. By integrating traditional grammatical descriptions into their textbooks, language teachers would not only demonstrate their own learnedness as well as save time and money copying useful contents, but would also justify the very existence of their profession and their work, reaffirming the imperative of rule-based language learning even in the case of modern vernaculars, where the immersive learning of a foreign language during a stay abroad represented a valid yet unprofitable alternative.<sup>36</sup>

The early modern language teacher's dilemma – between a reaffirmation of traditional, rule-based knowledge and the newly emerging use-oriented teaching methods – finally also recalls the so-called Grammarians' War in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Tudor England, in which the English schoolmasters Willian Horman and Robert Whittington got in conflict over the question of whether *Latin* was best to be taught by rule or by example<sup>37</sup> – thereby offering a remarkable illustration of how, within the complex dynamics of knowledge transfer and recontextualization, i.e. within economies of knowledge, instances of knowledge once transferred and transformed can eventually also retroact onto their source.

34 See e.g. Hannes Kästner, *Mittelalterliche Lehrgespräche. Textlinguistische Analysen, Studien zur poetischen Funktion und pädagogischen Intention*, Berlin 1978.

35 Cf. Becker, *Familiar Dialogues in Englyssh and Frenche*, p. 78, who puts the alleged communicative potential of model dialogues into perspective, pointing out that they were probably still mostly to be memorised by learners.

36 See Walter Kuhfuß, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Französischunterrichts in der frühen Neuzeit: Französischlernen am Fürstenhof, auf dem Marktplatz, und in der Schule in Deutschland*, Göttingen 2014, p. 102.

37 See David R. Carlson, "The 'Grammarians' War', 1519–1521: Humanist Careerism in Early Tudor England, and Printing", in: *Medievalia et Humanistica* XVIII (1992), pp. 157–181.

## 5 Territorializing Ancient Mathematics Around 1800

(Helge Wendt)

Among proto-historians of mathematics in the period around 1800, one can detect three prevailing perspectives on how Thales – the father of ancient Greek mathematics – achieved his knowledge. The first party proposed that ancient Greeks learned from Egyptians or Chaldeans. The second narrative proposed an influence of those ‘foreign’ mathematical currents on Greek philosophical and mathematical knowledge. The third perspective highlighted instead that Greek scientific and philosophical minds acted independently and were not influenced by Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian or Chaldean thinking.<sup>38</sup>

They defined the *oikos* differently: Some writers perceived it to be rather national, others accounted for a wider regional focus. Obviously, those statements were a mix-up and a confusion of the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century predominant national and colonial questions with the political situation of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Some writers constructed an open territory of circulating and intertwining mathematical knowledge reaching out to the Persian Gulf. Here, the discussion was about the extent to which early mathematics had non-Greek foundations. The others constructed a closed territory with a sharp border that foreign knowledge could hardly transgress.

These historians of mathematics were well acquainted with Greek and Latin and had a good knowledge of ancient literature. They repeatedly referred to the same texts mentioning Thales, which were mostly Herodotus, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Eudemus, Pliny or Oenopides.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, they could not take into account languages other than ancient Greek or Latin, because Egyptian glyphs or cuneiform writing systems, for instance, were not decipherable at this time.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, few of the authors acknowledged this limitation when presenting research results.

A shared conviction of the authors was that in ancient Egypt the cultivation of land, the parcelling of acres, the distribution of corn as well as the highly evolved architectural knowledge was grounded in a basic knowledge of mathematics, and that it was exclusively administrative knowledge.<sup>41</sup> The *territorialization* of mathematical knowledge was made by differing weightings of historical data. This is evident in studies written around 1800 on the question of the origin of mathematics in Thales’ writings and the narratives that were created in this time period.

The first argument, that Thales gained his knowledge through extended voyages (to Egypt and elsewhere) is found in William Mitfort’s 1784 published work

38 On processes of mixing and blending see my book: Helge Wendt, *Geschichte des mestizischen Europas. Vermischung als Leitkategorie europäischer Geschichtsschreibung*, Wiesbaden 2019.

39 They might have also known of Proklos (who himself referred to Eudemos), as Gaston Hauser (*Geometrie der Griechen von Thales bis Euklid*, Luzern 1955) mentions. An exhaustive list of references to Thales in antique writings is given in: *Die Milesier: Thales*, ed. Georg Wöhrle, Berlin 2009; cf. Paul Tannery, *Pour l’histoire de la science hellène*, Paris 1887, pp. 76–80.

40 Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*, Princeton 1996.

41 Compare Egypt to the Mesopotamian case: Peter Damerow, “The Origins of Writing and Arithmetic”, in: *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, ed. Jürgen Renn, Berlin 2012, pp. 153–173.

*The History of Greece*. Mitford describes the slave-holder society of these times as a Grecian commonwealth, where everyone was communicating with everyone and knowledge from the outside was welcomed in those social circles, which dedicated most of their time to leading a gentleman's life.<sup>42</sup> Other authors shared Mitford's opinion, that the Egyptian source was improved by Thales' genius in mathematics. Charles Bossut discussed and dismissed in his *Essai sur l'histoire générale des mathématiques* the possibility that Thales taught Egyptians how to calculate the heights of the pyramids. He rather stated that the Milesian could have gained mathematical knowledge during his visit to Egypt. This knowledge was still defective and was ameliorated by Thales and his successors. Bossut described the circum-Mediterranean space as a fluctuation of men and knowledges open towards the East. From any region of this vast economy of knowledge, astronomical knowledge arrived to Greece, where it was applied and adopted, then finally transformed and improved, as can be noticed by the appearance of new terms for stellar constellations.<sup>43</sup> Some decades later, this transfer of knowledge could be studied with more precision. Richard W. Rothman, member and Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and Registrar at the University of London, conjectures in his *History of Astronomy* (published in 1829) that stemming from the Chaldeans, Thales was able to learn the zodiac and maybe even the extra-zodiacal constellations. Thales himself, Rothman continues, assimilated from the Phoenicians the constellation of the Great Bear that the seafaring peoples used for orientation.<sup>44</sup> From these perspectives, Thales played an important role in transferring knowledge. All three authors conceived of the cultural and political constellations of the Mediterranean and the Middle East as being favourable to exchange in the fields of economy and of science, which contributed to a more hybrid mathematical knowledge.

In 1780, Dietrich Tiedemann, professor for ancient languages at Kassel and Marburg, wrote in a short biographical sketch of Thales that in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC a voyage of a citizen of Miletus to Egypt was conceivable.<sup>45</sup> But, Tiedemann continues, if those voyages really took place, then the learning effect would have been minimal. Tiedemann's main reason for rejecting the possibility of an adaption of Egyptian knowledge by a Greek genius such as Thales was that real science did not exist in Egypt at this time. Unlike Friedrich Schleiermacher, Tiedemann underlined the importance of Thales' voyages to foreign countries as a way of preparing himself for a methodically founded philosophy.

Schleiermacher, a Berlin professor of philosophy, denied this open knowledge space in which Thales moved. One reason was that Schleiermacher dismissed antique sources on Thales' biography as mere poetry. The second reason was a

42 William Mitford, *The History of Greece*, London 1790, vol. 2, p. 86.

43 Charles Bossut, *Essai sur l'histoire générale des mathématiques*, Paris 1802, vol. 1, pp. 116–118.

44 Richard W. Rothman, *History of Astronomy*, London 1829, pp. 17–18.

45 Dietrich Tiedemann, *Griechenlands erste Philosophen, oder Leben und Systeme des Orpheus*, Leipzig 1780, pp. 109–119.

philosophical one: Schleiermacher did not see Thales as a genius spreading his knowledge in an already highly developed environment. He classified him rather as a talent, and thus as a special figure who sought to gain from the mythological treasures of knowledge of his time. But the mythology used as a source of knowledge was a purely Greek one, and thus the economy of knowledge coincides with a territorially narrow Greek tradition.<sup>46</sup>

The first interpretation concluded that early Greek science basically relied on Egyptian and Chaldean knowledge. Thales obtained this foreign knowledge through his own ethnic origin as well as by traveling to these countries. The second current of interpretation refers to a time of apprenticeship that Thales must have passed through, in which useful knowledge was acquired that was only later developed and systematized. Only then did this knowledge achieve the character of science and philosophy. The third form of interpretation discarded the assumption that the time spent in Egypt could have had an impact on Thales. A number of historians went as far as rejecting the validity of the very sources that alluded to those voyages.

These three perspectives all served to advance further research in this area. The current that underlined the autonomous status of ancient Greek science was the most influential factor for further studies undertaken in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The question of cultural and scientific interrelations in the Eastern Mediterranean region lost most of its appeal over the course of the development of national histories, which dominated historical thinking and writing. Consequently, pre-Socratic philosophy was considered a local phenomenon, whilst classical and neo-platonic philosophy taught in Athens and Alexandria still in recent scholarship are considered to belong to a wider territory of dynamic influences.<sup>47</sup>

## 6 Conclusion

Early modern professions, scientific currents and academies had a strong impact on the formation of epistemic territories, with individual actors defining inclusion and exclusion criteria. This territory formation, which was linked to social, linguistic or political demarcations, did not, however, confine economies of knowledge. Rather, territory formation processes contributed to their dynamic development. The reciprocity of epistemic inclusion and exclusion mechanisms, which was outlined above, is a clear indication of the multiplicity of processes of knowledge formation, despite the appropriations and demarcations by individual agents. Thus,

46 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Geschichte der Philosophie, Friedrich Schleiermachers sämtliche Werke*, 3. Abtheilung: *Zur Philosophie*, ed. Heinrich Ritter, Berlin 1839, vol. 4, 1, pp. 27–29.

47 Cf. Geoffrey E.R. Lloyd, *Early Greek Science. Thales to Aristotle*, New York 1970; Árpád Szabó, *The Beginnings of Greek Mathematics*, Dordrecht 1978; B.L. Van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, vol. 1. Dordrecht 1975; Markus Asper, "Mathematik, Milieu, Text. Die frühgriechische(n) Mathematik(en) und ihr Umfeld", in: *Sudhoffs Archiv* 87,1 (2003), pp. 1–31; Otto Neugebauer defends that a longer historical development has to be assumed: Otto Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, Princeton 1952.

the exclusion of apothecaries from certain medical practices by the early modern College of Physicians may not have entirely prevented them from acquiring said practices, but it might very well have restricted and delayed the transfer of knowledge. Furthermore, the denial by individual authors of an epistemic involvement of non-Greeks in the emergence of early Greek mathematics also resulted in an increased scholarly acknowledgement of its opposite.

The relationship between the various actors and acting institutions, then, is to be conceived as the exercise of power through processes of inclusion and exclusion. The analysis of the external epistemic structures and demarcations set by premodern agents can therefore provide an explanation of changes in motion of knowledge transfer, introducing the factor of power to the study of economies of knowledge. Here, power is not to be understood as an instrument of subjugation, but rather as a means for the figurative demarcation of epistemic territories, in which, within a knowledge economy, different actors compete for social and epistemic dominance.

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# The Economies of Philosophy in 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. Greece

Gyburg Uhlmann

## 1 Introduction

Who is quoting whom and is the play of reference and agonistic address in the educational debates in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athens controlled? I will address this question from several perspectives and by telling different stories about this 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and the vibrant competition between rhetorical and philosophical schools. I will argue that the dynamic relations between the protagonists – both real life protagonists and actors and those embedded in texts – can best be described as economies of knowledge and more specifically: as economies of philosophical education.

By this, I suggest a new way of telling the history of education in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athens: economies of philosophy, i.e. the multilayered actions that interact reciprocally and produce a new educational and intellectual situation, which at the time is in constant contact and dialogue with past models of philosophy and education.

Economies mean exchange. „Epistemic economies“ means the exchange of practices of knowledge. In presenting a case study/case studies and observations from 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athens as economies of education, the practices of knowledge are considered to be at the same time (and in other respects) very concretely entangled with the individual contemporary social and political situation and connected to the earlier history of knowledge and education, and which reach out for another future, for other (dominant) practices of learning, teaching and of understanding the world. The multiple exchange practices result in a situation where the author cannot completely retain control over a text and its dynamic exchanges with other texts and with audiences. He is therefore not at a loss, but does not need to control every possible connection. He therefore conducts the floating of knowledge and forms of knowledge transfer and considers and uses it (also) for his/her purposes – notwithstanding other possibilities of reference and reflection.

Teaching and reflecting on teaching and learning are key elements of these epistemic economies, and will provide a glimpse of 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. epistemic dynamics inside and across the *Corpus Platonicum*, the *Corpus Isocrateum* and the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.

Thereby, the hypothesis will become obvious/plausible that in 4<sup>th</sup> century Athens, rhetoric and politics were equated for very different reasons. That means that, even if they look similar, the entanglements between rhetorical education and politics/politike techne lead in very different directions.

## 2 Plato naming Tisias referring to Isocrates advertising his educational methods

In the *Phaedrus*, Plato presents his own new, innovative concept of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> The interlocutor Plato provides for Socrates in this dialogue is a certain Phaedrus. We know him not only from the Platonic dialogues.<sup>2</sup> We learn from Andocides, a minor Attic orator (in his speech “On the Mysteries” I 15), that Phaedrus was embroiled in a religious-political scandal. It was said that in 415 B.C., just before the Sicilian expedition that was so disastrous for Athens, he was involved in denigrating the Eleusinian Mysteries. The accusation was that he and other young men had held and parodied mysteries in private houses, thus profaning them. Phaedrus is said to have anticipated the charge, and fled into exile, probably returning to Athens in 404 after a general amnesty. If the *Phaedrus* is supposed to be set after his return to Athens – very unlikely prior to 415, since Isocrates, Plato’s great rival in the background, was born only in 436/5 B.C., and Isocrates is a precondition as an already important figure in the Athenian educational landscape – this means that the speeches on Eros and Socrates’ palinode, in other words his retraction of his first speech, which corrected Lysias, would have been held under the portent of this religious sacrilege. But even if the action in the dialogue is supposed to take place in Phaedrus’ youth: for the contemporary reader of the dialogue, probably composed in the 360s, the sacrilege just before the Sicilian expedition is sure to have been fresh in the memory.

Plato not only creates a monument to Phaedrus with the *Phaedrus*; he also introduces him as a protagonist in other dialogues. In the *Symposium*, the great dialogue in which the participants in a symposium, or banquet, wish to honour the god Eros in their speeches by means of an encomium, i.e. a speech of praise, it is Phaedrus’ suggestion, taken up by Eryximachus, to stage a contest for the best speech in praise of Eros (177a–e). He also opens the contest and gives a speech in the style of the old rhetoric teacher Gorgias, i.e. stylistically strongly shaped, which can be identified at the very outset as sophistic, distorting the subject. Plato also tells us in *Protagoras*, his dialogue on virtue, that Phaedrus was a pupil of the Sophist Hippias of Elis, thus cementing Phaedrus’ intellectual position even further.

In the *Phaedrus* we learn that Phaedrus is a fervent admirer of Lysias’ rhetoric: Lysias was a virtuoso, a star speechwriter in Athens in the period after the Peloponnesian War. His style is simple, modern, straight – it is therefore not surprising that Phaedrus speaks as if electrified of the text that he wears directly on his body, hidden in the folds of his robe. But much more importantly: Lysias’ speeches reveal an author whose greatest gift was to reinvent figures in his speeches and thus at times turn facts upside-down. Plato has his Socrates denounce this in a highly critical manner: saying it was childish to concentrate only on ensuring all the ex-

1 Cf. Gyburg Uhlmann, *Rhetorik und Wahrheit. Ein prekäres Verhältnis von Sokrates bis Trump*, Stuttgart 2019, pp. 90–116.

2 Cf. Debra Nails, *The People of Plato*, Indianapolis 2002, pp. 232–234.

pressions are clear and well-rounded and finely turned. He ought instead to turn his attention to the substance of what he says! (Phdr. 234e) Admittedly, Hellenistic stylistic critique celebrated this most elegant among the virtuosos on the rhetoric scale: Dionysius of Halicarnassus also praises the vibrant clarity of his language (Lys.7 (I.14.17 Us.-Rad.), while Plutarch admires his great trust in the immediate impact of his (!) composed speech (de garrulitate 5).

Using Lysias, his speeches and networks, Plato weaves several connecting lines for his *Phaedrus*, also via his supposed educational history as a pupil of the Sicilian – and probably mythical – forefather of rhetoric, Tisias. Since he, in turn, is said to have been the teacher of Gorgias, there are also links here, although Lysias boasted of having freed himself stylistically from the gravity of Gorgias' words. Yet many lines also emerge from *Phaedrus* himself and his appearances in the Platonic dialogues, leading to the *Phaedrus*: While some connecting lines may at first appear incidental, they often prove to be central. This applies to the Sophist and orator Thrasymachus. He is Socrates' violent interlocutor in the first book of the *Politeia* and was involved in the toughest battles with Socrates aside from the clash between Callicles and Socrates in the *Gorgias*. Plato now mentions Thrasymachus in the *Phaedrus* as an orator, who pursues the art of rhetoric with zeal (Phdr. 271a). In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the name also serves as an example for traditional rhetoric (Rh. 1404a), referring to a techniques to evoke pity – in both cases he appears less radical, less curt, less aggressive; admittedly, he does not appear in person here, but only as a memory.

Eryximachus is a figure in the *Symposium* who is also closely connected to and in many ways interwoven with *Phaedrus*: He exudes the virtually unlimited self-confidence of the doctor and natural scientist, who proclaims his ability to order and master everything with his art. But, Eryximachus cannot successfully treat a simple case of hiccoughs that has afflicted the poet Aristophanes – a detail that demonstrates the extent to which such excessive scientific optimism can fall. Eryximachus is also not merely an orator and dialogue partner in the *Symposium*, but is also mentioned in the *Protagoras* as the son of the Hippocratic physician Acumenus (Prot. 315c) and, like *Phaedrus*, a follower of Hippias of Elis. In the *Phaedrus*, at a point where Plato uses the skill of medicine as a comparison with rhetoric in order to highlight the necessity of a specific expertise, Eryximachus and his father serve as examples in an imaginary scene. Here it is discussed how concrete a physician's knowledge of the right therapy must be (Phdr. 268a–b), with the conclusion that Acumenus cannot be said to master medicine itself, but merely the preliminaries of medicine (ta pro tes technes) (Phdr. 269a) – in light of the self-confidence demonstrated by the physicians in the *Symposium*, this was a well calculated slight.

The circle of Hippocratics and of Hippocrates is also mentioned in the *Phaedrus*. Hippocrates, or the composer of a diaietetic manuscript, is cited with the theory that in order to consider single parts the knowledge of the entire nature /nature in its entirety must necessarily be presupposed/to consider the nature

of anything, a knowledge of the whole must necessarily be a prerequisite (Phdr. 270c–d). This teaching is also linked in the *Charmides* with “good physicians”, who attempt to treat and heal a part by also treating the whole (Chrm. 156b (–157a)), and reference is made to a tradition of Thracian doctors who understood that it is not possible to treat something physical without treating the soul (156d–e). In other words: there is a range of reference movements that are connected with “Hippocratic” teaching in medicine and Hippocratic texts. The movement with which these connections are linked, and to which they themselves lead or are led, has no specific beginning or end. Its function is to merge parts of texts that refer or relate to each other, but which are separated by specific lines of argument.

These dynamic connections and this creation of reference systems involve not only the interlocutors and actors in these dialogues, but also aspects of the Scenic and Dramatic, including the various locations where the dialogues take place: Protagoras is set in the house of Callias, a rich Athenian, who had family ties to the great politicians and generals of Athens, Pericles und Alcibiades, who we also know as the host of the *Symposium* written by Xenophon. As the host of the Sophist Protagoras, and as someone who sought contact with the famous itinerant teachers, he is connected to other persons who appear as hosts in a Platonic dialogue, for example the metic Cephalus, who according to Plato held an open house in Piraeus, and whose son, Polemarchus, asks Socrates to attend the discussion with Thrasymachus in his father’s house, which is why Socrates descends (kateben) from Athens to the Port of Piraeus.

Thus the *Politeia* also does not take place within the walls of Athens. However the *Phaedrus* is the only dialogue that is set completely outside the polis, far away from the political community of the citizens of Athens. Phaedrus withdraws outside of the city to recreate, far away from the noise and hustle. It is a space that is unfamiliar to the philosopher Socrates. For his philosophy, Socrates needs his fellow citizens, with whom he discusses the conditions of true knowledge. The locus amoenus under the sycamore trees on the banks of the small river Ilisos is a-political, outside the city, it is not the topic that Socrates discusses with Phaedrus. Rather, discussion revolves around how to speak about Eros, and above all the conditions of a proper speech, which is not bound to the momentary inclinations and ideas of the listeners, which does not allow itself to be driven by that which is directly pleasant for the audience, to where it drives its sensual Eros – who delights in sensual beauty. Instead, true rhetoric, as Plato develops it in this dialogue, has a pedagogical, a didactic mission. It should suggest to the listener what is truly the best thing to do, what is really the most appropriate assessment of a situation as a whole – namely: the best and most appropriate assessment within the walls of the city! As we have seen, the dialogue connects in many respects with other dialogues, persons and topics. This counteracts the isolation of the rural scene, which to some extent is reversed for readers, while in other respects discernible as tension.

But there are also, and essentially, connections between the topics of the dialogues<sup>3</sup> – and these go beyond the *Corpus Platonicum* to draw on other texts, actors and institutions, where Plato discusses what it means to know something, and what it means to teach something. – We shall see that it is the teachability of a political criterion knowledge that occupies Plato, Isocrates and Aristotle. –

The interlinkages by no means display only connections, commonalities and dialogue, but very often also differences, disputes, conflicts and rivalries. They provide clear demarcations. That is particularly the case in the *Phaedrus*. More than others, the dialogue is set out as a conversation and a public confrontation between Plato and his rival Isocrates. The design of Plato's own understanding of rhetoric and its practices is directed at Isocrates and at the concept of his school. Even though Plato at the very end of the dialogue (Phdr. 278e–279b) praises Isocrates and pays tribute to his talents – a singular event in the *Corpus Platonicum*! –: the *Phaedrus* remains a pamphlet for Plato's school and against the rhetoric of Isocrates, and indeed at the same time a dialogue with Isocrates and traditional rhetoric. – Marc-Antoine Gavray recently presented an analogous (albeit conceptually different) method for analysing references and the dialogue between Plato and Protagoras, which can support the undertaking here with further material and a similar political interpretation of this confrontation.<sup>4</sup>

Embedded in this dynamic between actors and in the eye of the storm, so to speak, Socrates tells a story that aims at making the indecision and lack of criteria of traditional rhetoric visible. It leads to the narrative origins of rhetoric: to the forefather Tisias. It is said of him – and Plato is our earliest source for this! – that he founded the technique of rhetoric in Sicily and also taught it. Aristotle names, along with Tisias, a certain Corax, whose pupil Tisias is said to be, and who therefore also played a role, or indeed the even more important role for the establishment of an oratory technique.

ΣΩ. εἰπέτω τοῖνυν καὶ τὸδε ἡμῖν ὁ Τεισίας, μή τι ἄλλο λέγει τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ τῷ πλήθει δοκοῦν.

ΦΑΙ. τί γὰρ ἄλλο·

ΣΩ. Τοῦτο δὴ, ὡς ἔοικε, σοφὸν εὐρῶν ἅμα καὶ τεχνικὸν ἔγραψεν ὡς ἔάν τις ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἀνδρικός ἰσχυρὸν καὶ δειλὸν συγκόψας, ἰμάτιον ἢ τι ἄλλο ἀφελόμενος, εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγεται, δεῖ δὴ τάληθές μηδέτερον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν δειλὸν μὴ ὑπὸ μόνου φάναι τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ συγκεκριθῆναι, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐλέγχειν ὡς μόνῳ ἦσθην, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καταχρησασθαι τῷ Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τοιοῦδε τοιῶδε ἐπεχείρησα· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐρεῖ δὴ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάκην, ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο ψεύδασθαι ἐπιχειρῶν τάχ' ἂν ἐλεγχόν πη παραδοίη

3 For the *Phaedrus*: strong, clear lines to the *Gorgias*, clear lines to the *Symposium* and the *Politeia*, accumulating, aggregating links to the *Protagoras*, the *Charmides*, to other ethical dialogues, propaedeutic relationships to the *Parmenides*, to the *Statesman*, to the *Philebus*.

4 Marc-Antoine Gavray, *Platon, héritier de Protagoras: dialogue sur les fondements de la démocratie. Tradition de la pensée classique*, Paris 2017.

τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ· καὶ περὶ τὰλλα δὴ τοιαῦτ' ἄττα ἐστὶ τὰ τέχνη λεγόμενα· οὐ γάρ, ὦ Φαίδρε·  
ΦΑΙ. Τί μήν·

Socr.: ...now let Tisias himself tell us if he does not say that probability (τὸ εἰκὸς) is that which most people think.

Phaedr.: That is just what he says.

Socr.: Apparently after he had invented this clever scientific definition, he wrote that if a feeble and brave man assaulted a strong coward, robbed him of his cloak or something, and was brought to trial for it, neither party ought to speak the truth; the coward should say that he had not been assaulted by the brave man alone, whereas the other should prove that only they two were present and should use the well-known argument, 'How could a little man like me assault such a man as he is?' The coward will not acknowledge his cowardice, but will perhaps try to invent some other lie, and thus give his opponent a chance to confute him. And in other cases there are other similar rules of art. Is that not so, Phaedrus?

Phaedr.: Certainly. (Phdr. 273a8–c6) (transl. by Harold N. Fowler)

Thus both are condemned by the object of their speech to tell a falsehood, which could ultimately lead to a whole mesh of lies. That, it is claimed, is the consequence of the traditional rhetorical art of a Tisias, which teaches that one should orient oneself on what most listeners consider to be likely (εἰκὸς).

For Plato, this specification, i. e. to use that, what is probable for the audience, as a criterion for the argumentation, is the key feature of this rhetoric, against which he argues and which he traces back from Isocrates to the mythical forefathers of rhetoric. The view has been expressed that it can also be doubted, precisely for this reason, that this concept of an orientation on opinions (rather than on the truth) might already have been represented in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Did Plato perhaps fabricate this? Could it have something to do with the reality of life and the status of the rhetorical technique, or is it perhaps even necessary here to expose an anachronism? Could a rhetorician in the 5<sup>th</sup> century really have detected such a contradiction, without a Platonic view of rhetoric? Could he conceive such concepts and differences?

We are therefore concerned here with the historical depth of the history of rhetoric. But let us take a different approach and ask: Why, with what intention and with which effects does Plato not confront his reader directly with the position of his contemporary, Isocrates? For, it is the latter whom he addresses. That is revealed by hidden quotes and allusions<sup>6</sup>, and shown by the dedication at the end of the dialogue, directed towards the future (the future of the dialogue!): the

5 Edward Schiappa *The Beginnings of Rhetorical Theory in Classical Greece*, New Haven 1999; for a critique cf. Uhlmann, *Rhetorik und Wahrheit*, pp. 47–50.

6 Ernst Heitsch, *Platon. Phaidros. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Göttingen, 1997<sup>2</sup>, pp. 257–264.

still young Isocrates is a philosophical soul, says Socrates, whose aptitude and talent eclipses Lysias and all other orators, and all those who will come after him.

The sentiment towards Isocrates points towards the future, however in a platonically-imagined future, in which the talented person turns to (Platonic) philosophy and not (only) rhetoric. Taking the approach of the economies of knowledge circumvents the contradiction of the consciously controlled history of methods and concepts on the one hand, and of meanings and connections that arise and exist behind the backs of the individual subjects on the other. One fails to consider that intention and result are only too often miles apart, while the other ignores the fact that not everything that is not consciously intended is completely removed from the subject's control as a result.

Economies of knowledge and economies of philosophy develop the model of transfer analysis further. Just as "transfer of knowledge", as we have defined the concept in the CRC 980, is understood as something that does not have an active sender and passive recipient, but rather two or more partners or counterparts who are involved in the movement of knowledge, economies of philosophy describe the reciprocity of epistemic dynamics in which multiple factors and agents are involved in the process of ascribing meaning, which in itself is determined by its plurality and indeterminacy. That does not mean that there is nothing identical in these economic processes which can be addressed, but it means that the movements of reference between the different agents and parameters in epistemic practices (notwithstanding the alternative of intentional and unintentional practices) have their own dynamics and histories, which can be traced. These dynamics reach far beyond the referential practices between (literary) texts, but also involve and address real life entities such as individuals, political situations, institutions, objects, and mythical personae or imagined items.

This makes the boundary between text and social practices and political communication obsolete as a parameter of literature analysis – not because everything is a text, and part of the same network, but because the philosophical and education-theoretical texts themselves explicitly draw on non-textual aspects and integrate them into their arguments and communications processes, touch upon them and address them as rivalry or affirmation. But in some cases, the fact that a non-textual aspect is concerned plays an important role. Plato refers to historical facts, to political experiences, for example the successes or failures of generals and politicians, as an argument for their competence. In terms of the argument, and also for the embedding of the discourse conducted by Plato (and Isocrates and Aristotle, etc.) in social reality, and for the formulation of the claim to a certain position and relevance in the polis, these facts and dates should by no means dissipate into something textual or in an all-encompassing textual form. For the argument in the text, they must remain outside the text and the textual.

So what does this model of a structuring analysis of epistemic dynamics mean for the interpretation of Plato's reference to the proto-rhetorician Tisias?

It means a shift in the question: the focus is on the functions of the reference to Tisias for Plato's confrontation with Isocrates, and the positioning and possibilities for positioning that become possible as a result for Tisias and the role of Sicily in the constitution of the arts and sciences in Greece. In our case, it is not possible to compare these possibilities with reality, due to a lack of complementary sources in which overlaps and differences can be identified. However, they remain valid as possibilities for lining and modifying knowledge bases, and can be addressed as such.

On the other hand, precisely the lack of possibilities to compare also has an important function for Plato's undertaking to define Isocrates as an element of a traditional rhetoric that stretches back to the beginnings. This strategy means that Isocrates – in contrast to the picture he draws of himself – no longer appears modern, no longer a great innovator, no longer the new founder of a contemporary oratory technique, but rather a conservative traditionalist, someone who merely pours old wine into new wineskins. It is a brilliant strategy with a great effect: Plato transforms a current educational institution and its concept into a conservative remnant from a long-forgotten and long-overcome time. While ultimately Isocrates is acclaimed by Plato at the end of the *Phaedrus* as a star in the sky of the Athenian intellectual culture, subversively through the kernel of the philosophical argumentation – an image is created of someone who merely takes on what the tradition of rhetoric has always taught. This neutralises the rival, without attacking him. With his description of earlier practices, Plato can identify more clearly what he believes to be the core of this technique. The historical distance liberates him from overly large and complicated considerations. The image of Isocrates' rhetoric thus indirectly becomes more contoured and critical than it would have been without the reference to the old master of forensic rhetoric, Tisias, or better: Plato's Tisias is associated somehow with Isocrates and with the modern rhetoric of the present contemporary educational institutions in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

At the same time, still more is touched upon and integrated into the conceptual horizon: The relationships between Athens and Sicily. Plato's speech on Tisias shapes the image of the latter's understanding of rhetoric according to Isocrates' model, and certainly reinforces, by means of the comparison and the claim of proximity to Isocrates, this aspect of the characteristic of Tisias. That means: there is also an impact in these directions. New ideas of this early period emerge, of how rhetoric was invented in Sicily. Athens also positions itself. In the age of Pericles a narrative was established that endeavoured to present all cultural achievements as accomplishments of Athens. Plato gives credit to Sicily's ancestor in the area of rhetoric. He thereby produces a distance to this field of knowledge from an Athenian perspective, while on the other hand moulding Corax and Tisias according to the contemporary controversy with his Athenian rival Isocrates, and evoking the impression that there is and has ever been the choice between the Tisias/Isocrates model of rhetorike techne and his own rhetoric, based on knowledge and truth.

Thus exchange processes take place here between the ages and between the places, persons, functions and institutions. Precisely these are the economies of



philosophy, reciprocal processes of exchange that perform the negotiation of what philosophical practice is and what this should include or exclude. I will come back to this important point in my third case study. Exchange processes in which the question of intentionality and self-organising systems of meaning and semantic networks do not play a central role. Rather, what is decisive in these analyses are the provable interactions: the reciprocal definitions and approaches to a definition, the determination of a characteristic despite the much more dynamic relationships, the reciprocal classifications and categorisations, etc. Among these it is neither of interest nor indeed of primary importance whether this interaction was intended by the author. Usually this cannot be proven or disputed anyway.

Is there added value, therefore, in referring to the forefathers of rhetoric and incorporating them into the school of Isocrates *avant la lettre*? Definitely, if only because the reference allows or necessitates a determination of one's own position and the position of the direct contemporary rival.

Without question, Plato is negotiating something here: he argues that while a speech should be directed at the listeners, it should not be oriented on them. Their fluctuating and often uninformed or even contradictory opinions cannot act as a measure, because they are not fixed, and above all insufficiently justified. Plato says very specifically in the *Phaedrus* how far the orator should follow the listeners and take up their opinions. And thus, a concept is not simply rejected and another supported, but rather the relative vagueness of one is emphasised in contrast to the other. And precisely by these means, Plato negotiates what happens and what the consequences are when one speaks, as it is probable, in order to be for the respective audience successfully persuasive. The example to illustrate this is very well chosen, for it shows precisely the boundary to which the orator can operate with general ideas and draw conclusions, and where a very fundamental differentiation and a clear consideration of details and specific qualities is required.

Tisias is not subjected to a unfamiliar process by Plato, merely a decision that is necessary for the technique of oratory is analysed. For the question regarding the basis on which to orientate one's plausibility strategies must always be addressed by all orators, at least in specific individual cases, and at least implicitly: Should I follow that which my audience presumably expects of me? Should I touch upon opinions and confirm or influence them, and if so, in which regard and with reference to what, etc.

This aspect, that it is challenging to understand and present a fact in a sufficiently argued manner, and that this, however, is a basic requirement of every speech and every rhetoric strategy, can be seen even better in the reworking of the example by Aristotle.

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle states as a counterexample that an orator must reveal the relevant respects in which something is probable, in order not to confuse the listeners. Aristotle also claims that it was precisely this that characterised the art of Corax, the older of the two legendary founders of rhetoric, that he withheld certain relevant respects. This put him in a position to be able to use an argument

for one position or for an opposing one, depending on the situation under negotiation. This is where the Platonic example comes in: If an accused appears frail in his physical appearance, and he is accused of personal injury, one could argue that it is not likely that he committed the crime. So far, so good. In contrast, however, if someone appears physically fit and muscular, one could use the same argument against the same accusation, this time claiming that it is not likely that he committed the crime, since it is probable that he would be accused of the crime (Rh. 2.24, 1402a15–24).<sup>7</sup> Thus both would appear probable. Aristotle outlines the resolution of this stalemate only briefly and says that in the second case, this is not probable per se, but only in certain respects – and these respects should be revealed by the orator, to ensure that the listener does not assume erroneously that this is the case in general and without limitation.

In contrast with Plato's use of the example, the focus here is not on the difference between truth as a measure and the opinions of the listeners, but rather a technique of manipulation, and a deviation from the facts. In Aristotle's analyses, Corax's approach is in line with the argumentational practices of the eristics, who – according to Plato and Aristotle – could be characterised essentially by this “respects abstinence”. The contexts thus opened by Aristotle are different to those of Plato, albeit with a certain affinity. He is primarily interested in the proof that it is necessary to present a precise, specific description of the matter. By these means, Aristotle demonstrates the positions in the actions of the rhetoricians, where manipulation replaces the reappraisal of the objective plausibilities.

This use of the example contains traces of reuse. An aspect that Plato does not address explicitly is spelled out, namely that there are two different kinds of probability that can be used to argue before the court: first the (im)probability that someone has or has not done something, and, second, the probability that one could believe that he or she had committed the crime. It is a shifting of stress of the statement, which is made clear by the example, in contrast to Plato's use.

In the retrospective view, it would appear that Plato was not the first or the only one to present the example and use it for didactic purposes. For that which

7 ἄλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐριστικῶν τὸ κατὰ τί καὶ πρὸς τί καὶ πῆ οὐ προστιθέμενα ποιεῖ τὴν συκοφαντίαν, καὶ ἔνταυθα παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἶναι μὴ ἀπλῶς ἀλλὰ τί εἰκὸς. ἔστι δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἡ Κόρακος τέχνη συγκειμένη· “ἂν τε γὰρ μὴ ἔνοχος ἢ τῆ αἰτία, οἷον ἀσθενῆς ὢν αἰκίας φεύγει (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς), κἂν ἔνοχος ἢ, οἷον ἰσχυρὸς ὢν (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς, ὅτι εἰκὸς ἔμελλε δόξαι)”. (20) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἢ γὰρ ἔνοχον ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ ἔνοχον εἶναι τῆ αἰτία· φαίνεται μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρω εἰκότα, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν εἰκός, τὸ δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴρηται· καὶ τὸ τὸν ἦττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν. – The „Art“ of Corax is composed of this topic. For if a man is not likely to be guilty of what he is accused of, for instance if, being weak, he is accused of assault and battery, his defence will be that the crime is not probable; but if he is likely to be guilty, for instance, if he is strong, it may be argued again that the crime is not probable, for the very reason that it was bound to appear so. It is the same in all other cases; for a man must either be likely to have committed a crime or not. Here, both the alternatives appear equally probable, but the one is really so, the other not probable absolutely, but only in the conditions mentioned. And this is what “making the worse appear the better argument” means.

Aristotle makes of it actually represents an unused surplus of meaning in Plato's treatment. It cannot be proven, based on what has been handed down to us, but the indications of the analysis of the example favour the hypothesis that the example may have been used in other texts and by other teachers of rhetoric in their lessons. Each teacher placed his own emphasis, and thus underlined the specificity of his method and didactic – at least that is how it might have been.

Yet in the case of Isocrates – who might come into question as a potential user – we find no analogous case. Tisias and Corax are not mentioned, nor any other predecessors with a view to the method and concept of his rhetoric. Gorgias is mentioned once, when Isocrates wishes to emphasise the point that rhetoric teachers do not earn as much as is generally suggested (Antidosis, 156–158). Elsewhere, in contrast, Isocrates distances himself from the Sophist practices of Gorgias, who is not mentioned as an orator, let alone a teacher, but instead bundled with philosophers such as Melissus, Parmenides and Empedocles as a natural philosopher and theoretician of principles, and thus as a member of a profession against which Isocrates advises to delve too deeply into their subjects.

Against the background of what Plato says, this is astonishing, also against the background of the ancient sources that report that Isocrates was a pupil of Gorgias.<sup>8</sup> Even if we want to assume a conventionalised attribution,<sup>9</sup> the characterisation of Gorgias by Isocrates contributes to the impression that Isocrates is almost alone as an authority in rhetoric and rhetorical education, and derives all expertise from himself. Such a striving for autonomy is now contradicted by Plato's version – also by extending the prehistory to the 5<sup>th</sup> century and to Sicily.

### 3 Aristotle quoting Plato quoting Theodoros quoting Thrasymachos: a case study

We can see another approach to the history of rhetoric and its educational-theoretical brisance for the negotiations between the schools and protagonists of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in a passage at the end of the Sophistical Refutations, in other words the text in which Aristotle collects *topoi* on how sophistical fallacies work and how they can be cancelled out. Functionally (!), the text is the counterpart to Plato's dialogue *Euthydemus*, in which Plato also uncovers the logic behind the conclusions/fallacies of the Sophists of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In these discussions, Aristotle intervenes in the *Sophistici Elenchi* not only with his scientific history.

τῶν γὰρ εὕρισκομένων ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν παρ' ἑτέρων ληφθέντα πρότερον πεπονημένα κατὰ μέρος ἐπιδέδωκεν ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαβόντων ὕστερον, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εὕρισκόμενα μικρὰν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνειν εἶωθε, χρησιμωτέραν μέντοι πολλῶ τῆς ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων ἀξήσεως μέγιστον γὰρ ἴσως ἀρχὴ παντός, ὥσπερ λέγεται. διὸ καὶ χαλεπώτατον

8 Cic. Or. 176; Quint. III.1.13; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Isocrates, 1; Plutarch Vit. 836f.

9 Cf. Yun Lee Too, *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates: Text, Power, Pedagogy*, (Cambridge Classical Studies), Cambridge 1995, pp. 235f.

ὅσω γὰρ κράτιστον τῇ δυνάμει, τοσοῦτω μικρότατον ὄν τῷ μεγέθει χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν ὀφθῆναι. ταύτης δ' εὐρημένης ῥᾶον τὸ προστιθέναι καὶ συναύξειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν· ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους συμβέβηκε, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐρόντες παντελῶς ἐπὶ μικρὸν τι προήγαγον· οἱ δὲ νῦν εὐδοκμοῦντες, παραλαβόντες παρὰ πολλῶν οἷον ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατὰ μέρος προαγαγόντων, οὕτως ἠϋξήκασιν, Τεισίας μὲν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους, Θρασύμαχος δὲ μετὰ Τεισίαν, Θεόδωρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ συνενηνόχασιν μέρη· διόπερ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔχειν τι πλῆθος τὴν τέχνην. (SE 183b17–31)

For in the case of all discoveries the results of previous labours that have been handed down from others have been advanced bit by bit by those who have taken them on, whereas the original discoveries generally make advance that is small at first though much more useful than the development which later springs out of them. For it may be that in everything, as the saying is, 'the first start is the main part': and for this reason also it is the most difficult; for in proportion as it is most potent in its influence, so it is smallest in its compass and therefore most difficult to see: whereas when this is once discovered, it is easier to add and develop the remainder in connexion with it. This is in fact what has happened in regard to rhetorical speeches and to practically all the other arts: for those who discovered the beginnings of them advanced them in all only a little way, whereas the celebrities of to-day are the heirs (so to speak) of a long succession of men who have advanced them bit by bit, and so have developed them to their present form, Tisias coming next after the first founders, then Thrasymachus after Tisias, and Theodorus next to him, while several people have made their several contributions to it: and therefore it is not to be wondered at that the art has attained considerable dimensions. (transl. by W. A. Pickard)

Aristotle pays tribute to the actors in two phases of the development of a science: one the one hand to those who make a start on something. And on the other hand to those who add something to that which was already recognised at the beginning. The one produces many individual findings, and the other only a few, however significant ones, with potential. As an example from the development of rhetoric, Aristotle refers to those who were first, even before the Sicilian and legendary founder of rhetoric, Tisias, and to those who built on the tradition: after Tisias Theodorus, after Theodorus Thrasymachus. We have already briefly heard about Thrasymachus: he is also mentioned in the *Phaedrus*, each time in connection with Theodorus (Phdr. 261c, 266c). Theodorus of Byzantium is meant here, as Plato has his Socrates emphasise in the *Phaedrus* (Phdr. 266c). That is necessary in order to distinguish him from Theodorus the mathematician, who plays a key role in Plato's *Theaetetus* and who operates in quite other fields of knowledge, and

from whom Plato does not wish to disassociate, but rather searches for commonalities. The first time we encounter Theodorus, Plato links him, just like Aristotle in the *SE*, directly to the first mythical beginnings. True eloquence could already be admired in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But there was one technique that they did not create. For this it is necessary to consider Nestor with Gorgias and Odysseus with Theodorus. (261c) Nestor is the Methuselah of Greek antiquity and is linked to with Gorgias, who – depending on how the sources are interpreted – lived almost to the age of 100, united by this biblical age. We do not know what links Theodorus to Odysseus. What Plato says in the second passage is the most detailed description we have. Plato had just deduced that the orator must also master the technique of dialectics. He then compares this expertise with some stations in the history of rhetoric, including Thrasymachus and Theodorus. Ironically, Socrates calls the precise division of the parts of the speech that Theodorus is planning the niceties of this art (*Phdr.* 266d9).

Aristotle describes even more difficult terminological divisions by Theodorus: he not only divided the diegesis (enarratio), but also subdivided this into the epidi-egesis and the prodi-egesis, in other words the beginning and end of the diegesis, and also divided the epexelencos from the elencos (*Rh.* 1414b13–15). Aristotle is not enthused by this kind of theory development. On the contrary, he calls it ridiculous to exercise one's perfection in this art (*Rh.* 1414a35). Overall, the taxis part of the third book of the *Rhetoric* is less rigid in its rejection of questioning whether there is such a thing as a scheme on which the orator can always orient himself. After all, the third book is more practical in its orientation and is aimed at the orator rather than the rhetoric theoretician. But even here, the message is clear: Divisions and systemisations in themselves are not accomplishments in the core area of the scientific technique of rhetoric!

Plato is equally distanced. This type of fine technique is the opposite of the knowledge-based rhetoric that Plato envisages. So what connects this Theodorus of Byzantium with the cunning Odysseus or with the aimless wanderer Odysseus or with the narrator Odysseus or with the untruthful Odysseus? Associations can be allowed to run in many directions. We have no material to support this.

Not only is Theodorus of Byzantium characterised in a very similar manner by Plato and Aristotle, but also Thrasymachus of Chalcedon in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Rhetoric*. Plato's Socrates mentions him as a theoretician who compiled *topoi* on the arousal of emotions such as pity or anger (*Phdr.* 267c7–d2). In the *Phaedrus* it is clear that Plato believes that there is no knowledge basis for these techniques and that they can therefore be seen as something that is "prior to art", in other words, not possessing the quality of a science (*Phdr.* 269a1–c9). Aristotle mentions a text or a component of Thrasymachus' teaching on technique called "pity *topoi*" or "means to generate pity". The detachment of affect generation from objective argumentation, which we find in actu in the first book of Plato's *Politeia* through Thrasymachus, finds its background in this note. Also in the third book of the *Rhetoric* the status of that which Thrasymachus contributes to the development of rheto-

ric is precarious. It is queried whether we are even operating within the framework of that which can be termed *techne*. That is the same thought as in Plato's differentiation between that which "comes before *techne*" and that which is part of it.

In each case, a reference by Aristotle can be concluded. It is notoriously difficult to date Aristotelian texts. Usually, the *Rhetoric* tends to be dated early, but the third book relatively later than the first two books. If we assume that Plato's *Phaedrus* originates in the 360s, probably around 369, that would suggest that Aristotle, who entered the Platonic Academy in 367, most certainly knew Phaedrus in every phase of his activity, and was able to refer to it, as well as to the oral discussions with his teacher, Plato. To a certain extent one can detect a spelling out of the new conception of rhetoric from the *Phaedrus* in the taxis part of the third book of the *Rhetoric*.

Plato and Aristoteles attribute certain technical innovations to Theodorus and Thrasymachus, but – what is astonishing – that have no relevance for the development of rhetoric as a scientific technique.

So did Thrasymachus and Theodorus really advance the development of the knowledge of rhetoric, as shown as an example by Aristotle in the *Sophistici Elenchi*? In Plato's view, and in the opinion of Aristotle, at best they advanced rhetoric by a very small step, and above with elements that are not independent parts of the development of the science, but merely supplements. This also sheds light on Aristotle's assessment of the role of Tisias in the development of rhetoric, as Plato laid its foundations anew. In view of the topic of the text it is unlikely that Aristotle simply took a traditional rhetoric story as his example, as can be found much later, for instance, with Quintilian. For, after all, the *Sophistici Elenchi* uncover the eristic techniques of the Sophists (as defined by Plato), which Plato compares with the traditional rhetoricians.

But another thing is striking: Theodorus' technical contribution is not mentioned as a further development of Thrasymachus' accomplishments, instead each contribute something in different areas. In other words: there is no direct dependent relationship and also no apostolic emulation relationship, as man could interpret the phrase "Thrasymachus however after Tisias, Theodorus after him". Rather, what is meant is something additive – yet, as said, an addition in an area that, in Aristotle's view, cannot reach the core of rhetoric, simply because, as Plato shows, rhetoric can only be a science when it makes knowledge the basis of politics.

#### 4 Isocrates and Rhetorics and Politics in Plato: are they the same?

This relationship between rhetoric and politics is precarious in the 4<sup>th</sup> century: It is the central object of negotiation in the contest between the schools concerning the educational monopoly in Athens. All those texts that can be read as a manifesto of a school's character position themselves in the first instance here.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The most important actors and texts used are the Platonic dialogues *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus* and Isocrates' speech *Antidosis*, as well as the speech *Against Sophists* and *Panegyric*, and Isocrates' practice speech *Helena*.

Politically, we find ourselves in a situation with new challenges: in 404 B.C. Athens emerged defeated from the Peloponnesian War. Its position as the hegemonial power in Greece was broken, the city's self-confidence shaken. Even though Sparta could maintain its influence on politics in Athens only for a very short time, it was still necessary under the Athenians to redefine and renegotiate political participation and decision-making processes among the dominant actors. The great Periclean "Classical" Athens no longer existed. Therefore, Thucydides' view of this old Athens in Pericles' speech for fallen comrades is both a question and at the same time a challenge for the present and the future. But not only did the political institutions in Athens have to rearrange themselves, individuals also had to redefine for themselves what their contribution to the city, their influence and their duties now actually were. This was stated by Pericles (according to Thucydides) as follows: "if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition" (Thuc. 2,34–46, esp. 37,1)<sup>11</sup> – a song of praise to serving the state and the unconditional dedication of its citizens on its behalf! However, it was necessary in Athens after the war to rebuild and determine precisely what the relationship between the individual and the community is and should be.

An important contribution was made by the invention of higher rhetorical education as an institution, or as something that is realised in the context of an institution. The fact that the Sophists of the 5<sup>th</sup> century were itinerant teachers had had a grave impact on the practices and sustainability of lessons. Teachers came to a city for a limited period, and were accommodated by a host. This meant that they could never teach a fixed curriculum; instead, their lessons had to remain sporadic. The public could also not be clearly defined or placed into groups. There were no classrooms. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion – both in terms of teachers and of interested parties – were conducted by means of numerous factors, some of which had nothing to do with those being taught: good connections with the host, affiliation with the large families, naturally, but probably also the idea that knowledge and techniques could simply brim over in no time with the mere presence of the teacher (cf. Smp. 175d).

11 Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλοῦση τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παραδείγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέροισι. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' εἰς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμει, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεόν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προσιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται. Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. (transl. by J. M. Dent).

The forms of lessons could not be oriented on content and listeners, or only with great difficulty, but instead were always and at the same time demonstrations of one's own art, publicity and agon – and always in unstable situations and constellations.

When he founded his school in 390, Isocrates transformed this disparate and unstable teaching into something that had the form of an institution. Now it was the pupils who came to Isocrates. They were met with rooms, as well as the framework of a teaching programme and a schedule of courses. There was a curriculum and groups consisting of enrolled students. They came to Isocrates in return for tuition fees and the promise that they would become successful citizens and protagonists in the political discourse. To this end they subjected themselves to the protocols of the procedures in the school and the functional difference between pupils and teachers.

Almost everything changed with this new framework, in contrast to the practices of the teachers of rhetoric of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, including also the function of a teaching programme and promise, and also promotion for the school: It is much easier to advertise for an institution than for a visit, however extensive. The advertisement must also be prepared and framed differently. In seeking publicity, the rhetorician introduces himself and highlights the advantages of his teaching methods. Thus the agon with rivals attains the character of a manifesto, rather than that of a spontaneous or sporadic reply. The demarcations become harder as a result. However this by no means necessarily implies a suspension of dialogical penetrability, in other words the endeavour to use one's own texts and speeches as implicit dialogues with rivals, competitors, predecessors and addressees. We observe precisely this in the confrontation between the institutionalised educational promise of Isocrates on the one hand and Plato on the other. Rather than breaking off dialogue and speechlessly allowing the other to coexist alongside oneself, what we instead see is a continuous referencing of the other, most likely through and in accordance with the medium of writing: a referencing related to the positioning of one's own teaching, naturally to a criticism of the other, but also to making visible the commonalities and possibilities for dialogue, in spite of all differences.

There were already differences and commonalities at the level of the manner of institutionalising teaching. It is known that Plato did not demand any tuition fees, and polemicized against those who subjected education to financial logic in this manner. Furthermore, the ancient sources repeatedly speak of a non-hierarchical, free discussion space, in which pupils could also later assume the role of teachers. In this space, Plato's authority was never seriously questioned, as far as we can see, without this having appeared to prevent the formation of different opinions. And, quite specifically, the space of Plato's Academy was a different one and carried certain connotations: the reference to religious cults, the spatial dominance of a park-like area, a simple, open room facing the park, which also served as a classroom, etc.



Against this background we must assume (and we can observe) reciprocity and multi-stage negotiating processes in several texts, even more so as it concerned a new definition of what characterises the good citizen, what rhetoric can mean for politics, and which conception can produce the best results.

The discourse scenarios are diverse, but crystallise in a particularly pointed manner between Plato's *Phaedrus* and Isocrates' *Antidosis*, and between Plato's *Gorgias* and Isocrates' *Against the Sophists*. Today, however, the *Panathenaicus* serves as a case study,<sup>12</sup> the last speech by Isocrates, which he wrote at the age of 94–97 in the years from 342 to 339 B.C., i.e. several years after Plato's death. The speech is a ceremonial address, held in praise of the greatness and strength of Athens on the occasion of the annual Panathenaic celebrations. It is therefore epideictic and was given in a context that was strongly cultic. In addition, the speech contains aspects that are unique not only in the speeches of Isocrates, but also in the educational landscape of the 4<sup>th</sup> century as a whole.

At its conclusion it contains the presentation of a discussion between Isocrates and a former pupil about the previous parts of the speech and the appropriateness of the praise and reproach contained therein. The discussion weighs up different perspectives of the critical account of the contribution of Sparta to the welfare of Greece. The Sparta-friendly former pupil is asked whether he finds the tone and content appropriate. The critique and the arguments exchanged ultimately lead to a correction of the previously expressed criticism, and it is put to the readership to approve of or advise against the publication of this speech, including the discussion.

Because Isocrates also provides insights into his production of this speech and the various phases of composition and revision, and shows that he places great value on feedback and correction by his readers during this process, and because he points to the possibility to receive the speech at different levels and with a varying degree of differentiation, a quite unusual situation emerges: Isocrates sets out almost the entire tableau of teaching practices, of the process of conception and writing, of communication with the pupils, the dialogical discussion of the text, its revision, and thoughts on the presentation or publication, or publication formats, in brief: the entire tableau of knowledge practices of rhetorical text production and the preparation of a speech as a – admittedly guided by master rhetoricians – collective achievement and collective interaction.

In a singular manner the *Panathenaicus* demonstrates indications, indeed proof, that Isocrates' philosophy is a practice that completely anticipates an active recipient, in which the orator and the audience are always involved in a – at times imaginary, at times real – reciprocal and interactive process. In other words: The recipient becomes, quite practically and unmetaphysically, an actor, a critical reader, who exerts an influence on the work and its publication, while Isocrates' rhetoric/philosophy becomes an opinion practice, whose basis is the opinions of the listeners/spectators, whose criteria, in turn, are immanent in these opinions.

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12 Cf. Uhlmann, *Rhetorik und Wahrheit*, pp. 122–129.

Therefore the *Panathenaicus* provides a demonstration of knowledge-economic practices in the dialogue between Plato's Academy and Plato's philosophical legacy on the one hand and Isocrates and his educational concept on the other, insofar as these concepts relate to the Polis, all of this with a view to the question as to which relationship between rhetoric and politics are conceived and realised by Isocrates and Plato. I shall therefore proceed in three steps: 1. I present the problem that arises from the Sophistical challenge of the claim for a universal technique; 2. I present Plato's response to this in Plato's *Gorgias*, and 3. I show how Isocrates in the *Panathenaicus* performatively represents the position that his rhetorical art is, at one and the same time, in itself, and to the extent possible, a political art.

#### 4.1 *The Sophistical challenge: Is rhetoric politics?*

In the *Protagoras*, Socrates has a very practical concern: He wants to know what the young Hippocrates, who is thrilled by the idea of becoming a pupil of the famous itinerant teacher Protagoras, would actually learn and how he would become better if he became a pupil of the Sophist? (Prot. 318e–319a) Protagoras replies with a brief promotional speech, which Plato presents as a standard answer of the Sophists:

Καὶ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, Σὺ τε καλῶς ἐρωτᾷς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς καλῶς ἐρωτῶσι χαίρω ἀποκρινόμενος. Ἴπποκράτης γὰρ παρ' ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενος οὐ πείσεται ἄπερ ἂν ἔπαθεν ἄλλω τῷ συγγενόμενος τῶν σοφιστῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι λωβῶνται τοὺς νέους τὰς γὰρ τέχνας αὐτοῦς πεφευγότας ἄκοντας πάλιν αὐτῶν ἄγοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τέχνας, λογισμούς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν διδάσκοντες—καὶ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Ἴππίαν ἀπέβλεψεν—παρὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενος μαθήσεται οὐ περὶ ἄλλου τοῦ ἢ περὶ οὗ ἦκει. τὸ δὲ μάθημά ἐστιν εὐβουλία περὶ τῶν οἰκειῶν, ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν διοικῶι, (α.) καὶ περὶ τῶν πόλεως, ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος ἂν εἴη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν.

Ἄρα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ, ἔπομαί σου τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖς γὰρ μοι λέγειν τὴν πολιτικὴν τέχνην καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ποιεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας.

Αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ ἐπάγγελμα ὃ ἐπαγγέλλομαι. (Phdr. 318d–319a)

When Protagoras heard my words, You do right, he said, to ask that, while I am only too glad to answer those who ask the right question. For Hippocrates, if he comes to me, will not be treated as he would have been if he had joined the classes of an ordinary sophist. The majority of them maltreat the young; for when they have escaped from the <school>arts they bring them back against their will and force them into arts, teaching them arithmetic and astronomy and geometry and music (and here he glanced at Hippicrates); whereas, if he applies to me, he will learn precisely and solely that for which he has come. That learning consists of good judgement in his own affairs, showing how best to order his own home; and in the affairs of his

city, showing how he may have most influence on public affairs both in speech and in action. – I wonder, I said, whether I follow what you are saying; for you appear to be speaking of the political *techne* (political science), and undertaking to make men good citizens. – That, Socrates, he replied, is exactly the purport of what I profess. (transl. by W.R.M. Lamb (slightly changed by GU))

There is a complete lack of any personal reference, the educational claim is phrased generally and compactly, and made distinct from competing providers, who are insulted as corrupters or damagers of the youth. No superfluous school knowledge, no continuation of the tortures of impractical school subjects, but instead the targeted teaching of political techniques that can be applied both at the micro level, the household, *oikos*, and at the macro level, the polis.

#### 4.2 *The Platonic response: Rhetoric must be politics and therefore well-founded knowledge*

There follows in the *Protagoras* a long refutation of this universal and pragmatic educational promise. But the combination of rhetoric and politics, which Protagoras implies with his division into “*prattein* (doing)” and “*legein* (saying, communicating)”, is analysed and processed in detail not here, but in the *Gorgias*.

In the *Gorgias*, Plato deals with the traditional rhetoric embodied by Gorgias of Leontinoi and his school. The refutation that rhetoric and politics should not be associated with each other is based explicitly on precisely this traditional rhetoric, which Plato characterises as a technique that does not have a sufficient knowledge base and is instead oriented on the taste of the public, taking their (momentary) views as its basis. It therefore operates with the opinions that are, or appear to be familiar and pleasing to most people, and therefore also probable.

When, in the second sub-conversation of the dialogue, that with the Gorgias disciple Polos, Socrates then denies that rhetoric has the quality of a *techne*, a science, and instead calls it a spurious art and compares it to the art of cookery, which looks only towards that which appears tasty to the customer, this is a judgement on the manner in which rhetoric is usually applied and taught. It is not a judgement on how rhetoric can be, or what other possibilities of a rhetorical art/science might exist.

Socrates posits the theory that rhetoric is not a science, but merely an experiential technique that is aimed at evoking gratification and pleasure (Gr. 462c4–7). Among these flatteries, which Socrates also refers to as *habitudes*, rhetoric (sc. of Gorgias) is the one that strives to be a *politike* or *dikastike techne*, in other words a knowledge of justice and injustice in the state, and is just like the spurious art of cookery, which pretends to be a healing art, or personal adornment, which presents itself as a sport art, and sophistry, which gives the impression of legislation/nomothetic without being this.

In this passage, which concerns the knowledge basis of traditional rhetoric as defended by Polos, Socrates uses a series of dialectic techniques, precisely in the sense in which its knowledge is positively demanded by the orator in Plato's *Phaedrus*.

The Greek manuscripts also depict this dialectic basis demanded by the orator in the marginal notes, by using diairesis schemata such as those also disseminated in the manuscripts on logic by Aristotle and used by ancient commentators on Plato, as we can see, for example, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century commentator, Olympiodorus the Younger.

For that we will have a look at Bodleianus Clarkianus 39 (Siglum B), 376r (= Platon, Grg. 463c3f.) (written about 895 AD)

Paradeigmata somatos psyches  
iatrike dikastike  
gymnastike nomothetike  
eidola kommotike sophistike  
opsopoi rhetorike

Plato depicts the defect of traditional rhetoric also performatively here by using dihairetic methods in the analysis of the rhetorical techne and compels it to procure a sufficiently well-founded knowledge, in contrast to mere uncertain experiences, whose basis, what's more, is the fluctuating opinion of the masses, which relates to sensual momentary pleasure. The schemata of the manuscripts make evident this link between the knowledge-based dialectic and a rhetoric that operates purely on the basis of opinions.

In Plato's schema, rhetoric and sophistike techne both appear as spurious arts or mere illusory/shadowy reflections of the actual sciences, namely politics in its aspects of law/jurisprudence and legislation. Rhetoric and sophism merely give the impression of being able to fulfil the function of the political sciences.

Even though the direct rival to whom the discussion relates is old Gorgias, who after all would have been about 95 years old at the time the dialogue was written, a negotiation and dispute is actually being conducted with the rival Isocrates – implicitly, but more effectively in the contemporary reception. In his programmatic speeches Isocrates explicitly rejects the claim that rhetoric can be a political agent only as a scientific technique, i.e. a techniques based on well-founded knowledge, stating that the domain of rhetoric is the linguistically deft negotiation of opinions and the assertion of one's own, "better" opinion. According to Isocrates, questions of truth are beyond the horizon of rhetorical practices and are furthermore concerned with something that cannot be reached anyway in human discourse.

#### *4.3 The practice of the school discussion in the Panathenaicus and the claim of rhetoric to form the state*

This domain of rhetoric is now staged in the widely noted school scene in Isocrates' *Panathenaicus*, namely as an educational practice for Athens and as a paradigm for teaching practice in the school of Isocrates.

At the same time, however, the scene also acts as a pamphlet for a pragmatic technique of negotiation, appropriate to the field of politics, which not only weighs up arguments, but also considers the different publics, anticipates their reactions,

relates the current text to others, critically relates criticism and praise to the different prerequisites and intentions of the assessors, and is, in general, at the level of a comprehensive reflection of the contexts and the knowledge-economic factors of a speech. Isocrates calls the *logoi*, in other words the speech, itself “*didaskalikoi*” and “*technikoi*”, i.e. didactic/related to the lesson, and subject to art/endowed with art (§ 271). If we observe the manner in which Isocrates not only considers different types and requirements of reception and different opinions, but also builds his speech upon them, it would appear appropriate to describe this teaching technique as primarily listener-related, or more precisely: oriented on the opinions of the listeners.

As examples, let us look at three aspects in or supplementary to the appendix of *Panathenaicus*, which illuminate different aspects of this listener orientation and in the course of that (!) redefine what politics and rhetoric actually are. This is done in the case of Isocrates not by means of the term rhetoric, and also not by using the term politics, but by means of the concept of philosophy.

ἀλλ' ἡμῶν μὲν πείραν λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, εἰ φιλοσοφοῦμεν καὶ μεμνή-  
μεθα τῶν ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς λεγομένων καὶ συνιδεῖν δυνηθεῖμεν ἂν ὄν  
τρόπον ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει γεγραμμένος (*Panathenaicus*, 236)

...but because you wanted to test us to see if we were still lovers of wisdom, of we remember what you said during our studies, and if we could understand how you happened to write this discourse. (trans. Terry L. Papillon)

Isocrates thus refers implicitly to the discourse in which he, within the framework of his school, developed his own concept of philosophy, with which he distances himself from the term that Plato had successfully established in his Academy. The fact that he questions both current and former pupils and selects them as a resonance chamber shows clearly that these are established school techniques and a knowledge of the school. Here, Isocrates does not take a new, as-yet unoccupied concept for his educational idea, but instead uses the central idea of a new practice of knowledge developed by Plato, and attempts to turn it completely on its head and reinterpret it traditionally (!) in the sense of a majority opinion. That is the coup undertaken by Isocrates, which was certainly successful as a strategy, at least in the centuries following the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Where in Isocrates' speeches can these strategies be found, and his work on the concept, to which he refers here in his late work? I shall take Speech No. 15 as an example (i.e. the *Antidosis* speech).

The *Antidosis* speech is formally a judicial speech, in other words a speech in the *genos dikanikon*. In all, however, it is not only an autobiographical apology, but above all a prospectus and the institutional positioning of his own school and the formulation of the claim to be the educational institution in Athens. It was written in 354 B.C. and is offensively a pamphlet from Isocrates' school. The choice of apologetic judicial speech as a form is itself an act of reference to Socrates and

his defence speech, and at the same time to Socrates' Apology, which was written/formed to literature by Plato, and therefore a distancing from Plato.

Admittedly, there are (probably) at least 30 years between the writing of the Apology of Socrates by Plato and the *Antidosis* speech (if one assumes, with Ledger, the (late) date of publication to be 386 B.C.). However, the prosecution, process and execution of Socrates were such radical events in Athens that they remained not only a lifelong issue for Plato, but were also branded in the general consciousness. It is therefore not far-fetched to detect a reference in Isocrates' *Antidosis* to this speech by Socrates, or the Platonic formation of this speech.<sup>13</sup>

One of these responses and of the dialogue with Socrates' and Plato's *Apology* is connected with what these thinkers and orators called philosophy. It is not exclusively about the branding of a concept, but rather who has the prerogative of interpretation in the practice of knowledge, as Plato has his Socrates call philosophy. The prerogative is so important because – however it is conceived – it is the new basic discipline since the Pythagoreans and since Plato, it determines the mode and object of knowledge, in whatever field, and thus also determines what is taught and the status of a relevant subject of teaching. It therefore has an epistemological and eminent practical significance for educational contexts.

And yet the defined or approximating approaches to this practice could hardly be more different.<sup>14</sup> Isocrates' concept has two main aspects: 1. Philosophy is a practical skill that is entirely related to the requirements in the politics of the polis; 2. it is the result of an anthropological consideration that certain knowledge is unattainable to us in principle, and that philosophy, as a universal technique and method, must therefore be positioned in the area of the weighing up of and competition between different opinions. Isocrates formulates both points (several times) in a direct, albeit implicit, dialogue with Plato and Plato's Socrates.

Φιλοσοφίαν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν προσαγορεύειν τὴν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὠφελοῦσαν, γυμνασίαν μὲντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀνδρικοτέραν μὲν ἢς οἱ παῖδες ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα παραπλησίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν διαπονηθέντες πρὸς

13 Marina McCoy, *Plato on the Rhetoric of Philosophers and Sophists*, Cambridge, 2007 – believes that there is no methodical separation between Plato's philosophy and the rhetoric of the Sophists, since Plato's Socrates himself permanently acts rhetorically. Therefore there could only be a difference from a moral perspective or with a view to the soul qualities.

14 Isocrates, *Antidosis*, § 266: Φιλοσοφίαν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν προσαγορεύειν τὴν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὠφελοῦσαν, γυμνασίαν μὲντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀνδρικοτέραν μὲν ἢς οἱ παῖδες ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ποιοῦνται... § 271: περὶ δὲ σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας, τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐκ ἂν ἀρμόσειε λέγειν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων, —ἔστιν γὰρ ἀλλότρια πάσαις ταῖς πραγματείαις, —ἔμοι δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρίνομαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὑπὸ τινῶν φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ εἶναι φημι, προσήκει τὴν δικαίως ἂν νομιζομένην ὁρίσαι καὶ δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς...

μὲν τὸ βέλτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδεμίαν πω λαμβάνουσιν ἐπίδοσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτῶν εὐμαθέστεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὰ μείζω καὶ σπουδαιότερα τῶν μαθημάτων. (Antidosis, 266f.)

I do not, however, think it proper to apply the term philosophy to a training which is no help to us in the present either in our speech or in our actions, but rather I would call it a gymnastic of the mind and a preparation for philosophy. It is, to be sure, a study more advanced than that which boys in school pursue,... (transl. by George Norlin)

Both the idea of a mere preparation and propaedeutic for actual philosophy as a disqualification of an area of knowledge or a method, and a worked-out concept of the actual “mathemata”, the subjects of philosophy, come from Plato. In his criticism of traditional rhetoric, Plato calls their techniques merely

τὰ πρὸ τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μαθήματα

the preliminary that is a necessary knowledge (Phdr. 269b)

which one should not confuse with science itself, because it possesses only the competence of experience, but not knowledge with sufficient reasoning.

Such knowledge is what Plato calls something that elevates the soul from becoming to being (olkon epi ten ousian), in other words that is knowledge of its principles and not only of its fulfilments. (R. 521d) According to Plato, it is at the same time the actual political techne. For only true philosophers have something that makes them ideal for state leadership: they strive towards nothing other than what is best for the state, and are not involved in power struggles on their own behalf (R. 521b1–2)

Τίνας οὖν ἄλλους ἀναγκάσεις ἰέναι ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἢ οἱ περὶ τούτων τε φρονιμώτατοι δι' ὧν ἄριστα πόλις οἰκεῖται, ἔχουσι τε τιμὰς ἄλλας καὶ βίον ἀμείνω τοῦ πολιτικοῦ· (10) Οὐδένας ἄλλους, ἔφη (R. 521b7–10)

Isocrates is of the opposite opinion. And he expresses this explicitly by picking up the gauntlet and defending and defining his own concept of philosophy:

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη μοι τὸ νῦν εἶναι ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι καὶ συμβεβουλευκέναι· (Antidosis, 270)

Now I have spoken and advised you enough on these studies for the present.

περὶ δὲ σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας, τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὐκ ἂν ἀρμόσειε λέγειν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων, —ἔστιν γὰρ ἀλλότρια πάσαις ταῖς πραγματείαις, —ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ κρίνομαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὑπὸ τινῶν φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ εἶναι φημι, προσήκει τὴν δικαίως ἂν νομιζομένην ὀρίσαι καὶ δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

It remains to tell you about wisdom and philosophy. It is true that if one were pleading a case on any other issue it would be out of place to discuss these words (for they are foreign to all litigation), but it is appropriate for me, since I am being tried on such an issue, and since I hold that what some people call philosophy is not entitled to that name, to define and explain to you what philosophy, properly conceived, really is.

Isocrates stages this duty very clearly, both formally and linguistically, as Socratic, although the content conveyed is the exact opposite. For he disputes the possibility of certain knowledge and makes the case for detouring to the level of opinion (§ 271). The Socratic gesture consists in the hesitant answer and the claim that he was worried about contravening the prevailing opinion:

Ἄ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν ἔχω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὀκνῶ δὲ λέγειν· οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν σφόδρα καὶ παρὰδοξα καὶ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀφεστῶτα διανοίας, ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἅπαν ἐμπλήσητε τὸ δικαστήριον. Ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενος ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι γάρ, εἴ τισιν δόξω δεδιῶς ὑπὲρ γήρωσ καὶ μικροῦ βίου προοιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. (§ 272)

What the studies are which have this power I can tell you, although I hesitate to do so they are so contrary to popular belief and so very far removed from the opinions of the rest of the world, that I am afraid lest when you first hear them you will fill the whole court-room with your murmurs and your cries. Nevertheless, in spite of my misgivings, I shall attempt to tell you about them for I blush at the thought that anyone might suspect me of betraying the truth to save my old age and the little of life remaining to me.

The “I am afraid lest when you first hear them you will fill the whole court-room with your murmurs and your cries” (ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἅπαν ἐμπλήσητε τὸ δικαστήριον) responds to the “Men of Athens, don’t murmur and be unwilling” καὶ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσητε (Apol. 20e4 und vgl. auch 30c2) from the Apology. In this passage, Socrates is in the process of reporting how Pythia described him as the wisest man, and how he himself wanted to examine why she said this and what is actually meant by knowledge since he, Socrates, himself did not believe he knew anything. In the Platonic narrative – particularly that which is told dialogically in the series Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, Crito, Phaedo – it is the nucleus of philosophising and of the proto-philosopher Socrates. He makes clear, with his call on the judges not to be unwilling, that his speech does not serve the expectations or prior opinions of his listeners, but instead confronts them with something unfamiliar and unpleasant to them: with the fact of the limitedness of their knowledge. At the end of the speech, Plato demonstrates this contradiction explicitly: the



contradiction between the truth that the god speaks, and the opinion of the mass of the people. Socrates tenaciously follows the truth, he cannot desist from doing so, it is as much a part of him as breathing (Apol. 29d4–5): *καὶ ἕωσπερ ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἶός τε ᾧ, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι φιλοσοφῶν* – “as long as I breathe and am able to do so, I will not cease philosophizing”. This type of philosophy is in fact new in its contemporary context. Its truth operates beyond the horizon of the common crowd, and is therefore difficult to establish. But it operates clearly in the field of politics. It is a very political issue that is at stake in the trial against Socrates: the freedom of speech and intellectual practice and the readiness of the Athenians to strive for well founded political knowledge and decisions!

It is quite a different matter with Isocrates: His supposedly unheard-of and difficult-to-convey position here is, as he subsequently says, indeed probably not all that inaccessible. For he says that there can be no such thing as a technique that truly improves people’s character; however, what is possible is for people to in fact become better by developing an ambition to speak well and persuade, namely better in a practically relevant sense, and useful to the state (or. 12, § 274f.). Isocrates also explains how this could happen: By addressing ideals and concentrating on what is good, by practising this in their speeches and internalising it. And it is even more the examples that can have an effect on the character of the orator:

*Ἐπειτα τῶν πράξεων τῶν συντεινουσῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξεται τὰς προεπωδεδεστάτας καὶ μάλιστα συμφερούσας· ὁ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας συνθετιζόμενος θεωρεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξει ταύτην δύναμιν, ὥσθ’ ἅμα τὸ λέγειν εὖ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παραγενήσεται τοῖς φιλοσόφως καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους διακειμένοις.*

In the second place, he will select from all the actions of men which bear upon his subject those examples which are the most illustrious and the most edifying; and, habituating himself to contemplate and appraise such examples, he will feel their influence not only in the preparation of a given discourse but in all the actions of his life. It follows, then, that the power to speak well and think right will reward the man who approaches the art of discourse with love of wisdom and love of honor. (or. 15, § 276f.)

That did not miss its intended effect: one only needs to look at Cicero and his preference for Isocratean education and philosophy to be aware of it. But what effect does this Apology have in its contemporary context? Is this idea of habitualisation by means of an almost physical conditioning with good and just contents really so new? And what is its rational foundation?

It is clear that Isocrates repeatedly emphasises that the good orator strives towards and must achieve the best for the state. But what he completely lacks is a concrete teaching concept of how this orator can achieve this, what his criteria for this task are: Here, we as readers are entirely thrown back on the idea that this

either occurs naturally, or directly as a result of rhetoric training itself, however this is conceived in detail. The good and correct examples rub off on the orator. But how can he recognise which are the right, the truly good examples that he should follow? In his texts, Isocrates fails to provide any criteria or method of derivation. Here, Plato would exercise criticism, and Plato did exercise criticism where it concerned the difficulties of justifying a rhetoric that operates without a certain, justified episteme.

Thus Isocrates does in fact identify the art of rhetoric with the art of politics – quite in line with Plato. However both the education-practical effect and the principles and criteria of this identification are diametrically opposed. This does not mean that the speeches and considerations of Isocrates cannot be conceived with Plato as a common oikos of texts and actors and political references. They refer to the same realities, the same authorities, indeed at times to the same text segments. They define and inspire each other mutually, and through the (usually implicit) dialogue they generate changes in the knowledge of rhetoric and politics.

## 5 Conclusions

What do the economies of philosophy contribute here to a concrete analysis? I have attempted to show that the reciprocal references between different authors, and the innertextual and extratextual references play an essential role for the practices of philosophy and higher education. The perspective on the specific contour and the dynamics of these references with which the economies of philosophy are addressed proves to be indispensable, particularly in such knowledge bases and the practices that are carried out with these, in which the reference practices do not fall in with a tradition, but instead develop and execute rival concepts and philosophical practices. Plato and Isocrates are involved in intensive exchange processes, each of which reflect back on what they themselves are doing, and what they teach and represent. They refer permanently to each other reciprocally, but they do so while rejecting the position of the other and formulating the claim that their concept of philosophy and education is superior. They therefore operate in economies of philosophy, in exchange processes that are not aimed at the constitution of a common knowledge base, but on institutional and conceptual rivalry, on delimitation and transformation.

But economies of philosophy can also be constituted through a form of connection with an existing position or texts. When Plato binds his dialogue characters together with internal references and relates their issues and arguments to each other in this manner, or when Aristotle reuses a school example that was evoked by Plato in a similar context, these are not competing dynamics and interactions, but rather cooperative exchanges that develop a dynamic network with different actors and functions. Such economies can be part of a tradition in the conventional sense of a heritage community.

These practices of referencing, of creating critical and affirmative or neutral referential connections, can be described – not only metaphorically – as economic, in

the sense of negotiating processes. They can also provide a supplementary explanation for the quality of economic action and economic practices. For, on the one hand concrete and material economies actually are involved in the philosophical practices described: the exchange of didactic lessons and concepts takes place in concrete actions and has effects on and references to concrete and material/financial practices: enrolling in a school and circulating texts that not only describe, but indeed write the school identity. Knowledge and philosophical practices are not goods that can be shipped, but they are also embedded in and related to material and social processes. Furthermore, on a second level, the functional references can also be described as economical in the sense of “efficient”. They interlock functionally and serve to contribute to knowledge creation and knowledge linking.

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## II

### Strukturen der Ordnung und ihre Beschreibung



# Literarische Gattungen als Wissensoikonomien

## Ein Versuch zum Liebes- und Abenteuerroman der Vormoderne

Jutta Eming

Gattungstheorie und Gattungsgeschichte gehören zu den grundlegenden Aufgaben jeder Literaturwissenschaft, und zugleich zu ihren anspruchsvollsten und undankbarsten. Grundlegend, weil sie Ordnungskategorien für einen Gegenstandsbereich bilden, der sich sonst als unübersichtliche Menge heterogenen Textmaterials darstellen würde. Anspruchsvoll, weil dafür Kriterien zu erarbeiten sind, welche eine übergreifende Gestalt ebenso wie den kreativen Umgang mit ihr erfassen können. Undankbar, weil keine Systematisierung feinteilig genug gegenüber der Komplexität des Untersuchungsfelds in einem gegebenen zeiträumlichen Raster ausfällt und immer auch einzelne Dichtungen verfehlt. Sollen interne Entwicklungen von Gattungen mitberücksichtigt werden, und dies ist so gut wie immer nötig, potenziert sich die Problematik. Alle Ansätze der jüngeren Gattungstheorie, die entgegen älterer normativer und regelpoetischer Standards<sup>1</sup> zum Beispiel historisch-semantisch,<sup>2</sup> historisch-genetisch,<sup>3</sup> geschichtsphilosophisch,<sup>4</sup> morphologisch-tiefenstrukturell,<sup>5</sup> fiktionalitätstheoretisch<sup>6</sup> oder kulturanthropologisch<sup>7</sup> verfahren, mussten diesen Schwierigkeiten begegnen.

- 1 Vgl. dazu einführend den Überblick bei Marion Gymnich, „7. Historische Systematik von Gattungen“, in: *Handbuch Gattungstheorie*, hg. von Rüdiger Zymner, Stuttgart/Weimar 2010, S. 146–147.
- 2 Für den (mittelalterlichen) Roman vgl. Francis Gingras, *Le Bâtard conquérant. Essor et expansion du genre romanesque au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2011 (Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 106).
- 3 In komparatistischer Perspektive vgl. etwa (für die mittelalterliche Novellistik) Klaus Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos. Eine Geschichte der europäischen Novellistik im Mittelalter: Fabliau – Märe – Novelle*, München 2006.
- 4 Nicht zur jüngeren Gattungstheorie zählend, aber einschlägig für den Ansatz und für eine Theorie des Epos in Antike und teilweise Mittelalter: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Ästhetik*, 2 Bde., hg. von Friedrich Bassenge, Berlin 1985, *passim*.
- 5 Kontrovers, aber einflussreich für den höfischen Roman des Mittelalters: Ralf Simon, *Einführung in die strukturalistische Poetik des mittelalterlichen Romans. Analysen zu deutschen Romanen der matière de Bretagne*, Würzburg 1990 (Epistemata LXVI). Vgl. außerdem Rainer Warning, „Formen narrativer Identitätskonstitution im Höfischen Roman“, in: *Identität*, hg. von Odo Marquard und Karlheinz Stierle, München 1979 (Poetik und Hermeneutik VIII), S. 553–589.
- 6 Für den mittelalterlichen Roman v.a. Walter Haug, *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 1985. Mit Klaus W. Hempfer, *Literaturwissenschaft – Grundlagen einer systematischen Theorie*, Stuttgart 2018, S. 196, ließe sich eventuell auch von einem archetypischen Ansatz sprechen. Haug sieht die Entwicklung des mittelalterlichen Romans an die Entwicklung von Fiktionalität gebunden, wie ähnlich vor ihm bereits Hans Robert Jauf, „Epos und Roman – eine vergleichende Betrachtung an Texten des

Der Begriff der Wissensoikonomie bietet hier einen neuen Ansatz, weil er eine dynamische multidirektionale Perspektive auf historische Gegenstände und ihre Transfers in Zeit und Raum erlaubt und damit vielen Problemen früherer Kulturgeschichtsschreibung und Gattungsgeschichte entgeht. Die Literaturwissenschaft hat sich zwar längst von einer Gattungstheorie verabschiedet, welche qualifizierend die ‚Klassiker‘ von den ‚Epigonen‘ und ‚Originale‘ von ihren Derivaten unterscheidet. Die Fragen, wo ein Anfangspunkt und wo ein ungefährender Endpunkt einer Gattung zu setzen ist, welche Formenvielfalt an eine Grundgestalt noch sinnvoll zurückgebunden werden kann, welche Kriterien fester Bestandteil der Gattung zu sein haben, um als solche noch identifiziert werden zu können, drängen sich jedoch mit Zwangsläufigkeit auf. Wissensoikonomien stellen dagegen Ausschnitte von epistemischen Bewegungen in Zeit und Raum dar, welche weder einen Ursprung noch ein Ziel haben müssen und weder teleologisch noch gleichförmig in dem Sinne ausgerichtet sind, dass Bewegungsrichtung, -geschwindigkeit oder -dauer festgelegt wäre oder keine Veränderungen erfahren dürfte. Vielmehr sind ganz im Gegenteil gerade die verschiedenen Kontexte von Interesse, in denen sich Transfers und ihre Effekte verdichten, beschleunigen oder verlangsamen, in denen sie stillstehen oder aufhören. Als Beschreibungskategorien für solche Verlaufsformen greifen, wie im Weiteren gezeigt wird, die Begriffe der Dynamik, der Reziprozität und des negativen Transfers. Zu Wissensoikonomien gehören allelopoietische Dynamiken, bei denen sich ein Objekt im Zuge der Transfers retrospektiv verändert und damit gleichsam einen Spezialfall von Reziprozität darstellt. Eine Gattungsgeschichte als Wissensoikonomie aufzufassen, bedeutet dezidiert, multidirektionale, teils asynchrone und widersprüchliche Verlaufsformen eines literarischen Systems zu beschreiben, das grundsätzlich offen und veränderbar ist. Eine solche Gattungsgeschichte wird nicht mit dem Anspruch verknüpft, Anfangs- und Endpunkte zu benennen und zu begründen.

Im Folgenden wird versucht, diesen Ansatz nicht für Gattungen generell, sondern für ein spezielles literarisches Genre der Vormoderne produktiv zu machen, den Liebes- und Abenteuerroman. Dieser hat historische Bewegungen vollzogen, welche zeitlich, räumlich und konzeptionell derart weit auseinander liegen, dass bewährte Methoden der Gattungstheorie immer wieder an Grenzen geraten sind und zur Bildung von Sub-Genres geführt haben. Davon legen verschiedene abweichende Bezeichnungen wie zum Beispiel Liebes- und Reiseroman,<sup>8</sup> Minne- und

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XII. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1956–1976*, hg. von ders., München 1977, S. 310–326.

- 7 In unterschiedlicher Ausformung bei André Jolles, *Einfache Formen. Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz*, Halle (Saale) 1930 (Forschungsinstitut für Neuere Philologie Leipzig: Neugermanistische Abteilung; 2), Neudruck Darmstadt 1958, oder Emil Staiger, *Grundbegriffe der Poetik*, Zürich 1946. Die Gattungsauffassung von Staiger ließe sich mit Hempfer auch als ‚platonisch‘ bezeichnen, vgl. Hempfer, *Literaturwissenschaft*, S. 182.
- 8 Vgl. Hans-Jürgen Bachorski, „*grosse ungelücke und unsägliche widerwertigkeit und doch ein quotes seliges ende*. Narrative Strukturen und ideologische Probleme des Liebes- und Reiseromans in



Aventiureroman<sup>9</sup> oder ‚sentimentaler Roman‘<sup>10</sup> Zeugnis ab. Der Versuch, über die bisherigen Systembildungen hinauszugehen, hat, ganz im Sinne des Verständnisses von Wissensoikonomien als einer Beschreibungskategorie für bewegliche und langfristige historische Konfigurationen, nicht den Charakter eines Neuansatzes oder Bruchs mit früheren Ansätzen. Eine Reihe substantieller Studien aus der internationalen Klassischen Philologie, Mediävistik und Frühneuzeitforschung, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten einschlägig an der Konzeptualisierung der Gattung gearbeitet haben, sind dafür nicht zu verwerfen. Es geht vielmehr um eine integrative Perspektive, welche es erlaubt, die Einzelstudien und ihre Ergebnisse aufeinander zu beziehen.

Anzuschließen ist nicht zuletzt an Auseinandersetzungen mit Gattungstheorie und Gattungsbegriffen seit der Antike, die literaturwissenschaftlich bis in die jüngste Zeit hinein erarbeitet worden sind. Erforderlich ist, wie kürzlich Klaus W. Hempfer erläutert hat, zum Beispiel eine Klärung der Analyseebene und des Abstraktionsgrads des jeweils verwendeten Gattungsbegriffs, denn: „Als theoretischer Terminus dient ‚Gattung‘ – neben differenzierenden Terminologien – zur Bezeichnung höchst unterschiedlicher Textgruppenbildungen.“<sup>11</sup> Von verschiedenen Ebenen des Begriffs, welche Hempfer definiert, kann im Folgenden die Gebrauchsweise des Terminus Gattung „für historisch variable, aber gleichwohl synchron und diachron distinktive Textgruppenbildungen“ zugrunde gelegt werden, zu denen der Roman zweifellos gehört,<sup>12</sup> sowie für seine sich dabei ausbildenden Sub-Gattungen.

Die vorgeschlagene Perspektive der Wissensoikonomien erlaubt es dann einerseits, Veränderungen innerhalb eines literarischen Gesamtzusammenhangs zu beschreiben, die zum Beispiel durch die Adaptation anderer Gattungs- und Erzählmuster oder aus der Auseinandersetzung mit den vorgängigen Exemplaren der Gattung entstehen und diese dabei langfristig erst konstituieren: „Die je historischen Textgruppenbildungen basieren auf Bezugnahmen von Texten auf Texte und der Systematisierung dieser Bezugnahmen in der poetologischen Tradition

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Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit“, in: *Fremderfahrung in Texten des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Günter Berger und Stephan Kohl, Trier 1993, S. 59–86.

9 Zum Beispiel Klaus Ridder, *Mittelhochdeutsche Minne- und Aventiureromane. Fiktion, Geschichte und literarische Tradition im späthöfischen Roman: ‚Reinfried von Braunschweig‘, ‚Wilhelm von Österreich‘, ‚Friedrich von Schwaben‘*, Berlin 1998 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 12), Armin Schulz, *Poetik des Hybriden. Schema, Variation und intertextuelle Kombinatorik in der Minne- und Aventureepik: Willehalm von Orlens – Partonopier und Meliur – Wilhelm von Österreich – Die schöne Magelone*, Berlin 2000.

10 Vgl. Ilka Büschen, *Sentimentalität. Überlegungen zur Theorie und Untersuchungen an mittelhochdeutschen Epen*, Stuttgart u. a. 1974 (Studien zur Poetik und Geschichte der Literatur 38); Joachim Knappe, „‚Empfindsamkeit‘ in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit als Forschungsproblem. Eine Bestandsaufnahme“, in: *Liebe in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. St-Andrews-Colloquium 1985, hg. von Jeffrey Ashcroft, Dietrich Huschenbett und William Henry Jackson, Tübingen 1987, S. 221–242.

11 Hempfer, *Literaturwissenschaft*, S. 178.

12 Ebd., S. 179.

seit der Antike.<sup>13</sup> Von der Ausbildung einer poetologischen Tradition kann auch dann gesprochen werden, wenn, wie im Falle des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans, diese implizit oder immanent, auf der Ebene der Romane selbst, manifest wird.<sup>14</sup> In wissensökonomischer Perspektive lassen sich die Qualitäten verschiedener Aneignungen jedoch noch viel präziser herausarbeiten. Denn so unterschiedlich die Transfers, welche die Gattung vollzieht, so unterschiedlich ist das kulturelle Wissen, das sich dabei in ihnen sowohl niederschlägt als auch modifiziert wird.<sup>15</sup>

Die vorgeschlagene Perspektive erlaubt es in diesem Sinne in einem hohen Maße, außerliterarische Faktoren zu integrieren, die zum Beispiel das Weiterleben der Gattung im materiellen Sinne sicherten oder ihre weitere Entwicklung angestoßen haben. Dazu gehören aber auch Bildungsbewegungen der Spätantike bzw. des Frühmittelalters im Römischen Reich und im arabischen Raum,<sup>16</sup> welche dazu führten, dass griechische Manuskripte in großem Umfang kopiert und archiviert werden konnten.<sup>17</sup> Dazu gehört die Entwicklung des Buchdrucks, der einen literarischen Markt hervorbrachte und seine fortan wechselnden Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen hatte. Ansätze aus vorgängigen Publikationen, literarische Gattungsgeschichte nicht losgelöst von Faktoren wie Gesellschaft und Herrschaft, Produktions- und Rezeptionsbedingungen, Medialität und Materialität zu schreiben, können aufgegriffen und integriert, aber je nach Kontext auch fokussiert werden – auf einzelne oder mehrere Akteure, länger- und kurzfristige Entwicklungen.

Ein weiterer Vorzug des Begriffs der Wissensökonomie für die Rekonstruktion einer historischen Gattungsgeschichte resultiert aus dem Umstand, dass letztere auch diskontinuierlich verläuft.<sup>18</sup> Dafür lassen sich ‚negative Transfers‘ adressieren

13 Ebd., S. 185.

14 Einiges lässt sich aus Kommentaren rekonstruieren, die in Antike und byzantinischer Zeit in anderen Kontexten formuliert wurden, vgl. Heinrich Kuch zu Kommentaren bei Macrobius und anderen, „Gattungstheoretische Überlegungen zum antiken Roman“, in: *Philologus* 129 (1985), S. 3–19, hier S. 8–12.

15 Hempfer beschreibt Gattungsentwicklungen auch als Netzwerke, und damit mit einem Begriff, der den Wissensökonomien durchaus ähnlich ist. Ihm geht es dabei jedoch um literaturimmanente Entwicklungen, während der Begriff der Wissensökonomie, wie er hier zugrunde gelegt wird, ausdrücklich außerliterarische Prozesse einbezieht: „Historische Gattungen [...] konstituieren [...] ‚Netzwerke‘ komplexer Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen je historischen Texten und Textgruppen, wobei immer schon Interdependenzen und partielle Überlagerungen zwischen unterschiedlichen ‚Netzwerken‘ mitzudenken sind.“ (*Literaturwissenschaft*, hier S. 212.)

16 Diese epochal-spatiale Kennzeichnung wird hier aus Gründen der konventionellen Identifizierbarkeit beibehalten, sie ist grundsätzlich unbefriedigend, vgl. dazu Nora Schmidt, Nora K. Schmid und Angelika Neuwirth, *Denkraum Spätantike. Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran*, Wiesbaden 2016 (Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zur einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 5).

17 Vgl. Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel*, New Brunswick/New Jersey 1997, Kapitel IX: „Ancient Novels and the Fiction of the Middle Ages“, S. 175–212.

18 Dies auch entgegen Christine Putzo, die mit suggestivem Duktus („dieser – von wem eigentlich stammende? von wo eigentlich ererbte? – Gattungsbegriff“, S. 42, dass sie die Antwort auf diese Frage kennt, zeigt sich wenige Seiten später) am Beispiel der mittelalterlichen Vertreter gegen eine Gattungsgeschichte anschreibt, die eine ‚geschlossene Kontinuität‘ behauptete (vgl. S. 64), was erst noch zu zeigen wäre. Mit aufklärerischem Impetus („begrenzte Gruppe von

und hinsichtlich ihrer epistemischen Dynamiken weiter differenzieren. Eine Negation wird hierbei als ein genuiner Bestandteil eines bestimmten Wissensmodus verstanden, der an verneinende, widersprüchliche oder elliptische Darstellungsweisen gebunden ist, oder als Verfahren, das es ermöglicht, das Ausgeschlossene, Abgelehnte oder Verlorene bei der Neukontextualisierung von Wissen in den Fokus zu rücken. Beispielsweise ist zu fragen, ob eine offensichtlich wissent- und willentliche Umbesetzung<sup>19</sup> einer literarischen Tradition vorliegt oder ob diese das Ergebnis zufälliger oder – zumindest retrospektiv – unerklärlicher Prozesse ist? Nimmt die Abkehr von der Tradition Formen der Kritik, der Parodie, der Gegenentwürfe an? Inszeniert sie sich selbst als Bruch? Ist mit Blick auf das hier zugrunde gelegte Corpus in wissensoikonomischer Perspektive überhaupt noch plausibel zu machen, dass die Dichtungen nach Jahrhunderten „plötzlich“<sup>20</sup> eine Renaissance erlebt haben sollen?

Schließlich macht der Begriff es selbstverständlich möglich, die Veränderungen, welche literarische Texte in Gattungssystemen erfahren, nicht nur mit Wissensbewegungen zu korrelieren, sondern selbst als epistemische Bewegungen zu begreifen. Im Falle des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans ist das schon deshalb angemessen, weil zentrale antike Vertreter in die Bildungsbewegung der Zweiten Sophistik eingebettet sind.<sup>21</sup> Dass Literatur Wissen transportiert und verändert, wird dabei im Weiteren vorausgesetzt, nicht mehr eigens begründet<sup>22</sup> und im Folgen-

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Romanen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, über deren historische Zusammengehörigkeit keine Illusionen bestehen dürfen“, S. 42) listet sie alle Gattungsmerkmale auf, um sie ohne weitere Begründung zu verwerfen, und zeichnet alle Systematisierungsversuche der Forschung nach, ohne überzeugende von weniger überzeugenden zu trennen. Fluchtpunkt ihrer Argumentation ist allerdings gar keine konstruktive Kritik, da sie die Gattungsgeschichtsschreibung selbst in Frage stellt und als „Umweg der Frage nach dem Gegenstand“ (S. 70) bezeichnet. Vgl. Christine Putzo, „Eine Verlegenheitslösung. Der ‚Minne und Aventiureroman‘ in der germanistischen Mediävistik“, in: *Hybridität und Spiel. Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Baisch und Jutta Eming, Berlin 2013, S. 41–70. Einer solchen Kritik an mangelnder Gegenstandsadäquatheit hat sich Gattungstheorie immer wieder ausgesetzt gesehen und ist ihr auch begegnet, vgl. dazu die verschiedenen Einträge im Teil A: Aspekte der literaturwissenschaftlichen Gattungsbestimmung, im Handbuch von Rüdiger Zymner, *Handbuch Gattungstheorie*, hg. von ders., Stuttgart/Weimar 2010, hier S. 7–46.

19 Der Begriff der Umbesetzung wurde von Hans Blumenberg geprägt. Er ist für eine Beschreibung dessen, was sich in langfristigen Adaptionen von Gattungskomponenten vollzieht, auf Grund seiner spezifischen Fassung des Verhältnisses von Tradition und Innovation anschlussfähig: „Der Begriff der ‚Umbesetzung‘ bezeichnet implikativ das Minimum an Identität, das noch in der bewegtesten Bewegung der Geschichte muß aufgefunden oder zumindest vorausgesetzt und gesucht werden können.“ Hans Blumenberg, *Aspekte der Epochenschwelle: Cusaner und Nolaner*, Frankfurt am Main <sup>2</sup>1982, S. 17.

20 Tomas Hägg, *Eros und Tyche. Der Roman in der antiken Welt*, übersetzt von Kai Brodersen, Mainz 1987 (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 36), S. 96, im Kapitel „Die byzantinische Renaissance“.

21 Vgl. ebd., S. 52.

22 Umfassend aufgearbeitet ist der Zusammenhang in *Literatur und Wissen. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, hg. von Roland Borgards, Harald Neumeyer, Nicolas Pethes und Yvonne Wübben, Heidelberg 2013. Vgl. zuletzt auch, mit Fokus auf dem Kriterium der Wahrheit und dem Begriff des Narrativs, Albrecht Korschörke, *Wahrheit und Erfindung. Grundzüge einer Allgemeinen*

den nur an einigen Beispielen vertieft. Der Versuch, eine literarische Gattung als Wissensoikonomie zu beschreiben, folgt einer anderen Prämisse: einer Form der Systembildung, die hier zu beschreiben ist. Systembildung heißt auf dem Gebiet der Gattungstheorie etwa, „zu zeigen, wie Texte sich selbst durch Themenwahl, literarische Mittel der Darstellung in Gattungsreihen einschreiben, was wiederum Auswirkungen auf die Rezeption und Interpretation hat.“<sup>23</sup> Die Gattung des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans bildet sich damit also strenggenommen noch nicht im Hellenismus heraus, sondern erst eigentlich im Verlaufe der weiteren Aneignungen und Re-Kontextualisierungen.

## 1 Systembildung und Allelopoiese

Den konventionellen Ausgangspunkt für die hier zu betrachtende Gattungsgeschichte bildet eine überschaubare Gruppe von vollständigen Texten und Textfragmenten, die während zweier Phasen eines Zeitraums entstanden sind, der konventionell dem Hellenismus zugerechnet wird. Alle Darstellungen setzen mehr oder weniger eindeutig an diesem Punkt ein.<sup>24</sup> Aus dem Bewusstsein heraus, dass literarische Gattungen jedoch nicht in einem kulturellen Vakuum entstehen, hatte Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bereits der Altphilologe Erwin Rhode versucht, das literarische Umfeld umfassend zu rekonstruieren. Dies war, woran Niklas Holzberg noch viele Jahrzehnte später kritisch erinnert,<sup>25</sup> in erster Linie einer folgenreichen Geringschätzung der Werke geschuldet.<sup>26</sup> Teleologische, unidirektionale Modelle von Ursprung, Blüte, Dekadenz haben die Gattungsgeschichtsschreibung auch in diesem Falle lange bestimmt. Gerade in wissensoikonomischer Perspektive erscheint Rhodes Ansatzpunkt jetzt jedoch wieder anschlussfähig. Denn in ihr lassen sich Gattungen als Kristallisationspunkte innerhalb von synchronen und diachronen Strömungen mündlicher und schriftlicher Dichtungen begreifen, die sich an beiden zeitlichen Achsen entlang zumindest teilweise weit verfolgen lassen. So dürfte für die zentrale Gattungskonstituente des Abenteuers die *Odyssee* modellbildend gewirkt haben.

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*Erzähltheorie*, Frankfurt am Main 2012, S. 329–398. Für den Zusammenhang des Teilprojekts B02 im SFB 980 *Episteme in Bewegung* vgl. Jutta Eming, Falk Quenstedt und Tilo Renz, *Das Wunderbare als Konfiguration des Wissens – Grundlegungen zu seiner Epistemologie*. Working Paper No. 12/2018, Sonderforschungsbereich 980 „Episteme in Bewegung“, 2018.

23 Zeller, Rosemarie, [Rez.] Rüdiger Zymner, *Gattungstheorie. Probleme und Positionen der Literaturwissenschaft*. Paderborn 2003, in: *Arbitrium* 23/1 (2005), S. 14–18.

24 Vgl. neben Hägg vor allem Niklas Holzberg, *Der antike Roman*, München/Zürich 1986 (Artemis-Einführungen 25).

25 Vgl. Holzberg, *Der antike Roman*, S. 34–35.

26 Erwin Rhode, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*. Zweite, durch Zusätze aus dem Handexemplar des Verfassers und durch den Vortrag über griechische Novellistik vermehrte Auflage, Leipzig 1900, S. 3: „[...] und so fragt man sich mit Verwunderung, wie doch die erzählende Dichtung des griechischen Volkes, mit Homer beginnend, mit einer Schöpfung ihre fruchtbare Tätigkeit beschließen konnte, die, gerade indem sie der modernen Welt ein nun freilich längst übertroffenes Vorbild unmittelbarer Nachahmung wurde, auf das Deutlichste die Selbstvernichtung des eigensten Wesens der Antike an sich darstellt.“

Zugleich haben spezifische historische Momenta die älteren Erzählweisen neu konfiguriert.<sup>27</sup> Wie viele antike Liebes- und Abenteuerromane dabei tatsächlich entstanden sind, lässt sich unmöglich rekonstruieren. Die für die zwei historischen Perioden an nur fünf vollständigen Romanen zu beobachtenden poetologischen Prinzipien jedoch haben sich in den folgenden Jahrhunderten als einerseits derart flexibel und andererseits als so tragfähig erwiesen, dass die von dem kleinen Corpus ausgehende Textgeschichte sich heute als historisch langlebigste aller romanhaften Gattungen darstellt, als eines seiner erfolgreichsten Sub-Genres, das mindestens bis ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein wirkt und das bekannteste romanhafte Paradigma, nämlich den Bildungsroman, dabei weit hinter sich lässt.<sup>28</sup> Um dies darstellen zu können, ist der Begriff der Wissensoikonomie nicht zuletzt auch besser geeignet als das rezente Konzept von Weltliteratur, mit dem es sonst einige Prämissen durchaus teilt.<sup>29</sup>

Wie also verläuft die Systembildung mit Blick auf die zu beobachtende Gattung? Das Basisschema des Erzählens hat Michail M. Bachtin am klarsten beschrieben.<sup>30</sup> Allerdings gehört es zur Wissensoikonomie dieser – und wohl jeder – Gattungsgeschichte, dass mit dem Fortschritt des Kenntnisstands einzelne Kriterien Ergänzungen, Revisionen, Neubewertungen erfahren.<sup>31</sup> Das Schema besteht aus einem einfachen Plot, in dem ein Liebespaar eine Phase des Zusammenseins erlebt, gefolgt von einer (oder mehrerer) Trennung(en) bis zur Wiedervereinigung, mit welcher der Roman endet. Die Partner stammen aus verschiedenen Kulturen, was zentrale Konfliktpotentiale birgt. Die topographische Verankerung im Mittelmeerraum schafft die Voraussetzung für das zentrale Motiv der Reise oder der Abenteuerfahrt;<sup>32</sup> weitere Elemente sind die Figur des Nebenbuhlers;<sup>33</sup> expressive

27 Vgl. die Hinweise auf die Diskussion bei Holzberg, *Der antike Roman*, und seine These des ‚Eskapismus‘, der kulturell typisch für den Hellenismus gewesen sei, S. 36 *et passim*.

28 Vgl. für die romanhafte Entwicklung Doody, *True Story*, für exemplarische Adaptationen in Literatur und weiteren Kunstformen, auch im Film, Massimo Fusillo, „Modernity and Post-Modernity“, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*, hg. von Tim Whitmarsh, Cambridge 2008, S. 321–339.

29 Sandra Richters groß angelegte und programmatische Untersuchung bezieht sich spezifisch auf die Anfänge, weitere Entwicklung und globale Wirkung von deutschsprachiger Literatur. In der Gattungsgeschichte des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans stellt die deutschsprachige Aneignung hingegen nur einen Ausschnitt dar. Die auf S. 15 ihrer Studie dargelegten Fragestellungen etwa nach der Rolle von globalen Literatur- und Kulturtraditionen, nach Übersetzungen und produktiven Aneignungen, Knoten und Netzwerken, zentralen Werken für ein großes Publikum beschäftigen auch in Bezug auf Wissensoikonomien. Vgl. Sandra Richter, *Eine Weltgeschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, München 2017.

30 Vgl. Michail M. Bachtin, *Chronotopos*. Aus dem Russischen von Michael Dewey. Mit einem Nachwort von Michael C. Frank und Kirsten Mahlke, Frankfurt am Main 2008, hier S. 10–11.

31 Als kritischer Punkt hat sich in Bezug auf Bachtins Kriterien etwa sein Verständnis abstrakter Abenteuerzeit erwiesen, vgl. dazu Lawrence Kim, „Time“, in: *The Greek and Roman Novel*, hg. von Tim Whitmarsh, Cambridge 2008, S. 145–161.

32 Der Abenteuerbegriff der Gattung ist allerdings speziell, vgl. Bachtin, *Chronotopos*, S. 24: „Charakteristisch für den Abenteuerchronotops sind [...]: die *technische, abstrakte Verbindung von Raum und Zeit, die Umkehrbarkeit* der Momente der Zeitreihe und deren *Austauschbarkeit* im Raum.“

33 Vgl. einführend dazu das figurale Bestimmungskriterium im Handbuch zur Gattungstheorie

Emotionen;<sup>34</sup> eine Tendenz zu Inszenierungen, Verstellungen, Identitätswechsellern und Incognitos;<sup>35</sup> extreme Ereignisse wie Schiffbruch, Piratenüberfälle, Raub der Heldin und ‚Verkauf‘ in einen Harem oder ein Bordell, Schein-Hinrichtungen; eng verbunden damit das Wirken eines Fatums, welches das Geschehen als unvorhersehbar, undurchschaubar und bedrohlich, kurz: als kontingent erscheinen lässt.<sup>36</sup> Dieses Ensemble von Merkmalen wäre mit Hempfer als intensional zu qualifizieren,<sup>37</sup> eine treffende Bezeichnung bietet jedoch auch Christoph Cormeaus Begriff der ‚Komponentenkomplexion‘, dem ein dynamisches Gattungsmodell zugrunde liegt,<sup>38</sup> wie es im vorliegenden Fall unerlässlich ist: Weder ist der genannte Merkmal-Katalog des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans auf synchroner und diachroner Ebene homogen ausgeprägt,<sup>39</sup> noch lassen sich, wie die ‚Wiederentdeckungen‘ einzelner Romane zeigen (s.u.), die Veränderungen in einem evolutionären Modell darstellen. Insgesamt bildet das genannte Struktur- und Motiv-Reservoir die kritische Masse an Charakteristika, welche die Gattung wiedererkennbar macht und damit weit über die in einige Gattungsbezeichnungen aufgenommenen Pole ‚Liebe‘ und ‚Abenteuer‘ hinausreicht.

Zur Systembildung gehören nicht zuletzt die wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Umwertungen der Gattung in jüngerer Zeit, die zentral auf Michail M. Bachtins Beiträge zur Romanpoetik zurückgehen und in der Klassischen Philologie sowie in der Mediävistik und Frühneuzeitforschung aufgegriffen wurden.<sup>40</sup> Die negativen Transfers in verschiedenen Philologien, welche unterschiedliche Gründe haben, aber vielfach darauf zurückgehen, dass sie einer Aufnahme in den literaturwissenschaftlichen Kanon als nicht würdig erachtet wurden, waren damit sukzessive

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von Zymner; Dirk Göttsche, „2.2 Figural als Bestimmungskriterium“, in: *Handbuch Gattungstheorie*, hg. von Rüdiger Zymner, Stuttgart/Weimar 2010, S. 31–32.

- 34 Zu dieser Konstituente vgl. insbesondere Jutta Eming, *Emotion und Expression. Untersuchungen zu deutschen und französischen Liebes- und Abenteuerromanen des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin/New York 2006 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 39).
- 35 Vgl. ebd. S. 80–92.
- 36 Einen wichtigen Ansatzpunkt, um horizontale und vertikale Bewegungen zentraler Motive bis in die Literatur der Moderne weiter verfolgen zu können, bietet außerdem eine Liste von ‚Tropen‘, welche Doody erarbeitet hat (z.B. „Marshes, Shores, and Muddy Margins“, „Ekphrasis“), vgl. *True Story*, S. 303–464. Vgl. dazu auch die Analyse von Jutta Eming, „A Philological Bastard’s Revenge. On Adventure and Knowledge in *Theagenes und Charikleia*“, in: *Aventiure und Eskapade. Narrative des Abenteuerlichen vom Mittelalter zur Moderne*, hg. von Ralf Schlechtweg-Jahn und Jutta Eming, Göttingen 2017, S. 83–100.
- 37 Vgl. Hempfer, *Literaturwissenschaft*, S. 195.
- 38 Vgl. Christoph Cormeau, *‚Wigalois‘ und ‚Diu Crone‘. Zwei Kapitel zur Gattungsgeschichte des nachklassischen Aventiureromans*, München/Zürich 1977 (MTU 57), S. 6.
- 39 In den Fassungen des *Apollonius*-Romans ist der weibliche Part auf zwei Figuren (Mutter und Tochter) aufgespalten; *Daphnis und Chloe* weist als einzigen Schauplatz eine Insel auf. Vgl. auch Renate Johne, „Zur Figurencharakteristik im antiken Roman“, in: *Der antike Roman. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Kommunikation und Gattungsgeschichte*, von einem Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von Heinrich Kuch, Berlin 1989, S. 150–177.
- 40 Für die Mediävistik viel zitierte frühe Beiträge sind: Werner Röske, „Höfische und unhöfische Minne- und Abenteuerromane“, in: *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, hg. von Volker Mertens und Ulrich Müller, Stuttgart 1984, S. 395–423; Bachorski, *grosse ungelücke*.

und in wiederum unterschiedlichen Verlaufsformen beendet.<sup>41</sup> Besonders auffällig ist in diesem Zusammenhang die rückwirkende ‚Entdeckung‘ der ‚Modernität‘ der Anfänge, die sich in der Frühen Neuzeit vollzieht. Heliodor „avanciert zum Gründungsvater der Gattung“.<sup>42</sup>

## 2 Transfers: Schwerpunkte und Verflechtungen

Welche zeitlichen, räumlich-geographischen, sprachlichen, stilistischen, materiellen und ideellen Bewegungen durchläuft die Gattung? Dies zu zeigen würde derart viel Raum erfordern – und bedürfte nicht zuletzt noch umfangreicher Forschungen und interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit von sämtlichen Philologien –, dass überblickshaft am ehesten graphisch oder diagrammatisch an eine Linie zu denken wäre, die sich nach den zwei zeitlichen Schwerpunkten im Hellenismus asynchron in zwei euromediterrane Traditionen spaltet (griechisch-ostromisch und lateinisch-westromisch) und in unübersehbar vielen volkssprachlichen Adaptationen weitere Filiationen und unterschiedliche Verflechtungen ausbildet. Daneben wären Transfers in die arabische Welt, insbesondere auf die Erzähltradition von 1001 Nacht, zu verzeichnen,<sup>43</sup> die ihrerseits reziprok verlaufen.<sup>44</sup> Wissensoikonomisch ließe sich dabei gut nachvollziehen, inwiefern Übertragungen immer auch ihre Quelltexte verändern.<sup>45</sup> Für verschiedene Jahrhunderte und Epochen wären graphisch je andere Verteilungsmuster anzusetzen. Für den Liebes- und Abenteuerroman sind zentrale Stationen das 12.–14. Jahrhundert in Byzanz, das

41 Relativ spät vollzieht sich dies etwa in der Romanistik, wo die Konzentration auf die Romane Chrétien de Troyes und seine literarischen Aneignungen diesen Romantyp unberücksichtigt ließen, was sich mittlerweile geändert hat. Vgl. dazu Friedrich Wolfzettel, „Ein idyllischer Roman ohne Idylle. Zu *Paris et Vienne*“, in: *Hybridität und Spiel. Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Baisch und Jutta Eming, Berlin 2013, S. 27–40, mit weiteren Literaturangaben zum Forschungsstand. Der genannte Roman bezeugt unter anderem die jiddischen Transfers der Gattung, vgl. dazu Armin Schulz, *Die Zeichen des Körpers und der Liebe. ‚Paris und Vienna‘ in der jiddischen Fassung des Elia Levita*, Hamburg 2000.

42 Stefan Seeber, *Diesseits der Epochenschwelle. Der Roman als vormoderne Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, Göttingen 2017, S. 149; ferner Hägg, *Eros und Tyche*, S. 74–96; Eming, „Philological Bastard“; sowie Günter Berger, „Legitimation und Modell. Die *Aithiopia* als Prototyp des französischen heroisch-galanten Romans“, in: *Antike und Abendland* 30 (1984), S. 177–189. Vgl. außerdem das Forschungsprojekt „*El peregrino en su patria*. Recodierungen von ‚alt‘ und ‚neu‘ in der ‚novela de peregrinación‘ des Siglo de Oro“ von Anita Traninger im Rahmen der Forschungsgruppe 2305 „Diskursivierungen von Neuem“.

43 Vgl. dazu Tomas Hägg: „The Oriental Reception of Greek Novels: A Survey with Some Preliminary Considerations“, in: *Symbolae Osloenses* 61/1 (1986), S. 99–131.

44 Auf Einflüsse der Erzählsammlung auf den Plot des mittelalterlichen Flore-Romans verweist E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed. Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture*, Philadelphia 2002, S. 212. Eine offenkundige Parallele liegt im Motiv der regelmäßigen Tötung der Jungfrau.

45 Vgl. Richter, *Weltliteratur*, S. 23: „Zahllose Lyrikübersetzungen und Lyrikanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts etwa entstellten ihre Ausgangstexte, um sie an die eigenen Sprachen und Ausdrucksweisen anzupassen.“ Dies ist natürlich nur ein Extrembeispiel, die Veränderung des Ursprungstextes durch die Übersetzung besteht als Fakt weiter und ist nicht vermeidbar.

gleichsam die Brücke zwischen den antiken Gattungsvertretern und der Entwicklung des Typs im Mittelalter bildet, die Adaptation in den höfischen Kulturen des Mittelalters vom 12.–14. Jahrhundert, in denen das antike Gattungsschema an die neuen Erzählmuster und Selbstverständigungsmodelle der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft angeschlossen wird, und eine Hoch-Konjunktur in der Literaturszene der Frühen Neuzeit, in welcher die Gattung über die höfische Gesellschaft hinaus allmählich zu einer populären Romanform wird. Von hier führten dann weitere Linien und Sprosslinien in die Moderne und zu neuen Medien, wie der Musik (z.B. Verdi, *Aida*) und dem Film.<sup>46</sup>

Eine wichtige historische Verknüpfung entsteht im Kontext der sich im antiken Rom seit dem 1. Jahrhundert allmählich formierenden frühchristlichen Gemeinde. Dabei gewinnt auch eine neue Literaturgeschichte ihre Konturen: Zwischen dem 2. und 4. Jahrhundert bildet sich der Kanon der neutestamentlichen Schriften heraus, und es entstehen die neuen narrativen Formen der Märtyrergeschichten und Heiligenlegenden, welche ihrerseits das ältere kulturelle Modell des vorbildlichen Menschen neu besetzen. Eine zentrale Prägung erfährt die frühchristliche in dieser Hinsicht durch die jüdische Literatur.<sup>47</sup> In den neuen Narrativen sind das historische Wissen um religiöse Verfolgung, christliche Gemeinschaftsbildung und Konversion sowie die für verschiedene Religionen zentrale Vorstellung reflektiert, dass Gott sich in der Welt durch Wunder zu erkennen gibt. Dies bedeutet, dass die Romanhelden jetzt einer Basisbestimmung Bachtins zufolge dezidiert „ideologisch aktiv“ werden können, was sie im antiken Liebes- und Abenteuerroman eigentlich nicht waren: Für letzteren gilt gerade die ‚Privatheit‘ der Anliegen als typisch. Legenden und sogenannte Märtyrerakten bringen aber auch die Paradigmen der ‚Duldung‘ und der Durchsetzungskraft im Glauben hervor,<sup>48</sup> die sich – was noch vergleichsweise wenig erforscht ist –<sup>49</sup> mit der Basisstruktur des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans, in der ein leidgeprüftes Paar aller Unbilden zum Trotz an seiner Beziehung festhält, leicht verbinden. Als Beispiele dafür werden vielfach die sogenannten *Pseudo-Clementinen* genannt<sup>50</sup> und der Roman *Paulos und Thekla*.<sup>51</sup> Auch die von Bachtin als typisch erachtete ‚Passivität‘ der Helden hat hier entscheidende Weichen gestellt, also die These

46 Vgl. zu letzterem etwa Massimo Fusillo, *Modernity and Post-Modernity*.

47 Vgl. Uta Störmer-Caysa, *Grundstrukturen mittelalterlicher Erzählungen. Raum und Zeit im höfischen Roman*, Berlin/New York 2007, S. 184–191.

48 Diesen schlägt Hägg insbesondere den weiblichen Figuren zu, vgl. *Eros und Tyche*, S. 199.

49 Vgl. neben Störmer-Caysa bereits Hägg, „Die neuen Helden: Apostel, Märtyrer und Heilige“, in: *Eros und Tyche*, Kap. VI, S. 190–203; Werner Röcke, „Konversion und problematische Gewissheit. Transformationen des antiken Liebesromans und der frühchristlichen acta-Literatur in legendarischen Liebes- und Abenteuerromanen des Mittelalters“, in: *Hybridität und Spiel. Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Baisch und Jutta Eming, Berlin 2013, S. 397–411.

50 Vgl. Hägg, *Eros und Tyche*, S. 200–201; Störmer-Caysa, *Grundstrukturen*, S. 188–191; Röcke, *Konversion und problematische Gewissheit*, S. 401–403.

51 Vgl. Hägg, *Eros und Tyche*, S. 190–200; Röcke, „Konversion und problematische Gewissheit“, S. 400–403.



– die auch Kritik hervorgerufen hat –, dass der Held des Abenteuerromans ein ‚Mensch des Zufalls‘ sei, getrieben von den Wechselfällen des Schicksals. Er ergreift keine Eigeninitiative,<sup>52</sup> ist passiv und mit sich selbst identisch,<sup>53</sup> was durchaus als Positivum verstanden wird, weil es dem Thema der ‚Prüfung‘ zuspielet. Als ‚privater‘ Mensch<sup>54</sup> wird er tendenziell einsam.

Die Verbindung zum Typus der Heiligen- und Märtyrererzählung wirkt nachhaltig. Im westlichen Europa tun sich, sehr vereinfacht gesagt, in der Folge „zwei divergierende Verständniswege auf: das Vorbild der Legende mit dem beispielhaft duldbaren Helden einerseits, das des Ritterromans, in dem sich der Held sein Leben verdienen muss, auf der anderen Seite.“<sup>55</sup> Ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit setzt – ab dem 12. Jahrhundert – eine byzantinische Neubearbeitung des Romanschemas ein, und zwar in Form von neuen Dichtungen ebenso wie in Form von Übersetzungen,<sup>56</sup> um im 14. Jahrhundert in eine neue Erzähltradition zu münden, die stärker unter westlich-römischem als unter griechischem Einfluss steht, womit eine Linie zurück zu den anderen Überlieferungssträngen gezeichnet werden könnte.<sup>57</sup> Durch einen Blick in die Forschungsliteratur kann dabei leicht der Eindruck entstehen, dass Byzanz als vermittelnde Kultur für die Gattung zwischen griechischer Antike und mittelalterlich-europäischer Aufbereitung fungierte. Aus der Perspektive des Transfers erweist sich die Linie der byzantinischen Adaptationen als viel mehr, nämlich als Epoche und Kulturraum, in dem eigene Akzente gesetzt und Spuren hinterlassen wurden, nicht zuletzt in der Gattungsbezeichnung als ‚byzantinischer Roman‘, und die sich keineswegs „plötzlich“ (s.o) der Gattung annimmt, sondern seine Konstituenten ihren spezifischen Themen und Darstellungsinteressen anpassen kann.<sup>58</sup>

Der bereits angesprochene ‚Ritterroman‘ verweist auf die folgenreiche Adaptation des Romantyps im Kontext der höfischen Kultur des Mittelalters. Bei dieser handelt es sich um eine Institution oder Proto-Institution,<sup>59</sup> deren kultursoziologischer Einfluss bis in die Frühe Neuzeit hinein nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt wer-

52 Vgl. Bachtin, *Chronotopos*, S. 18.

53 Vgl. ebd., S. 20.

54 Vgl. ebd., S. 33.

55 Störmer-Caysa, *Grundstrukturen*, S. 187.

56 Vgl. Hägg, *Eros und Tyche*, S. 96–104, außerdem Stavroula Constantinou, „Retelling the Tale: The Byzantine Rewriting of Floire and Blancheflor“, in: *Hybridität und Spiel. Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Baisch und Jutta Eming, Berlin 2013, S. 227–242, Kostas Yiavis, „The Adaptations of Western Sources by Byzantine Vernacular Romances“, in: *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, hg. von Carolina Cupane und Bettina Krönung, Leiden/Boston 2016 (Brill’s Companions to the Byzantine World 1), S. 127–156.

57 Vgl. Hägg, *Eros und Tyche*, S. 103–104, außerdem Constantinou, *Retelling the Tale*, mit vielen weiterführenden Literaturangaben.

58 Dies gilt vor allem für die anglo-amerikanische Forschung, vgl. etwa Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, S. 211, 213.

59 Der hier skizzierte Bezug zu Institutionen ist von dem spezifischen Hempfers (*Literaturwissenschaft*, S. 180), das sich auf Gattungen als Institutionen bezieht, abzugrenzen.

den kann und die speziell dadurch ausgezeichnet ist, dass sie sich in der Sphäre der Literatur und Kunst sowohl manifestiert als auch durch diese reziprok hervor gebracht wird.<sup>60</sup> Sie ist einerseits klar weltlich orientiert und Manifestationsform des kulturell im Gewicht gestiegenen Laienadels und unterhält andererseits vielfältige Beziehungen zur klerikalen, Bildungs-Elite.<sup>61</sup> Diesen Beziehungen dürfte zu verdanken sein, dass die höfische Literatur früh verschiedene antike Narrative aufnimmt, darunter dasjenige des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans. Das beschriebene Motiv-Kompendium bleibt dabei immer erkennbar, zugleich verknüpft es sich mit den neuen höfischen Habitus, Werten und Ritualen. Die eingeführten Themen und Topographien werden auf Formen höfischen Wissens um Normen und ihre Durchsetzung lesbar: die Queste des Ritters, die oft zum Erwerb einer Ehefrau und eines eigenen Herrschaftsbereichs führt, der Minne-Diskurs, das Prinzip des Zweikampfs während der Abenteuerhandlung, ein Set höfischer Tugenden und politischer Rituale. Zugleich wird die sogenannte Chanson de Geste-Motivik anschlussfähig, also der Erzähltyp einer (kriegerischen) Auseinandersetzung mit nicht-christlichen Gegnern: Der christlich-islamische Gegensatz wird dabei auf die unterschiedlichen Herkunftskulturen des zentralen Paares projiziert, der Typus des orientalischen Despoten tritt auf den Plan und besetzt die alte Figur des Nebenbuhlers neu – paradigmatisch im Roman von *Flore und Blanscheflur*.<sup>62</sup> Die Multikulturalität der Handlungsräume, welche die Romanhelden in der Gattung durchlaufen, hatte Bachtin auf Grund des hohen Abstraktionsgrads der Chronotopoi ausdrücklich als unproblematisch erachtet. Dies ändert sich jetzt, indem die kulturellen Gegensätze zugespitzt und explizit in ihrer Normativität und ihrer Geltung verhandelt werden. Dass dabei auch ein transkulturelles Potential der Dichtungen sichtbar wird, indem Transfers zwischen verschiedenen höfischen Kulturen als ‚shared cultural knowledge‘<sup>63</sup> zur Geltung kommen sowie eine weitreichende Tradition merkantilen Austauschs,<sup>64</sup> lässt sich erst *post festum* in Bedeutung und Umfang analysieren; die Texte setzen selbst oft auf ideologisch-religiöse Vereindeutigungen und kulturelle Hegemoniebildungen.

Typisch für die europäisch außerordentlich breit überlieferte *Flore*-Erzählung<sup>65</sup> und ihren Plot ist der Umstand, dass die weibliche Hauptfigur nun keine

60 Seit Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 Bde., Frankfurt am Main 1977.

61 Grundlegend: C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939–1210*, Philadelphia 1985.

62 Auch die französischen (2. Hälfte 12. Jh.) und deutschen (1277) *Partonopier*-Romane sind hier zu nennen, in denen sich die Kriegshandlungen wiederum am Nebenbuhler-Motiv entzünden, vgl. dazu Eming, *Emotion und Expression*, S. 225–237.

63 Im Anschluss an Oleg Grabar, „The Shared Culture of Objects“, in: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, hg. von Henry Maguire, Washington, DC 1997, S. 115–129.

64 Letzteres betont am Beispiel des *Flore*-Romans Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, S. 212 *et passim*.

65 Einen aktuellen Überblick – der die zuerst von Patricia Grieve vertretene Auffassung befürwortet, dass die spanische *Crónica carolingia* eine der frühesten Versionen des Textes transportiert – vermittelt Christine Putzo, „Einleitung“, in: Konrad Fleck: *Flore und Blanscheflur*. Text und Untersuchungen, hg. von dies., Berlin u. a. 2015, S. 1–33, hier S. 1–20. Vgl. außerdem Pat-

„Abenteuer“ mehr erlebt, sondern von den übel wollenden Eltern Flores in den „Orient“ verkauft wird und von dort an den herrschaftlichen Hof gelangt, wo sie mit anderen Frauen in einem Turm gefangen gehalten wird bis zu dem Tag, an dem der Sultan sie für die Dauer eines Jahres heiraten und danach töten lassen wird. Ihre bedrohliche Lage, die sie in ihren Handlungsmöglichkeiten drastisch beschränkt, erträgt sie mit einer im Gegenzug stark ausgearbeiteten Frömmigkeit. Während der Geliebte sich auf ihren Spuren bewegt, um sie zu befreien, und dabei nach wie vor durch Reisen und Listen aktiv handelt, richtet die Heldin im geschlossenen Raum ihre Energien auf das Gebet. Es zeigt sich so – und dies wird für den Liebes- und Abenteuerroman bis weit in die Frühe Neuzeit hinein typisch bleiben –, dass die religiös begründete Duldsamkeit, die aus den Märtyrergeschichten stammt, einseitig auf die weibliche Figur verschoben wird. Über die Gründe für diese Änderung ließe sich lange diskutieren. Die neuen höfischen Modelle von verehrungswürdigen, schützenswerten und zu erobernden Frauen scheinen dabei ebenso Pate gestanden zu haben wie eine Re-Aktualisierung der traditionellen Auffassung, dass das Haus<sup>66</sup> den Aktionsradius der Frau vorgibt, keine – wie immer unfreiwillige – Bewegung im Raum. Letzteres zeigt sich auch am Typus der vor dem Inzestwunsch des Vaters fliehenden Heldin, die ebenfalls im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit weit verbreitet ist. Eine eheliche Verbindung mit ihrem Geliebten wird von seiner Mutter sabotiert, bei welcher eben der Umstand, dass eine junge Frau alleine reist, Misstrauen erweckt. Im Roman von *Mai und Beaflor* zum Beispiel gelangt die Heldin auf ihrer Flucht in das Herrschaftsgebiet des jungen Grafen Mai von Griechenland, der sich in sie verliebt und sie heiraten möchte. Eine eheliche Verbindung wird jedoch von Mais Mutter sabotiert, bei welcher eben der Umstand, dass die junge Frau alleine gereist ist, Misstrauen erweckt:

wil du ein solich wip nemen,  
div von ir genozen  
vm vntat ist verstozen.  
wa gewur ein rein wip ie also?  
(V. 2673–2675)<sup>67</sup>

Willst du eine zur Frau nehmen,  
die von ihrer Familie wegen ihres  
Fehlverhaltens verstoßen worden ist?  
Wann wäre eine tugendhafte Frau je so  
gereist?

Die weitere diskursgeschichtliche Zementierung dieser Auffassung, die auch von anderen Genres des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit befördert wird, kann für Geschlechterkonstruktionen bis in die Moderne nicht hoch genug bewertet werden.

ricia Grieve, *Floire and Blancheflor and the European Romance*, Cambridge u. a. 1997 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 32).

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. Johne, „Figurencharakteristik“, S. 155.

<sup>67</sup> *Mai und Beaflor*. Minneroman des 13. Jahrhunderts, hg. von Christian Kiening und Katharina Mertens-Fleury, Zürich 2008. URL: [http://www.ds.uzh.ch/kiening/Mai\\_und\\_Beaflor/MaiundBeaflor.pdf](http://www.ds.uzh.ch/kiening/Mai_und_Beaflor/MaiundBeaflor.pdf) (18.06.2019).

### 3 Späthöfische Konjunktur

Obwohl der Liebes- und Abenteuerroman historisch heterochrone und geographisch weiträumige Filiationen annimmt, kann er immer wieder „diachrone Kontinuitäten ausbilden, die über die Konstanz transhistorischer Invarianten hinausgehen.“<sup>68</sup> In bestimmten Zeit-Räumen bilden sich damit Sub-Traditionen hinsichtlich der Ausgestaltungen von Basiskomponenten aus. An zwei Beispielen konnten bereits historische Kontexte benannt werden, die wissensökonomisch komplex angelegt sind: die Ausbildung der christlichen Religion mit ihren Institutionen, Deutungsmustern, Narrationen und Paradigmen und der kollektiven Erinnerung an die schwerwiegenden Erfahrungen von Verfolgung und Gewalt; und die höfische Kultur mit neuen Geschlechterkonstruktionen und Kommunikationsformen, die vielerlei Analogien zur arabischen Welt aufweist, sich dieser gegenüber, die sie als ‚heidnisch‘ diffamiert, jedoch zugleich hegemonial verhalten will.

Ein Abschnitt der Gattungsgeschichte, der jetzt wenigstens kurz noch einmal beschäftigen soll, ist der sogenannte späthöfische Roman, der innerhalb der Germanistik sogar zur Ausbildung eines eigenen Gattungsnamens geführt hat, der sowohl ein- als auch ausgrenzend angelegt ist, nämlich zu dem des Minne- und Abenteuerromans. Als kennzeichnend für diesen sind nach Klaus Ridder Tendenzen zu „intertextuellem, zu historisierendem, zu fiktions- und zu sprachreflexivem Erzählen“ zu sehen.<sup>69</sup> Die Themen der Herrschaftsbegründung und -konsolidierung, die im christlich-mittelalterlichen Kontext virulent geworden waren, werden – wie im *Apollonius von Tyland* von Heinrich von Neustadt (um 1300) – nun in noch höherem Umfang mit dem Thema der Eroberung nicht-christlicher, teilweise islamisch konnotierter Räume verknüpft und besetzen das Schema von Reise und Abenteuer neu.

Hinzu treten Ausbuchtungen der grundlegenden Gattungsstruktur um Erzählmuster und Semantiken des Wunderbaren, welche eine ‚temporäre Gemeinschaft‘<sup>70</sup> mit anderen Texten der späthöfischen Literatur aufweist, insbesondere mit dem späthöfischen Artusroman. Besonders augenfällig wird dies wiederum in der bereits genannten Adaptation des antiken *Apollonius*-Romans durch den Wiener Arzt Heinrich von Neustadt, der den Abenteuerteil extrem erweitert und dadurch den Umfang des Romans vervierfacht. Die Abenteuer dieser Minne- und Abenteuerromane nehmen nahezu alles auf, was die zeitgenössische Literatur an Darstellungsmustern des Wunderbaren zu bieten hat und darin vorgängige höfische, aber auch antikisierende Romane noch übertrifft: Anderswelten und utopische Orte, Automaten und luxuriöse Bauten, Zauberer und Feen, Monstren und hybride Tiere, und für den Helden neben Möglichkeiten zur kämpferischen

68 Hempfer, *Literaturwissenschaft*, S. 181.

69 Ridder, *Mittelhochdeutsche Minne- und Abenteuerromane*, S. 8.

70 In Anlehnung an den an der Freien Universität Berlin angesiedelten Exzellenzcluster *Temporal Communities*, der entsprechende Vernetzungen auf breitem interdisziplinären Maßstab untersucht.

Bewährung auch solche zur erotischen Begegnung mit exotischen weiblichen Gegenspielerinnen.

Es ist hervorzuheben, dass in der Steigerung des Wunderbaren die innovativen Elemente dieses Erzählens liegen, nicht im Rekurs auf das Wunderbare selbst, dieses ist dem Abenteuer vielmehr grundsätzlich affin und in einigen Zügen entsprechend in die antiken Texte eingegangen.<sup>71</sup> Indem die aus der keltischen Mythologie in die höfische Literatur eingegangene Figur der Fee im Liebes- und Abenteuerroman nun zur Geliebten (*Partonopier und Meliur*) bzw. Zweit-Geliebten wird (*Friedrich von Schwaben*), verwirrt sich die Erzählstruktur von Trennung und Wiederfindung beinahe bis zur Unkenntlichkeit und die der weiblichen Figur in anderen höfischen Versionen zugeschriebene Passivität und Duldungsfähigkeit wird teilweise durch die weitaus höhere Aktivität und Macht der Frau aus der Anderswelt konterkariert. Diese mangelnde Übersichtlichkeit ist schließlich weniger Zeichen einer Auflösung der Gattung<sup>72</sup> als Reverenz gegenüber einem weiteren zeitgenössischen Trend (zum Beispiel in *Wigalois* und *Diu Crône*), den Abenteuerweg des Helden geheimnisvoller und in seiner Zielführung undurchsichtiger zu gestalten. Die Zeit der Trennung kann zur extensiven Orientfahrt für den männlichen Helden ausgestaltet werden (neben *Apollonius von Tyrland* insbesondere *Reinfried von Braunschweig*) und ein Motivrepertoire von Sirenen bis Magnetberg und magischen Automaten aufrufen und zugleich höchst ungewöhnlich umbesetzen.

Dabei ist die Reflexion von Schriftlichkeit und Medialität eines der wesentlichen Merkmale dieses späthöfischen Erzählens, in der sich verschiedene Formen des Wissens über Möglichkeiten der Nah- und Fernkommunikation manifestieren. Dies zeigt sich an den im Liebes- und Abenteuerroman immer wieder auftauchenden Erzähl-, Schrift-, Briefe- und Botenkonstellationen, die ebenso aussagekräftig wie störanfällig sind und deren Ambivalenz genau beobachtet und für die Intrige funktionalisiert wird.<sup>73</sup> Dass Schrift und Literatur kulturelles Wissen bewahren, wird in den Motivwelten, Dingobjekten und Topographien des Wunderbaren aus-spekuliert, wie dem kleingefalteten Micro-Brief mit magischem Wissen, der einer Art Cyborg im Ohr steckt, der sich im Inneren des Magnetbergs im späthöfischen Liebes- und Abenteuerroman *Reinfried von Braunschweig* befindet.<sup>74</sup> Literatur kann

71 Vgl. Jutta Eming: „Sirenenlist, Brunnenguss, Teufelsflug: Zur Historizität des literarischen Abenteuers“, in: *Abenteuer. Zur Geschichte eines paradoxen Bedürfnisses*, hg. von Nicolai Hannig und Hiram Kümper, Paderborn 2015, S. 53–82, hier S. 70–77; Gingras, *Le Bâtard conquérant*, Kap. 8: „Roman et Aventure“, S. 251–319.

72 So tendenziell auch noch Haug, *Literaturtheorie*.

73 Vgl. Eming, *Emotion und Expression*, S. 126–130 *et passim*; Martin Baisch, „Brief und Briefwechsel im Minne- und Aventiureroman. Phänomenologie – Funktionalität – Perspektiven“, in: *Hybridität und Spiel. Der europäische Liebes- und Abenteuerroman von der Antike zur Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Baisch und Jutta Eming, Berlin 2013, S. 193–206.

74 Vgl. die Besprechung dieser Episode in genannter Perspektive bei Peter Strohschneider, „Sternenschrift. Textkonzepte höfischen Erzählens“, in: *Text und Text in lateinischer und volksprachlicher Überlieferung des Mittelalters*, hg. von Eckart Conrad Lutz, Wolfgang Haubrichs und Klaus Ridder, Berlin 2006 (Wolfram-Studien XIX), S. 33–58, hier S. 41–47.

Gefühle bilden und Liebe erzeugen (*Flore und Blanscheflor*), Briefe können räumliche und zeitliche Distanzen überwinden (*Wilhelm von Österreich*), Emotionen Ausdruck geben und Beziehungen stiften (*Apollonius von Tyrland*), aber auch in die Hände von Verrätern kommen und gefälscht werden (*Mai und Beaflo*). Wenn man Gattungsmischungen als zeitlich begrenzte Gemeinschaften denkt, lässt sich der Minne- und Abenteuerroman als Ergebnis einer äußerst kreativen Gemeinschaft zwischen dem Liebes- und Abenteuerroman, dem späthöfischen Roman und den Erzählreservoirs des Wunderbaren denken, die nach einer Konjunktur im 13./14. Jahrhundert vielleicht in dieser Form nicht mehr steigerungsfähig ist.

#### 4 Medialität der Frühen Neuzeit

Als letzte Station der Gattungsgeschichte, wie sie im vorliegenden eingeschränkten Rahmen nur betrachtet werden kann, ist auf die Frühe Neuzeit und den sich herausbildenden literarischen Markt einzugehen, welcher der Literatur durch die allmähliche Ausbreitung des Buchdrucks neue mediale und soziale Rahmenbedingungen schafft. Dabei entsteht der neue literarische Akteur des Druckers, der im Gegenzug zu den sich jetzt vielfach anonym ausweisenden Autorpersönlichkeiten (*ich vngenant*) namentlich für die Texte verantwortlich zeichnet und seinen Namen mit dem Druckort auf dem Titelblatt vermerkt. Die Autoren orientieren sich in ihren Schreibweisen auch am neuen Kanzleistol, dessen Knappheit zu den manchmal ausufernden Rhetorikern der späthöfischen Literatur in Kontrast tritt. Wissensoikonomisch interessant und maßgeblich auf die Bildungsbewegung des Humanismus zurückzuführen ist nicht zuletzt, dass dieser neue Markt zunächst mehr auf eine Re-Écriture und Re-Kontextualisierung bekannter Romane setzt als auf regelrechte Neuschöpfungen. Dafür gibt es ein stadtbürgerliches Publikum, das sich vorerst aus der wohlhabenden Schicht der Patrizier rekrutiert und insofern an den alten adligen Eliten orientiert, als sie sich die neuen, zunächst teuren Inkunabeldrucke ebenfalls als Prestigeobjekte leistet. Erst im 16. Jahrhundert entstehen preiswertere Druckerzeugnisse für eine breitere städtische Rezipientenschicht. Die Reformation kurbelt durch das exemplarische Medium der Flugschrift diese Entwicklung weiter an und hinterlässt im Weiteren unübersehbare Spuren in Bearbeitungstendenzen erbaulicher und literarischer Texte, Lieder, geistlicher und weltlicher Spiele und vielem mehr. Seit dem 17. Jahrhundert, wie Bethany Wiggin gezeigt hat, sind Romane in Frankreich, Deutschland und England sogar eingebettet in einen Diskurs über Mode.<sup>75</sup>

Alle Faktoren wirken ineinander, als in diesem Kontext der Liebes- und Abenteuerroman neue Popularität erlebt oder anders gesagt: durch die nun an den Druckauflagen nachvollziehbaren Erfolgsquoten zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte überhaupt zu einer wirklich populären Gattung wird. Hinzu treten allfällige Koinzidenzen: Dürfte generell das humanistische Interesse an der Antike einen

<sup>75</sup> Bethany Wiggin, *Novel Translations. The European Novel and the German Book, 1680–1730*, Ithaca/New York 2011.

großen Einfluss auf die neue Beschäftigung mit der Gattung ausgeübt haben, ist es gerade im Falle des künftig als paradigmatisch geltenden Vertreters der Gattung, nämlich Heliodors *Aithiopika*, ein anderer Kontext, der gleichwohl nicht weniger aussagekräftig ist. Denn „Johann Zschorn, der Schulmeister aus dem elsässischen Westhofen“, von dem 1559 eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint,<sup>76</sup> interessiert die Geschichte der Liebenden „als Thesaurus sozialer, religiöser und moralischer Überzeugungen und eines entsprechenden gesellschaftlichen Wissensvorrats“, und er annotiert den Text entsprechend.<sup>77</sup> Der frühere Wissenskontext des Romans wird damit gestärkt und einem neuen Publikum zugänglich gemacht, das darauf allerdings zunächst kaum reagiert. Deshalb sieht Stefan Seeber im Falle der *Aithiopika* eine Spaltung der Rezeption am Werk oder eine: „europäische Rezeption der zwei Geschwindigkeiten: Während vor allem in Frankreich und in England die *Aithiopika* schon kurz nach ihrem Erscheinen die Gattungsentwicklung entscheidend beeinflussen und zum ‚Prototyp‘ der Gattung werden, rezipiert man Heliodor im deutschsprachigen Gebiet zeitversetzt, die deutsche Übersetzung von 1559 wird dabei von allen Protagonisten der Romandebatte der Zeit ignoriert.“<sup>78</sup>

Daneben gibt es weitere negative Transfers zu verzeichnen: Das große Interesse am *Flore*-Roman etwa ist weitgehend zurückgegangen. Eine besonders prominente Ausnahme sticht allerdings hervor, nämlich Boccaccios Erstlingsroman *Il Filocolo* (1338/41), der die Grundstruktur wesentlich erweitert – unter anderem um eine Erzählsequenz, die sein bekanntestes Werk antizipiert, das *Decamerone*. In letzterem wird umgekehrt eine Novelle erscheinen, welche die Miniatur eines Liebes- und Abenteuerromans darstellt. Als immanentes poetologisches Wissen zeigt sich an solcher Dialogizität eine Nähe von Roman und Novelle bzw. die romantypische Tendenz zur Gattungsmischung, die Bachtin besonders betont hatte.

Keine bekannten griechischen Vorläufer hat hingegen die Geschichte von der *Schönen Magelone*, eine der neben den herausragenden *Aithiopika* erfolgreichsten Neugestaltungen der Gattung überhaupt. Sie unterscheidet sich von der mäandernden und achronen Erzählweise der Heliodor-Geschichte sogar durch ihre ausgesprochen schmucklose und stringente Anlage und macht so deutlich, dass die frühneuzeitliche Gattungsgeschichte stilistisch ganz unterschiedlichen Modellen folgt. Es scheint, als ob das neue Stilideal der ‚brevitas‘ dem klaren basalen Handlungsgerüst der Texte besonders angemessen ist und im Falle der *Magelone*

76 Diese geht wiederum nicht auf den griechischen Text, sondern auf eine lateinische Zwischenstufe zurück, die bereits wissensokonomisch einschneidende Eingriffe vornimmt, indem sie den Text mit einem Index an Wissenswertem versieht (vgl. Doody, *True Story*, S. 237–239; Eming, „Philological Bastard“; Seeber, *Diesseits der Epochenschwelle*, S. 160–203) – ein für einen Roman nach heutigen Begriffen höchst ungewöhnlicher Vorgang. Im Abbildungsteil von Doodys Buch findet sich eine Photographie des Index (Plate 20).

77 Werner Röcke, „Fiktionale Literatur und literarischer Markt“, in: *Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, hg. von Werner Röcke und Marina Münkler, München 2004 (Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, Band 1), S. 463–506, hier S. 501.

78 Seeber, *Diesseits der Epochenschwelle*, S. 151.

zu einer reizvollen Konzentration auf die Liebesthematik des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans führt, die andere Beziehungstypen – vor allem Freunde, Erzieher, Eltern und Nebenbuhler – de-thematisiert. Besonders ist die *Magelone* in wissens-ökonomischer Hinsicht aber aus dem Grund, dass sie nahezu alle genannten neuen Kontexte an ihrer Textgeschichte sichtbar macht. Dazu gehören neben dem Medienwechsel vom Vers zur Prosa und von der Handschrift zum Druck, die sie mitvollzieht, mehreren sprachlichen Transfers und den unterschiedlichen Kontexten von Hof und Stadt auch, dass sie in der protestantisch geprägten Fassung Veit Warbecks in der Frühen Neuzeit riesige Erfolge feiert, daneben aber auch (mindestens) zwei katholisch geprägte Varianten vorliegen, die sich neben der Frömmigkeitsauffassung auch hinsichtlich der Emotionsdarstellung unterscheiden.<sup>79</sup> Die Geschichte der *Magelone*-Erzählung reicht bis weit in die Frühe Neuzeit hinein, wo sie in der Adaptation Ludwig Tiecks künftig als Inbegriff der romantischen Erzählung gelten wird.

## 5 Ein kurzes Fazit

Die Gattung des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans erweist sich als ein transkulturelles Kontinuum, deren Stärke gerade nicht in normativer Formstrenge, sondern in einer bemerkenswerten strukturellen Offenheit und poetologischen Flexibilität liegt, die es ihr ermöglichen, historische Transfers in immer neue Kontexte und Medien zu durchlaufen. Auf diese Weise scheint sie sich auf den ersten Blick immer wieder neu zu erfinden; tatsächlich rücken jedoch gerade ihre Re-Aktualisierungen vorgängige Stufen der Gattungsgeschichte wieder in ein neues Licht. Jede Übertragung in eine neue Sprache wirkt auf das Verständnis des Quelltextes zurück, jede Anleihe bei weiteren Gattungs- und Erzählmustern lässt deren spezifische Potentiale hervortreten, jede Adaptation in Prosa führt implizit zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit der Reim- bzw. Versform. Jede Übertragung entsteht in einem eigenen kulturellen Zusammenhang, ist durch diesen geprägt und wirkt womöglich auch auf ihn zurück. Je nach synchronem kulturellen Kontext wird die zentrale Liebesthematik um die Themen von Freundschaft, Reisen, Fremderfahrung, Wunderbarem, Geheimnis, Eroberung, Herrschaft, Familie, höfischem Comment und staatsmännischer Diplomatie angereichert, wird sie mehr oder weniger in intertextuelle Zitate, poetologische Reflexionen und Erzählexperimente eingebettet. Keine der Entwicklungen wäre – je nach Kontext – ohne die Initiative von einzelnen Personen – zu denken ist hier auch an die mittelalterliche Person des Mäzens –, Institutionen, Bildungsbewegungen, sozialen und medialen Prozessen u. v. m. möglich gewesen.

Die überwältigende Vielgestaltigkeit an Form und Überlieferung des Liebes- und Abenteuerromans, die bisher noch in keiner Weise hinreichend aufgearbeitet ist, bringt traditionelle Gattungstheorien an ihre Grenzen. Mit der Kategorie der

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. ebd. S. 139–146, zur „Katholischen Alternativfassung“ von 1525, die der französischen Vorlage von Warbeck nahesteht.



Wissensoikonomie lässt sie sich neu begreifen. Multidimensionalität und Komplexität der Transfers sind dafür affirmativ hinsichtlich je neuer epistemischer Valenzen zu analysieren, die ihnen historisch zuwachsen. Wenn Gattungen in ihren historischen Verlaufsformen als Wissensoikonomien aufgefasst werden, machen sie zugleich Wissen virulent, das historisch in sie eingegangen ist und durch sie weiterentwickelt wird. Sie sind Teil von Wissensoikonomien, indem sie größere epistemische Transfers mit konstituieren. Der Liebes- und Abenteuerroman gibt dafür ein herausragendes Beispiel, aber nicht das einzig denkbare: Auch die Geschichte anderer romanhafter Subgattungen, kleiner Formen der Novelle, die verschiedenen Formen des Schauspiels oder auch die Gattung des Ghazal, die sich seit dem 5. Jahrhundert ausgehend von der arabischen Halbinsel zu weltliterarischem Rang entwickelt,<sup>80</sup> um nur einige zu nennen, wären unter der Voraussetzung neu darstellbar, dass sie weder eines klaren Anfangs noch eines Endes, keiner übersichtlichen Verlaufsform und keiner fixierten Gestalt bedürfen, um als Gattungen identifizierbar zu sein.

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<sup>80</sup> Vgl. *Ghazal as World Literature*, hg. von Thomas Bauer und Angelika Neuwirth, Würzburg 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 89).

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# Formations of Knowledge in Chinese Late Antiquity

*Michael Puett*

The concept of 'late antiquity' has been powerfully explored in recent scholarship on the larger Mediterranean world. However, surprisingly few attempts have been made to explore the formations of knowledge in China during this period from a comparable framework. This paper will be an attempt to do so by discussing the complexities of the ways knowledge was transformed in the first few centuries of the Common Era in China, and to frame the discussion in a way that will hopefully open up larger comparative questions.

Given the nature of the materials that we have from China – in some ways similar to those from the Mediterranean region, but in some ways quite different – such an exercise will hopefully help to open up larger historical questions. Are the models currently being debated for the exploration of late antiquity in the Mediterranean region helpful for thinking about this period in Chinese history, and, conversely, do the transformations occurring in the eastern end of Eurasia open up some possible approaches for thinking about formations of knowledge in the Mediterranean region? How, moreover, do we think about comparative history? If a notion of 'late antiquity' is helpful from a larger Eurasian perspective (and I think it is), how should we understand these larger transformations in Eurasia, and how can we helpfully think about transformations of knowledge from a comparative perspective?

## **1 The Concept of Late Antiquity**

The notion of a "late antiquity" did not arise until the twentieth century. It was a direct product of the modernity narratives that had begun coalescing in Europe in the nineteenth century – and that have very much continued through the present. According to these narratives, history should be divided into a periodization of ancient, medieval, and modern. The break to modernity from the medieval period is, of course, the most important moment in these narratives. The precise content given to the medieval period varies according to the specific narrative in question, but typical characterizations involve claims that the medieval period was dominated by ritual, superstitious beliefs, pre-given social hierarchies, etc. The modern period, of course, was defined as a break from such a world of ritual and authority, with humans becoming able to make their own history.

The ancient period – the period that came before the medieval – was usually presented positively – it is what the medieval period destroyed and accordingly what had to be recovered and developed for the full flourishing of modernity. In

perhaps the most common formulation, the ancient period was the first flourishing of human rationality – the emergence of philosophy, science, and democratic forms of governance. From this perspective, late antiquity would then be a degeneration of the world of antiquity – a degeneration that led directly to the medieval world.

Despite the fact that the concept arose in the midst of such teleological conceptions of history, it has recently been taken over by a number of historians explicitly concerned with rejecting such teleologies. Figures such as Peter Brown, Averil Cameron, Glen Bowersock, and Arnaldo Momigliano have explicitly re-thought the notion of late antiquity outside of the paradigm of degeneration and decline.<sup>1</sup> The result has been an intensive study of the social, economic, and religious patterns of the first several centuries of the Common Era, definitively taken out of the modernity narratives of an earlier generation. Instead of placing these centuries within a grand narrative of the eventual rise of modernity, the past several decades of scholarship have focused on the particular and the local to explicate the complex transformations of this period.

Given this history of the concept of late antiquity, and given the recent work that has been done to remove the concept from grand narratives of modernity, it is worth asking if the concept is helpful to use from a larger comparative point of view. In particular, it is worth asking if the concept is one that should be applied to the study of Chinese history. Considering the fact that the concept of ‘late antiquity’ arose as a piece of larger modernity narratives, it would seem directly akin to concepts like ‘early modernity’ – and I have explicitly questioned the use of terms like ‘early modernity’ for precisely this reason.<sup>2</sup> A concept like ‘early modernity’ implies an inherent teleology toward a modern world. Simply making it global does nothing to change the underlying teleological claim. So why would it be helpful to use the term ‘late antiquity’ in a pan-Eurasian sense?

The first part of my answer is that, in China, ‘late antiquity’ is actually an indigenous term, used by figures at the time to describe the world in which they were living. In the *Taiping Jing*, for example, in sections that probably date to the second century, one finds the following:

In high antiquity, those who obtained the Way and were able to bring peace to their rule did so only by nurturing themselves and holding fast to the root. In middle antiquity, there was some loss; they made small mistakes in nurturing themselves and lost the root. In late antiquity, plans were not auspicious, and they regarded their body lightly, saying they could obtain

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1 One of the most influential works in the re-thinking was Peter Brown’s *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982. On the critique of the notion of decline and fall in particular, see Glen W. Bowersock, “The Vanishing Paradigm of the Fall of Rome”, in: *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 49.8 (1996), pp. 29–43. For a helpful collection of some of the key ideas of the subsequent re-thinking, see Glen W. Bowersock et al., *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World*, Cambridge Mass./London 2001.

2 Kathleen Davis and Michael Puett, “Periodization and ‘The Medieval Globe’: A Conversation”, in: *The Medieval Globe* 2.1 (2016), pp. 1–14.

another one. Thus, they greatly lost it [the root], and they brought chaos to their rule. Although this was the case, it was not the fault of the men of later antiquity. It arose from the dangers of inherited burden.<sup>3</sup>

The vision of history here is one of a gradual decline from a period of peace in high antiquity. In middle antiquity, errors started being made. As these errors continued to accumulate, the world fell into chaos. This is the situation of the era when the text is being written – an era of inherited burden, in which the errors of the past have accumulated to dangerous proportions. This is not, the text makes clear, the fault of the people of the current period – it is simply the product of living at the tail end of such an accumulation of errors. This era is explicitly called “late antiquity”.

The term is thus an indigenous one in China in the second century, and, ironically, it is used with very much the same sense of decline that the term initially had in twentieth century scholarship on the Mediterranean region – the same sense, in other words, that a generation of scholars have tried to move beyond.

I will return soon to what the authors of the *Taiping Jing* recommended for their own era and what they thought would come next. But here let me emphasize the implications of such an indigenous usage for our own scholarly historiography. As is clear from this example, claims of ‘late antiquity’ can be made outside of modernity claims. Or, to be more precise, outside of the kinds of teleological modernity narratives that have been so dominant in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Euro-American historiography – narratives that define modernity as a uniquely recent phenomenon.

On the contrary, modernity narratives are hardly unique to the Western world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, in early China, such narratives – as well as critiques of such narratives – were common. The emergence of the first empire in China in 221 BCE occasioned what I would like to call a “modernity moment” – a moment when one gets much the same vision of history commonly associated with the “modern” in the Euro-American world of the past two centuries. The self-proclaimed “First Emperor” explicitly announced himself to be breaking from a traditional world and initiating a radically new era of unity, rectification, and order.<sup>4</sup> As he stated in one of his inscriptions:

3 Wang Ming 王明, *Taiping jing hejiao* 太平經合校 (Collated Edition of the *Taiping jing*), Beijing 1992, 37.61. Here and throughout my translations have been helped immeasurably by those of Barbara Hendrischke in her, *The Scripture on Great Peace: The Taiping jing and the Beginnings of Daoism*, Berkeley 2007. My focus here and later will be on the dialogues between a Celestial Master and the Perfected. Most scholars agree that the content of this section belong to a later Eastern Han context. See the excellent summary by Barbara Hendrischke, “Early Daoist Movements”, in: *The Daoism Handbook*, ed. by Livia Kohn, Leiden 2000, pp. 134–164, here: 143–145.

4 Michael Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China*, Stanford 2001; Davis and Puett, “Periodization and ‘The Medieval Globe’”, pp. 9–10.

It is the twenty-eighth year. The First Emperor has created a new beginning. He has put in order the laws, standards, and principles for the myriad things...

All under Heaven is unified in heart and yielding in will.

Implements have a single measure, and graphs are written in the same way...

He has rectified and given order to the different customs...

His accomplishments surpass those of the five thearchs...<sup>5</sup>

Although the empire that the First Emperor forged would fall soon thereafter, many of the same claims continued in the ensuing Han Empire. Indeed, the *Huainanzi*, an imperial text written in the second century BCE, makes claims concerning an “end of history” directly comparable to those seen in Hegel, and more recently Francis Fukuyama.<sup>6</sup>

Instead of accepting and taking at face value 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Euro-American claims modernity, historians should see such claims as being just that: claims, and claims directly comparable to those seen elsewhere at particular moments in world history. As a comparative hypothesis, I would like to argue that modernity moments are particularly common with the rise or dramatic expansion of empires. This certainly is true for 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century European thought, and certainly true for the kind of “End of History” arguments made in the United States after the end of the Cold War in 1989.

Claims of ‘lateness’, on the contrary, tend to occur when there is a sense of an end of an era. This is true, for example, with more recent claims that we are living in a period of ‘late capitalism’ – the implication, of course, being that the age of capitalism is reaching its end, and will soon be followed either by new era of peace (for example, communism) or (more commonly now) something cataclysmic (such as environmental collapse). And it is certainly true for the claims of late antiquity we have already seen in second century China.

Indeed, claims of modernity and claims of lateness are frequently paired, often quite literally, as in recent sociological arguments concerning ‘late modernity’;<sup>7</sup> but more often paired temporally. This was certainly true with twentieth century theories of ‘late antiquity’ in the ‘late’ Roman Empire beginning the decline that would ultimately be overturned with the rise of modernity. But the two can also be paired in the opposite chronology. As we have already seen, claims of ‘late antiquity’ appear in China in the second century CE, while claims of modernity appear several centuries earlier. Self-proclaimed modernity moments, in other

5 Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, “Qin Shihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, Beijing 1959, 6.245.

6 Michael Puett, “Sages, Creation, and the End of History in the *Huainanzi*”, in: *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, eds. Sarah A. Queen and Michael Puett, Leiden 2014, pp. 269–290.

7 Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford 1991.



words, can also precede self-proclaimed late antiquity moments. Both are based upon a comparable vision of history – either a radical break from a self-proclaimed traditional past or a period of decline leading inexorably to a new beginning. It is much the same vision of history, with the difference largely lying on which side of the break one perceives oneself to be standing.

Once we finally stop accepting the “modernity” claims of the past two centuries at face value, we can start exploring “modernity moments” in world history, asking when and why they arise. And we can do the same for moments of perceived lateness. These can and should be comparative, analytic categories.

To return to the work of Brown et al. to rescue the understanding of the first few centuries of the common era in the Mediterranean region from narratives of decline. The effort is absolutely correct, just as it is correct not to take claims of modernity in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century historiography as the correct way to understand those two centuries. But this should not lead us to ignore the claims made in these periods. Certainly in China claims of lateness are pervasive in the first few centuries of the common era – clearly in the apocalyptic movements that begin emerging for the first time during this period, but, as we shall see, in other areas as well. Such claims were often made in relation to – sometimes against, sometimes returning to – the imperial claims of radically breaking from the past. Such claims are not good descriptors of what was actually going on, but the cultural resonance of such claims still needs to be explored.

What I would like to argue is that, just as the period of the emergence of empires in the last few centuries before the common era should be thought of in larger Eurasian terms, so should the period of the first few centuries of the common period.<sup>8</sup> Late antiquity, I would argue, was a pan-Eurasian phenomenon.

## 2 The World of Late Antiquity in Eastern Eurasia

To make the argument, let us first return to China. And return in particular to the *Taiping Jing*, the text mentioned above that labeled its own era to be one of ‘late antiquity’. To quote again from the same text:

Those in late antiquity have again inherited and carry on the small errors of middle antiquity, and they increasingly make them into ever greater errors... When it comes to summoning the dead, ghosts are not able to come and eat constantly, and yet the sacrificial offerings were nonetheless greatly increased, thereby exceeding the proper standards. Yin grows and overcomes yang. No one knows which ghostly and spiritual creatures repeatedly come to gather together and eat, indulging themselves and having their way, acting like dangerous thieves and killing people without end. When they kill a person, [the ghosts] see an increase in the service [i.e., an increase in the sacrificial offerings] and see no punishments. Why should they not

<sup>8</sup> Michael Puett, “Early China in Eurasian History”, in: *A Companion to Chinese History*, ed. by Michael Szonyi, Malden, MA 2017, pp. 89–105.

continue [killing the living] with all their strength? As a result, pernicious energies grow daily. It all turns back and attacks the giver of the sacrifices.<sup>9</sup>

The errors we saw mentioned above included failures in the practice of sacrifice. By sacrificing too frequently, the ghosts have increased and begun attacking the living. The result is that the entire balance of the living and the dead has been destroyed:

Living humans are yang, ghosts and spirits are yin... Therefore, when yin triumphs, the ghostly creatures join together to create horrors so profound that no words can describe it. This is called the arising of the yin, and the decline of the yang. It causes rule and order to be lost and endangers the living.<sup>10</sup>

The underlying vision of history in the *Taiping Jing* is apocalyptic. The self-proclaimed period of late antiquity is one of dangerous decline, leading inevitably toward a coming cataclysm.

At roughly the same time, another millenarian movement, the Celestial Masters, was similarly arguing that the accumulation of a series of disastrous practices on the part of humanity had resulted in a gradual descent of the cosmos into a coming apocalypse.<sup>11</sup> For the Celestial Masters as well, one of the key reasons for the decline has been the use of sacrifice. Only here the response is even stronger. If the *Taiping Jing* called for a restriction of sacrifice such that a proper balance between the living and dead could be restored, the Celestial Masters called for a rejection of sacrifice altogether.<sup>12</sup>

The response of both the *Taiping Jing* and the Celestial Masters was similar as well: a turn to a higher divine power.<sup>13</sup> With the Celestial Masters, the call was for humanity to follow the precepts revealed by the high deity Laozi, a beneficent deity who had created the cosmos and who provided revelations for how humans should properly live within it. Those who did so would become the seed people for the next cosmos that would be generated after the coming apocalypse.<sup>14</sup>

The sacred scripture revealed by the deity Laozi was the text known as the *Laozi*. According to a commentary written to the text and ascribed to the grandson of the founder of the Celestial Masters, the *Laozi* was a clear, direct text written such that its precepts could be easily understood and easily followed by human-

9 *Taiping jing hejiao*, 46.53.

10 *Taiping jing hejiao*, 46.50–51.

11 Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities*, Cambridge Mass. 2016.

12 Michael Puett, "Forming Spirits for the Way: The Cosmology of the *Xiang'er* Commentary to the *Laozi*", in: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32 (2004), pp. 1–27.

13 Michael Puett, "Ghosts, Gods, and the Coming Apocalypse: Empire and Religion in Early China and Ancient Rome", in: *State Power in Ancient China and Rome*, ed. by Walter Scheidel, Oxford 2015, pp. 230–259.

14 Kleeman, *Celestial Masters*.

ity.<sup>15</sup> If humans stopped sacrificing and started following these precepts, they would survive the coming apocalypse and seed the new cosmos.

Similarly, the *Taiping Jing* called for the creation of a de facto scripture by putting together all of the previous revelations by the high deity Heaven.<sup>16</sup> These revelations had been misunderstood by previous generations (hence leading to the gradual decline), but if humans simply collated all extant writings and arranged them by category, they would add up to a single, clear statement: "If one has these follow one other by category and thereby supplement each other, then together they will form one good sagely statement."<sup>17</sup>

In both cases, the scripture based upon the revelations by a single beneficent deity would overturn existing, false ritual practices. And in both cases the revelations are in written form, purportedly offering clear guidelines that would need no interpretation and no explanation.

Some of these elements were not completely new. Anti-sacrificial movements had begun in China as early as the fourth century BCE, and calls for humans to follow the guidelines of a higher, benevolent deity who had created a moral cosmos were asserted by the Mohists in the fourth century BCE as well.<sup>18</sup> But the drawing of these elements into apocalyptic visions of history with a focus on revealed teachings are part of a formation of knowledge that emerges only during the first few centuries of the common era.

### 3 Eurasian Late Antiquity

Much of what we have seen in these examples from China have clear parallels in the late antiquity of the western end of Eurasia as well. A rejection of sacrifices and a turn to scriptures claimed to have been revealed by a high, purely beneficent divinity; the claim that such scriptures can be read directly, with minimal or no interpretation; the claim that the accumulation of human errors are leading to a coming apocalypse, which will be followed by a great era of peace – these are all well known to scholars studying the first few centuries of the common era in the Mediterranean region. Guy Stroumsa has in particular emphasized precisely these points as characteristic of the emerging religions of late antiquity.<sup>19</sup>

15 Michael Puett, "Manifesting Sagely Knowledge: Commentarial Practice in Chinese Late Antiquity", in: *The Rhetoric of Hiddenness in Traditional Chinese Culture*, ed. by Paula M. Varsano, Albany 2016, pp. 303–331.

16 Jens Østergård Petersen, "The Anti-Messianism of the *Taiping jing*", in: *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 3 (1990), pp. 1–41; Barbara Hendrischke, "The Daoist Utopia of Great Peace", in: *Oriens Extremus* 35 (1992), pp. 61–91; ead., "The Concept of Inherited Evil in the *Taiping Jing*", in: *East Asian History* 2 (1991), pp. 1–30.

17 *Taiping jing hejiao*, 132.352.

18 Michael Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*, Cambridge Mass. 2002.

19 Guy Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations of Late Antiquity*, Chicago 2009; id., *The Making of the Abrahamic Religions in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2015.

So how are we to explain such similarities occurring at roughly the same time at either end of Eurasia, before any direct contact had emerged between the two regions?

I suspect part of the answer lies in the paired visions of history discussed above – or, rather, in the cultural and social worlds within which such visions emerged. More specifically, the enormous empires that began forming across Eurasia at the end of the first millennium BCE, culminating in the Roman and Han empires at either end of Eurasia, helped to spawn the millenarian movements that later rose against them – and that later too became embedded in them.

We have already noted the tremendous claims of a radical break that were associated with the rise of the empires. But the empires also then helped to generate new economies of knowledge that would ultimately lead to these millenarian movements.<sup>20</sup> More specifically, the empires created an *oikoumene* that led to the emergence of networks operating outside of and beyond local sacrificial sites. These networks created new forms of knowledge circulation, particularly through writing. In many ways, both the forms of these millenarian movements (superseding local sacrifices, turning to written scripture) and the framework of the vision (calls for greater unity, rectification, and coherence) were products of the economies of knowledge created by the empires. This is also why they took the form not of a claimed decline of the empire itself but rather of a much more general decline of the entire cosmos. This is also why they called for a radicalization of these economies of knowledge: a call for a more complete rejection of local ritual practice, a call for the following of a single, correct scripture seen as divinely revealed and without the need for human interpretation, a call for a more complete form of unity that would occur after the coming apocalypse. In other words, the millenarian claims are in many ways a radicalization of the formations of knowledge the empires had spawned.

This also helps to explain the degree to which the empires could so easily absorb the millenarian movements. The Roman empire converted to Christianity, and the Wei empire (the successor empire to the Han) largely converted to the Celestial Masters in the third century CE. The empires and the millenarian movements were directly related, just as their respective visions of history were as well.

In short, I would like to argue that thinking in terms of economies of knowledge opens up a way of explaining the complex shifts occurring over these several centuries at both ends of the Eurasia, and of explaining why such similar shifts were occurring at roughly the same time.

Such a comparative framework also raises some interesting questions. It has long been commonplace to compare the fall of the Roman empire with the fall of the Han empire. But seeing both in terms of the longer processes of late antiquity

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<sup>20</sup> Schmidt, Nora, Nora K. Schmid, and Angelika Neuwirth (eds.), *Denkraum Spätantike: Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran*, Wiesbaden 2016.

opens up other possibilities.<sup>21</sup> We should consider periodizing the Eastern Han, Wei, and Western Jin (i.e., first through fourth centuries) as one period, directly comparable to the Roman Empire over the same centuries. This allows us to see the complex dynamics over this period, instead of falling into the danger of thinking only in terms of the rise and fall of dynasties (which in this case were really successive military coups). And it allows us to trace the surprising parallels of the ways that empires and millenarian movements were interwoven through related economies of knowledge throughout this period.

#### 4 Conclusion

Exploring economies of knowledge from a comparative perspective is helpful for several reasons.

To begin with, it hopefully helps to force a re-thinking of modernity narratives. The modernity narratives that have been so dominant in nineteenth and twentieth century Euro-American historiography have their direct parallels in other imperial periods. And they tend to be intimately related with notions of belatedness that can set in during periods of self-perceived endings (for better or for worse) of these imperial periods. Recent examples include self-proclaimed visions of “late capitalism” and “late modernity.” Earlier examples include the “late antiquity” of the *Tai ping Jing*. Such periods can also be located by historians in the past, as in the “late antiquity” of early twentieth century historiography. Either way, they partake of a similar framework: modernity narratives posit the current moment as a heroic break from a confining, traditional past, while lateness narratives posit the current moment as one of beckoning toward an even more radical break.

Exploring economies of knowledge from a comparative perspective, then, allows us to see when and why particular understandings of history emerge, instead of accepting such visions of history as being descriptively accurate. In terms of current assumptions, it allows us to see that the emphasis on modernity narratives reflects, at a larger level, an imperial moment, while the recent emphasis on lateness (whether to situate the current moment or to describe a moment in the past) reflects a sense of a coming end.

In the case at hand, such a comparative approach to economies of knowledge has allowed us to place late antiquity within a larger Eurasian context. Doing so may, I hope, highlight some of the key aspects of the economies of knowledge that make this period so distinctive. I have here only had room to mention a limited number of these aspects, but hopefully even these few examples help to demonstrate the potential usefulness of a comparative approach. The fact that, at roughly the same time, similar rejections of sacrifice, apocalyptic claims, turns toward the authority of a beneficent creator deity, and turns toward a revealed scripture that is purportedly understandable with minimal or no interpretation forces us to ask further questions about the nature of these economies of knowledge and what is

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21 Puett, “Early China in Eurasian History”, p. 103.

distinctive about them. Doing so, as I have noted, helps to highlight issues and raise questions of periodization concerning our understanding of eastern Eurasia. Hopefully bringing in the material from the eastern end of Eurasia will also help to highlight the significance of these issues in the Mediterranean region as well.

Moreover, the particular differences of the ways these debates and dynamics played out in the western and eastern ends of Eurasia also had tremendously important implications for the respective histories of the two areas, to give but one example. Although the Celestial Masters did convert many of the northern elites in the north China plain, the empire also continued its sacrifices as well. This set up a very different dynamic than occurred in the Roman and Byzantine empires following the conversion to Christianity. Here again, the significance of these differences can only be explored by placing these economies of knowledge into a comparative perspective.

In short, seeing late antiquity as a Eurasian phenomenon will hopefully allow us to explore the complex dynamics of knowledge formation during this period in ways that may shed considerable light on the histories of both ends of Eurasia.

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# Digitale Erforschung epistemischer Verflechtungen

## Informationsinfrastruktur und vormoderne Wissenstransfers

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### 1 Elementare wissenschaftliche Tätigkeiten als Basis digitaler Forschungsarbeit

Die Möglichkeiten der Digital Humanities, der computergestützten Geisteswissenschaften, sind in jüngerer Zeit vor allem als eine Methodenerweiterung beschrieben worden; so etwa von Gerhard Lauer:

Eine rechnende Geisteswissenschaft muss [...] geradezu als ein Oxymoron erscheinen. Digital Humanities ist da ein handlicheres Label für nicht ohne Weiteres zu integrierende Erweiterungen des Methodeninventars, die über qualitativ-interpretierende Verfahren hinausgehen. Die Unschärfe der Bezeichnung ist dabei den epistemischen Passungsschwierigkeiten von Methodik und Disziplin geschuldet. Und doch ist genau das gemeint: die methodische Ergänzung der Geisteswissenschaften um im weitesten Sinne rechnende Verfahren, für die der Computer und das Internet nützlich sind.<sup>1</sup>

John Unsworth hatte schon früh festgehalten, dass der Nutzen der Digital Humanities für die Geisteswissenschaften in den sogenannten „scholarly primitives“ einen Ausgangspunkt finden kann.<sup>2</sup> Unter diese elementaren Tätigkeiten und Methoden, die bei einem philologischen Arbeiten immer wieder anzutreffen

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1 Gerhard Lauer, „Die Vermessung der Kultur. Geisteswissenschaften als Digital Humanities“, in: *Big Data. Das Versprechen der Allwissenheit*, hg. von T. Moorstedt, Frankfurt am Main 2013, S. 99–116, hier: S. 101. Siehe auch Caroline Sporleder, „Was sind eigentlich Digital Humanities?“, in: *Academics.de* (<https://www.academics.de/ratgeber/digital-humanities-berufschancen> (15.02.2019)): „Wichtig ist dabei, dass automatische Verfahren die traditionelle geisteswissenschaftliche Analyse nicht ersetzen, sondern eine zusätzliche Methode sind, um bestimmte Tendenzen sichtbar zu machen, die sich bei einer rein manuellen Auswertung allenfalls sehr schwer erschließen lassen“ oder auch Susan Schreibman, Stefan Gradmann, Steffen Hennicke, Tobias Blanke, Sally Chambers u. a., *Beyond Infrastructure – Modelling Scholarly Research and Collaboration*. Digital Humanities 2013, Jul 2013, Lincoln, USA. (<https://hal.inria.fr/hal-00801439>) (04.06.2019).

2 Siehe John Unsworth, „Scholarly primitives: what methods do humanities researchers have in common, and how might our tools reflect this?“, Beitrag zum Symposium „Humanities Computing: formal methods, experimental practice“, King’s College, London, 13. Mai, 2000 (<http://people.lis.illinois.edu/~unsworth/Kings.5-00/primitives.html> (20.06.2020)).

sind, hat Unsworth folgende gezählt: Discovering/Retrieval, Annotating, Comparing, Referring, Sampling, Illustrating, Representing.

Mit der Nennung dieser Tätigkeiten oder auch methodischen Arbeitsschritte erhebt Unsworth keinesfalls einen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Vielmehr fasst er unter „scholarly primitives“ Forschungsmethoden oder -tätigkeiten, die auch ein philologisches Arbeiten als solches kennzeichnen. Dass überhaupt solche Tätigkeiten individuiert werden können, kann nun als Basis begriffen werden, um unter generischen Gesichtspunkten digitale Tools und Infrastrukturen zu entwickeln oder bereitzustellen, die es ermöglichen, diese Forschungstätigkeiten noch genauer, umfassender, nachhaltiger oder auch an einem umfassenderen Material oder einem größeren Datenbestand als zuvor auszuführen.<sup>3</sup>

„Scholarly primitives“ wie die von Unsworth angeführten charakterisieren, wie das Folgende zeigen möchte, allerdings nicht nur genuin geisteswissenschaftliche Tätigkeiten und Forschungen als solche, sondern auch wissenshistorische. Das Sammeln und nachhaltige Sichern von digitalisierten Texten, Bildern, Drucken, Handschriften usw. als Gegenständen, an denen sich Forschung vollzieht, kann eine Grundvoraussetzung für den Nachvollzug und die Erforschung der Modalitäten eines Wissenstransfers sein. Texte, Bilder, Handschriften usw. können etwa miteinander verglichen werden, unter Berücksichtigung spezifischer Forschungsfragestellungen und Phänomene wissenschaftlich annotiert werden, Texte oder auch Annotationen zu den Texten können durchsucht werden. Einzelne Objekte, die in einem Wissenstransfer in einer Verbindung miteinander stehen, können ferner gruppiert werden. Verbindungen z.B. von Objekten und Akteuren können schließlich auch räumlich und zeitlich visualisiert werden oder in anderer Weise, z.B. quantitativ, analysiert und ausgewertet werden.

Die Methodenerweiterung, die durch eine digitale Infrastruktur möglich wird, kann über innovative Ansätze in schon etablierten Forschungsfeldern oder -fragen erfolgen und zu Fortschritten bei ansonsten kaum lösbaren Forschungsfragen führen.<sup>4</sup> Es gibt nicht nur neue, digitale Methoden, die auch grundlegende geisteswissenschaftliche Tätigkeiten verändern können. Es gibt auch Gegenstände, an denen die Geisteswissenschaften zwar Interesse hatten, die sie bisher aber kaum oder nicht handhaben konnten. Insofern können digitale Infrastruktur und digitale Tools ausgehend von „scholarly primitives“ in verschiedenen Fällen eines sich komplex vollziehenden Wissenstransfers eine willkommene Hilfe bedeuten und fruchtbar für die Erforschung der Modalitäten eines Wissenstransfers einge-

3 Siehe zum Begriff der Daten und Metadaten in den Digital Humanities exemplarisch Charlotte Schubert, „Digital Humanities: Laboratorium der Geisteswissenschaften oder Weg nach Atlantis“, in: *Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost und West: von der »musica sacra« bis zur Kunstreligion. Festschrift für Helmut Loos zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. von Stefan Keym und Stephan Wünsche, Leipzig 2015, S. 747–758, hier S. 750–751.

4 Siehe Gerhard Lauer, „Die Vermessung der Kultur“, S. 101: „Etablierte Problemstellungen anders anzugehen und auch neue, bislang kaum zu beantwortende Fragen zu bearbeiten – das macht die Digital Humanities aus, nicht ein weiterer »(computational) turn«.“

setzt werden. Welchen Mehrwert eine solche Anwendung einer digitalen Infrastruktur liefert und welche Aufschlüsse ihre Anwendung über Fragen des Wissenstransfers gibt, soll im Folgenden an einigen Beispielen konkretisiert werden.

## 2 Ein Beispiel aus der griechischsprachigen Überlieferung der Aristotelischen Schrift *de interpretatione*

### 2.1 *Der Transfer des Textes und die Verbreitung des Wissens von Textversionen*

Bei dem ersten Beispiel handelt es sich um eine etablierte Forschungsfrage. Es ist die *communis opinio*, dass die griechischsprachige Überlieferung der logischen Schriften des Aristoteles, des sogenannten *Organon*, zu dem auch Aristoteles' Schrift *de interpretatione* gehört, d.h. der Transfer des Textes vom 9. bis zum 16. Jh., so komplex ist, dass sie kaum nachvollzogen werden kann. Auf den Punkt gebracht hat dies mit Reinsch einer der besten Kenner dieser Überlieferung, wenn er festhält, dass die Forschungen für den Nachvollzug derselben die Lebenszeit eines Forschers übersteigen dürfte.<sup>5</sup> Bis heute ist diese Überlieferung noch nicht umfassend erforscht worden.

Für ein besseres Verständnis dieser Aussage ist vielleicht zu erklären, dass eine einfach nachvollziehbare Überlieferung dann vorliegen würde, wenn das Wissen von einem Text monodirektional überliefert würde. In diesem Fall hätte der Kopist einer Handschrift nur ein Exemplar zur Vorlage gehabt. Die Kopie würde für den Forscher auch dann, wenn sie sich nicht etwa über einen Vermerk des Kopisten eindeutig datieren lässt, deshalb als eine Kopie erkennbar, weil sie – etwas verkürzt formuliert – zum einen die Lesarten ihrer Vorlage teilt, zudem aber selbst Fehler besitzt.<sup>6</sup> Dass dem Kopisten eines Werkes beim Kopieren Fehler unterlaufen, ist eine der empirisch auch gut belegbaren Grundannahmen der textkritischen Forschungen.<sup>7</sup> Miteinander verwandte Handschriften werden so daran erkennbar, dass sie signifikante Fehler oder auch Lesarten teilen. Handschriften, die solche signifikanten Fehler nicht teilen, sind zumindest nicht enger miteinander verwandt. Die nicht miteinander oder nicht näher miteinander verwandten Handschriften bilden wiederum einzelne Äste in der Überlieferung, von denen neue Kopien entstehen usw.

Im Falle der Schrift *de interpretatione*, von der uns ca. 150 griechischsprachige Handschriften überliefert sind,<sup>8</sup> finden sich allerdings schon unter den älteren Handschriften sogenannte kontaminierte Exemplare.<sup>9</sup> Wieder etwas vereinfacht

5 Siehe Diether Reinsch, „Fragmente einer Organon-Handschrift des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus dem Katharinenkloster auf dem Berg Sinai“, in: *Philologus* 145 (2001), S. 57–69.

6 Zu berücksichtigen sind für die Datierung selbstverständlich auch die Paläographie und Kodikologie, die in dem hier beschriebenen Kontext allerdings nicht im Fokus stehen.

7 Siehe Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: applicable to Greek and Latin texts*, Stuttgart 1973 und ferner Paul Maas, *Textkritik*, Leipzig/Berlin 1927, hier v. a. B 3–8.

8 Siehe Elio Montanari, *La sezione linguistica del Peri Hermeneias di Aristotele*, 2 Bde., Florenz 1984.

9 Siehe exemplarisch: *Aristotelis Categoriae et Liber de interpretatione*, hg. von Lorenzo Minio Paluello, Oxford 1949, Praefatio XIX und *De interpretatione (Peri hermeneias) / Aristoteles*, hg. von

kann man dieses Phänomen so beschreiben, dass eine Kopie nicht nur die signifikanten Lesarten oder Fehler, die für einen einzelnen Zweig der Überlieferung charakteristisch sind, aufweist, sondern zusätzlich vereinzelt oder auch häufig ebenfalls signifikante Lesarten oder Fehler aus einem anderen Zweig oder mehreren anderen Zweigen der Überlieferung.<sup>10</sup> Es ist deshalb zu schließen, dass zumindest einzelne Kopisten einer solch kontaminierten Handschrift Kontakte mit mehreren Handschriften gehabt haben.<sup>11</sup> Die Möglichkeit eines reziproken Transfers von Textversionen zwischen zwei Codices, wie sie innerhalb gelehrter Kreise der Aristotelesüberlieferung durchaus denkbar ist, findet in charakteristischen Beschreibungen der Kontamination – wie etwa bei Maas – keine Berücksichtigung. Wie die Überlieferung im Detail erfolgt ist, ist für Aristoteles' Schrift *de interpretatione* auch wegen des hohen zeitlichen Aufwands, den diese Forschung bedeuten würde, nicht erforscht worden. Teilergebnisse sind aufgrund des negativen Ergebnisses, dass die Erforschung aufgrund ihrer Komplexität nicht in einem angemessenen Zeitraum wie einem Menschenleben zu bewältigen sei, bis auf ausgewählte Beispiele nicht umfassend dokumentiert und publiziert worden, sondern mit dem Ende von Projekten oder auch eines Forscherlebens wieder verschwunden.

Die Entwicklung digitaler *Tools* macht sich in gewisser Weise nun die „scholarly primitives“ zunutze, um die Modalitäten eines solch komplexen Wissenstransfers auch über noch nicht erkannte Verbindungen von Handschriften miteinander zu erforschen und überhaupt erforschbar zu machen. Den Anfang bildet ein Datenrepositorium. Digitale Repositorien kreieren einen neuen Ort, an dem zentrale Sammlungen von Handschriften, Drucken usw. nachhaltig abgelegt werden. Über Schnittstellen können an das Repositorium ferner digitale *Tools* angeschlossen werden, wie z.B. ein Annotationstool, über das z.B. Scans von Handschriftenseiten wissenschaftlich in vielfältiger Weise annotiert werden können: Textvarianten können im Text selbst markiert werden; Glossen, Scholien, Kommentare, Diagramme können ferner transkribiert, übersetzt und fachwissenschaftlich beschrieben werden. Indem diese wissenschaftlichen Informationen über die *Tools* nun im Repositorium abgelegt werden, bleiben sie auch über das Ende eines Projekts oder Forscherlebens hinaus erhalten. Forscher können nun perspektivisch von verschiedenen Orten und zu verschiedenen Zeiten unter Berücksichtigung lizenzrechtlicher Fragen auf das Material zugreifen. Die Transkriptionen und Beschreibungen verschiedener Forscher werden so nicht nur an einem zentralen Ort zusammengeführt, sondern der auswertbare Datenbestand kann für den Nachvollzug der Überlieferung des Textes durch die gemeinsame Arbeit und die Zusammenführung der Daten auch deutlich erhöht werden. Ein solch deutlich

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Hermann Weidemann, Berlin/Boston 2014, Praefatio XXVI und Elio Montanari, *La sezione*, hier Bd. I, S. 50.

10 Siehe zu einer Beschreibung dessen, was die Kontamination ausmacht, z.B. Paul Maas, *Textkritik*, B 10.

11 Alternativ ist auch denkbar, dass sie Kontakt mit nur einer Handschrift gehabt haben, die selbst noch alternative Lesarten verzeichnet hatte. Siehe dazu Paul Maas, *Textkritik*, B 10.

erhöhter Datenbestand ermöglicht, die Gleichheiten und Ähnlichkeiten nun mit innovativen und erweiterten Methoden und Möglichkeiten zu erkennen, bislang nicht erkannte Verbindungen unter den Handschriften erstmals zu identifizieren, um so das komplexe Geflecht der Überlieferung des Textes nach und nach zu erforschen. Dieser Nachvollzug kann wiederum eine neue oder nunmehr gesichere Basis für weitere hermeneutische Interpretationen bedeuten, wo und wann z.B. Zentren der Überlieferung der Schrift *de interpretatione* ausgemacht werden können, die Kreuzungspunkte für Handschriften mit verschiedenen Textvarianten und auch für den Austausch und für Korrekturen von Textvarianten in einzelnen Exemplaren darstellen.

Solche Ergebnisse werden dadurch ermöglicht, dass die digitalen *Tools* über die beschriebene Anreicherung der Digitalisate mit fachwissenschaftlichen Informationen auch unter Berücksichtigung von Metadaten zu den Handschriften (z.B. zur Datierung, Provenienz, paläographischen und kodikologischen Eigenheiten usw.) oder in anderen Fällen auch zu Drucken, Bildern usw. auswerten können. Konkret etwa können die Handschriften auf der Grundlage der fachwissenschaftlichen Annotationen mit Blick auf verschiedene relevante Phänomene nun computergestützt analysiert werden: z.B. mit Blick auf signifikante Lesarten, Glossen, Scholia, Diagramme usw. und perspektivisch auch mit Blick auf ein gemeinsames Auftreten mehrerer signifikanter Phänomene aus den unterschiedlichen Kategorien und, sofern sich dies in einzelnen Fällen klären lässt, unter Berücksichtigung der Jahrhunderte oder der geographischen Räume, in denen diese Glossen, Scholien usw. hinzugefügt wurden.

Oder anders formuliert: Durch diese computergestützte methodische Erweiterung braucht die Erforschung der Überlieferung nicht mehr ausschließlich über die etablierte Methode der Textkollation – in diesem Fall der Kollationen des Aristoteles-textes in den einzelnen Handschriften – und damit über den bloßen Vergleich und die Beurteilung signifikanter Lesarten und Fehler erfolgen. Es können nunmehr auch durch die Unterstützung digitaler *Tools* der Vergleich transkribierter und klassifizierter signifikanter Glossen, Diagramme, Scholia und Kommentare mit einbezogen werden, um Verwandtschaften unter einzelnen Handschriften zu erforschen. Der eingeschlagene Weg führt also in die Richtung von Big Data-Analysen. Indem eine deutlich größere Materialmenge betrachtet wird, ergibt sich die Möglichkeit, eine genauere Einsicht in die Art und Weise, wie ein Wissenstransfer erfolgte, zu gewinnen.

Ergebnisse aus den Anwendungen der *Tools* zeigen bereits, dass Verbindungen und Kontakte von Handschriften vorliegen, die allein mit der Methode des Kollationierens nicht erkannt worden sind oder auch nicht erkannt werden können. Dort etwa, wo ‚analoge‘ Textkollationen darauf hingewiesen haben, dass die Handschriften nicht miteinander verwandt sind, kann die automatische Analyse und die Gruppierung durch digitale *Tools* nun hingegen zeigen, dass diese Handschriften doch eine eindeutige Verbindung aufweisen, indem sie z.B. gemeinsame

fehlerhafte Diagramme und signifikante Glossen haben.<sup>12</sup> Durch die Verbindung mit den Metadaten zu dieser Handschrift wird ferner deutlich, dass ein solcher Kontakt in einem konkreten Fall in der Terra d'Otranto Süditaliens erfolgt sein muss,<sup>13</sup> obwohl zumindest die eine Handschrift aufgrund der Paläographie weiter im Osten, vermutlich in Konstantinopel kopiert worden sein muss.

Solche Analysen und deren Ergebnisse stellen eine solide Basis für hermeneutische Überlegungen zum Wissenstransfer dar. Zum einen wird etwa der konkrete räumliche und zeitliche Transfer einer Handschrift ersichtlich, in diesem Fall von Konstantinopel in die Terra d'Otranto Süditaliens im 13./14. Jh. Zum anderen können wir, wenn wir nun diese Handschriften genauer betrachten, erschließen, dass auch Korrekturen, die sich in der Handschrift aus Konstantinopel finden, auf der Grundlage der süditalischen Handschrift vorgenommen wurden. Wir begreifen also mit der Hilfe der *Tools* Stück für Stück genauer, wie sich die Überlieferung des Textes vollzogen hat. Eine der zentralen Erkenntnisse ist, dass die Überlieferung des Wissens vom Text vielfach reziprok und multidirektional erfolgte. Reziprozität und Multidirektionalität sind somit Eigenschaften, die die Komplexität des Transfers ausmachen. Schließlich lässt sich auf der Grundlage des Nachweises des reziproken Transfers schließen, dass es in dieser Zeit in der Terra d'Otranto eine rege philologische Tätigkeit gab. Textvarianten scheinen unter Diskussion mehrerer vorliegender Alternativen für die eigene Kopie bewusst gewählt oder zurückgewiesen worden zu sein.

Nicht nur können wir nun die Komplexität der Überlieferung genauer in ihren Ursachen der Reziprozität und Multidirektionalität des Transfers fassen, sondern wir können Zentren individuieren oder bestätigen, wie in unserem Fall z.B. den kleinen Flecken der Terra d'Otranto Süditaliens, in denen Texte des *Organon* mit verschiedenen Versionen v.a. im 13. und 14. Jh. gesammelt wurden. Weil es naheliegend ist, dass nicht nur Texte mit bestimmten signifikanten Lesarten aus einer Vorlage gegenüber einer anderen vorgezogen wurden, sondern auch in einer der Vorlagen auf der Grundlage einer anderen Vorlage z.B. in Form einer Rasur korrigiert wurde, lässt sich der Transferprozess als ein dynamischer Aushandlungsprozess für den Gewinn des besten und verständlichsten Textes sowie auch der

12 Als nur ein konkreter Fall sei an dieser Stelle angeführt, dass sich für den Codex Vindebonensis Suppl. Gr. 67 auf der Basis bloßer Textkollationen keine Verwandtschaft und kein Kontakt mit den Codices Par. Gr. 1971 und Urb. Gr. 56 nachweisen lassen. Unter der Berücksichtigung der Quantität gleicher Interlinearglossen, signifikanter Glossen und Diagramme lässt sich hingegen ein solcher Kontakt nachweisen. Siehe zu diesem Beispiel bereits die ausführliche Darlegung in: Michael Krewet und Philipp Hegel, „Diagramme in Bewegung: Scholien und Glossen zu ‚de interpretatione‘“, in: *Bilddaten in den digitalen Geisteswissenschaften*, hg. von Philipp Hegel und Canan Hastik, Wiesbaden 2020 (Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 16), S. 199–216.

13 Dies kann u. a. daraus geschlossen werden, dass die neue Kopie paläographische Eigenheiten aufweist, die charakteristisch für den Schreibstil im 13. und 14. Jh. in der Terra d'Otranto sind. Solche Eigenheiten sind festgehalten worden von: Daniele Arnesano, *La minuscola barocca. Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Galatina 2008.

didaktisch wertvollsten Glossen, Scholien und Diagramme zur Erklärung des Textes begreifen. Wir können aus diesen Praktiken erschließen, dass sich die Strukturierung der Handschriften und die Bemühung um den besten Text innerhalb ganz bestimmter gebildeter Kreise vollzog, in denen die philologische Tätigkeit mit der philosophischen Lehre Hand in Hand ging und dass sich in dieser Verbindung auch eine genuin byzantinische Lehrpraktik des 9. und 10. Jh. bis in die tiefe Peripherie des byzantinischen Reichs, bis ins byzantinische Süditalien des 13. und 14. Jh., transferiert wurde.<sup>14</sup>

## 2.2 Kategorisierung und Visualisierung von Wissen in einer Handschrift

Auch in einer zweiten Hinsicht können digitale Tools in der Handschriftenforschung einen Mehrwert darstellen. Wenn die Handschrift nicht nur als bloßer Träger des philosophischen Textes fokussiert wird, sondern auch z.B. als Unterrichts-, Lehr-, und Lernmedium, können digitale Tools weitere Einsichten liefern. Über Tools der automatischen und semiautomatischen Layoutanalyse können Text- und Randbereich von Handschriften vermessen werden und in Verbindung mit Metadaten (z.B. Zeit und Ort der Entstehung) betrachtet werden. So zeigt sich das Ergebnis, dass zahlreiche Handschriften der Schrift *de interpretatione* zu bestimmten Zeiten – etwa im 13. und 14. Jh. – einen vergleichsweise großen Randbereich freigelassen haben, einige Handschriften auch einen großen Interlinearbereich.

Eine Kopie wurde also vielfach von vornherein für die Kommentierung und Erklärung angefertigt. Über das digitale Annotationswerkzeug können nun Handschrift für Handschrift die oft über Jahrhunderte hin hinzugefügten Erklärungen in Form von Glossen, Scholien, Diagrammen und Kommentaren transkribiert und beschrieben werden. Die Provenienz der jeweiligen Erklärungen kann hinzugefügt werden: z.B. kann festgehalten werden, dass es sich bei einem Diagramm zur Erklärung einer Textstelle um eine Veranschaulichung eines Arguments aus einem platonischen Dialog handelt.<sup>15</sup>

Indem über die digitale Infrastruktur so das Wissen, das aus verschiedenen Richtungen oft über Jahrhunderte hin zum Verständnis eines Textes herangetragen und teilweise auch in einer bestimmten Weise strukturiert wurde, in transkribierter und teilweise näher z.B. mit Blick auf seine Provenienz zusammen gruppiert werden kann, kann unmittelbar in Form von Visualisierungen vor Augen geführt werden, wie Wissen didaktisch aufbereitet wurde, welch in seiner

14 Siehe zu dieser byzantinischen Praktik beispielsweise: Daniele Arnesano, „Aristotele in Terra d’Otranto. I Manoscritti fra XIII e XIV secolo“, in: *Segno e testo* 4 (2006), S. 149–190 + 16 Tav., hier v.a. S. 189–190. Siehe ferner auch Daniele Bianconi, „Eracle e Iolao. Aspetti della collaborazione tra i copisti nell’età dei Paleologi“, in: *ByzZ* 96 (2004), S. 521–558 und Guglielmo Cavallo, „Foglie che fremono sui rami. Bisanzio e i testi classici“, in: *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società* 3, *I Greci oltre al Grecia*, hg. von Salvatore Settis, Turin 2001, S. 593–628, hier v.a. S. 619.

15 Siehe z.B. Michael Krewet, „Wissenstransfer in Scholien. Zur Präsenz Platons in den Marginalien von *de interpretatione*-Handschriften“, in: *Working Paper des SFB 980 „Episteme in Bewegung“*, Freie Universität Berlin 6 (2015), S. 1–23.

Provenienz mannigfaltiges Wissen für ein Verständnis des Textes an diesen herangetragen wurde und wie letztlich auch die Art des Verständnis des Textes von dynamisch erfolgten Anreicherungen des Textes abhängig war. Ebenso können perspektivisch die digitalen, philologischen Annotationen auch mit Blick auf Autoren, aus deren Texten sich Erklärungen zum Text finden, nach der Häufigkeit, der Art ihrer Erklärung usw. ausgewertet werden, so dass sich in Verbindung mit den Metadaten zu der Handschrift erschließen lässt, welche Autoren oder Kommentare in welchen Zeiträumen oder welchen Regionen für die Deutung oder das Verständnis des Textes eine besondere Autorität erlangten.

Wenn man am Ende über die digitale Infrastruktur perspektivisch nicht nur den philosophischen Text auf der digitalisierten Handschriftenseite vor Augen hat, den eine Handschrift überliefert hat, sondern auch die Erklärungen in transkribierter, kategorisierter und beschriebener Form nebeneinander betrachten kann und zwar an ihrer Position auf der Handschriftenseite, so dürfte sich dem Betrachter leicht die Hypothese erschließen, dass sich der Erwerb eines philosophischen Wissens über Jahrhunderte hin über eine anreichernde Kommentierung vollzog, in der nicht selten die Aneignung einherging mit einer dynamischen Aushandlung des Wissens, die überhaupt nur durch bestimmte Layoutgestaltungen der Handschriftenseite selbst ermöglicht wurde. Ebenso dürfte schnell ersichtlich werden, dass bestimmte Autoritäten in dieser Aushandlung des Wissens eine zentrale Rolle spielten. Welche genau dieses waren, ist noch eine offene Forschungsfrage.

### **3 Die Informationsinfrastruktur in Bezug auf weitere Beispiele vormoderner Wissenstransfers**

Die innerhalb der Informationsinfrastruktur zusammentretenden Projekte weisen trotz disziplinärer Heterogenität Querbezüge in zweierlei Hinsicht auf: zum einen ergeben sich fachwissenschaftlich-methodische Konvergenzen, beispielsweise in Bezug auf die Untersuchung von Texttraditionen und die Anwendung textkritischer Methoden (Kollation und Stemmatisierung); zum anderen ergeben sich Bezüge vorrangig technischer Art, die Einfluss auf die Nutzung generischer Werkzeuge haben – etwa die Annotation von Bildmaterial und die Layoutanalyse digitalisierter Buchkorpora. Für beide Fälle sollen im Folgenden für je ein Beispiel die vorliegenden fachwissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen und ihre digitale Unterstützung dargestellt werden.

#### *3.1 Altägyptische Pyramiden- und Sargtextüberlieferung*

Aus dem alten Ägypten ist ein Korpus religiöser Texte bekannt, welche die Verstorbenen auf ihrem Weg ins Jenseits und im Jenseits begleiten sollten. Diese Texte stellten Wissen zur Verfügung, beispielsweise über die Bewältigung des Himmelsaufstiegs, die Gewährleistung eines sicheren Lebens im Jenseits verbunden mit der Erlangung eines festen Platzes für die Verstorbenen in der Göttergemeinschaft. Für das Gesamtkorpus dieser sog. Pyramiden- bzw. Sargtexte ergibt sich



insgesamt eine Jahrhunderte, teils sogar Jahrtausende, überdauernde Textüberlieferung, die Verbreitung über ganz Ägypten hinweg gefunden hat.<sup>16</sup> Von der Zeit des Königs Unas um 2350 v. Chr. bis in das erste Jahrhundert nach Christus wurden die Texte in Gräbern genutzt, aber auch in bibliotheks- bzw. akademieähnlichen Institutionen gepflegt.<sup>17</sup> Unter anderem ist in der jüngeren ägyptologischen Forschung die Bestrebung unternommen worden, aus textkritischen Untersuchungen verschiedener Spruchgruppen der Sargtexte ein ‚Generalstemma‘ der Sargtextüberlieferung zu entwickeln.<sup>18</sup> Neben der Erstellung von Stemmata zu Pyramiden- und Sargtextspruchfolgen<sup>19</sup> wurden auch die Nähe und Ferne von Textzeugen aus Assiut und Theben, die auf dem langen Weg einer Überlieferung nahe beieinander liegen, bestimmt. In letzterem Fall wurde somit der Schwerpunkt auf den Verlauf eines Transfers und nicht auf den Archetypus der Texte gelegt.<sup>20</sup>

Über diese bisherigen Arbeiten hinausgehend werden im Rahmen des Forschungsvorhabens zu mehreren Pyramiden- und Sargtextsprüchen vollständige Transkriptionen erstellt und diese textkritisch kollationiert. Ziel dieser Volltextkollation ist es, neben einem qualitativ anhand der signifikanten Textunterschiede erzeugten Stemma auch die Möglichkeit zu eröffnen, Textunterschiede mit quantitativen Methoden zu analysieren. Dies ist auf dem Transkriptionsmaterial besonders herausfordernd, zum einen aufgrund des stark fragmentarischen Charakters der überlieferten Texte, zum anderen hinsichtlich der Überlieferungspraxis, in der beispielsweise Umwidmungen mit Änderungen von Personalnomina oder Anreden einhergehen, die jedoch keinerlei Signifikanz hinsichtlich des Überlieferungsweges besitzen. Die Aufbereitung bestehender Stemmata, die den aktuellen Stand der Hypothesenbildung für die Texttradition darstellen und die Neuerhebung der Volltexttranskriptionen sowie detaillierte Informationen zu den Textträgern werden in der digitalen Infrastruktur als Daten und Metadaten zusammengeführt. Somit entsteht eine neuartige Aggregation, die innovative Forschungsfragen zum Transfer dieser altägyptischen Jenseitstexte unterstützt.

Die Aufbereitung der Stemmata erlaubt insbesondere die interaktive Visualisierung räumlich-zeitlicher Zusammenhänge dieser Überlieferung. Es wird so

16 Zur Betrachtung von Pyramiden- und Sargtexten als einem einzigen, über Jahrhunderte modifizierten, erweiterten, aber auch reduzierten Textkorpus vgl. z.B. die Beiträge in: *D'un monde à l'autre. Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages. Actes de la table ronde internationale „Textes des Pyramides versus Textes des Sarcophages“*, hg. von Susanne Bickel und Bernard Mathieu, Kairo 2004.

17 Vgl. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum und Jochem Kahl, *Erste Philologen. Archäologie einer Disziplin vom Tigris bis zum Nil*, Tübingen 2018, S. 252–256.

18 Peter Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30–32+33–37, 75(–83), 162+164, 225+226 und 343+345*, Wiesbaden 1995.

19 Z. B. Jochem Kahl, *Steh auf, gib Horus deine Hand. Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Altenmüllers Pyramidentext-Spruchfolge D*, Wiesbaden 1996; Louise Gestermann, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte altägyptischer Totenliteratur («Sargtexte») in spätzeitlichen Grabanlagen*, Wiesbaden 2005.

20 Jochem Kahl, *Siut-Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten, Probleme der Ägyptologie 13*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, bes. S. 139–186.

möglich, den ‚Makrokosmos‘ der Texttradition in seiner Charakteristik einer *longue durée* über große räumliche Distanzen hinweg neuartig zu explorieren. Die in den Stemmata inhärenten Zusammenhänge dieser räumlich-zeitlichen Art werden dabei mithilfe des Werkzeugs PLATIN<sup>21</sup> zugänglich gemacht. Damit werden etwa räumliche Veränderungen des Transfers zwischen den verschiedenen zeitlichen Perioden sichtbar (lokale vs. überregionale Textzirkulationen). Zudem wird es leicht möglich, epistemische Zentren zu identifizieren, also maßgeblich an der Weiterverbreitung der Texte beteiligte Nekropolen und Regionen.

Die vollständigen Transkriptionen der Texte richten den Blick zusätzlich auf die ‚Mikrokosmen‘ der Überlieferung. Die Verbindung von Kollationsdaten und Metadaten erlaubt, verschiedene Perspektiven auf die vorliegenden Textvariationen zu eröffnen. So können beispielsweise die Texte einzelner Zeitabschnitte oder innerhalb einer bestimmten Nekropole jeweils isoliert als Kollation visualisiert werden oder etwa die Kollationen nach Adressatengruppen aufgeteilt und verglichen werden (Texte für Könige vs. Texte für Beamte; Texte für Frauen vs. Texte für Männer). Dies vereinfacht, Charakteristiken dieser einzelnen sozialen und räumlichen Wissensüberlieferungen zu erforschen und zu beschreiben. Die geographische Verortung der Texte unterstützt gemeinsam mit diesen aus Kollationen gewonnenen Informationen die Rekonstruktion beispielsweise der ursprünglichen Lage von Särgen innerhalb von Nekropolen oder die Zuordnung zu Werkstätten, auf die die einzelnen Textvarianten zurückgehen.

Insgesamt erlaubt die Zusammenführung aller Daten in der zentralen Infrastruktur ein möglichst vollständiges, so bisher nicht vorliegendes, Bild der Transferwege altägyptischer Pyramiden- und Sargtexte.

### 3.2 Frühneuzeitliche Lehrwerke für moderne Fremdsprachen

Die historische Linguistik stützt sich notwendigerweise auf Korpora und rekonstruiert auf diese Weise diverse Prozesse des historischen Sprachgebrauchs sowie Sprachwandels. Die frühneuzeitlichen Lehrwerke für moderne Fremdsprachen versprechen neue Einblicke in Fragen wie historische Mündlichkeit, Sprachvermittlung und Reflektion über Sprache.<sup>22</sup> Die Lehrwerke eröffnen die Möglichkeit das sprachliche Wissen der Autoren zu rekonstruieren, welches in den unterschiedlichen Teilen der Lehrwerke abgebildet wird. Dabei geht es zum einen um das explizit unterrichtete Sprachwissen (Vokabular, Grammatik und kommunikative Alltagsroutinen), zum anderen aber auch um das implizit vermittelte Wissen in den Musterdialogen.

21 PLATIN steht für: Place and Time Navigator – A tool for the interactive visualization of geo-spatial and temporal data, siehe: <http://platin.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/> (Zugriff 12.04.19).

22 Nicola McLelland, „Mining foreign language teaching manuals for the history of pragmatics“, in: *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 19 (2018), S. 28–54, und Horst Simon, „Reconstructing historical orality in German – what sources can we use?“, in: *Dialogic language use – Dimensions du dialogisme – Dialogischer Sprachgebrauch*, hg. von Irma Taavitsainen, Juhani Härmä und Jarmo Korhonen, Helsinki 2006, S. 7–26.

Das zugrundeliegende Korpus besteht aus knapp 300 Sprachlehrbüchern (inkl. Neuauflagen) des 15. bis 17. Jh. Die Lehrwerke unterscheiden sich erheblich in ihrem Umfang, sind aber in der Regel mit im Schnitt 453 Seiten sehr umfangreich. Typischerweise enthalten die Lehrwerke ein Vorwort, einen Grammatikteil, Wortlisten und Musterdialoge. Diese Musterdialoge sind in zwei bis zu zehn unterschiedlichen Sprachen verfasst. Eine dieser Sprachen ist immer Deutsch, daneben häufig Französisch, Italienisch und Spanisch, aber auch Latein oder Englisch. Die Sprachlehrwerke wurden über Jahre hinweg immer wieder neu aufgelegt. Einerseits wurden die enthaltenen Musterdialoge nur mit geringer oder gänzlich ohne Modifikation übernommen, andererseits wurden die Musterdialoge in weitere Sprachen übertragen, Dialoge wurden neu kombiniert oder modifiziert. Da die Lehrwerke zwar größtenteils digitalisiert, jedoch nicht in maschinenlesbarer Form vorliegen, wurde die Arbeit zunächst erheblich erschwert. Das entwickelte Annotationstool kann hier Abhilfe schaffen und eine quantitative Auswertung der Daten ermöglichen, um so Prozesse des Transfers, der Modifikation und der Negation sichtbar zu machen. Es können Bildannotationen von Einzelphänomenen auf grammatischer und pragmatischer Ebene sowie von Aspekten des Layouts (z.B. Paradigmen, Tabellen) angelegt werden. Darüber hinaus werden von allen im Korpus enthaltenen Lehrwerken auch die Metadaten erfasst, um Aussagen über die Bewegungen in Raum und Zeit treffen zu können. Neben Autor, Titel, Druckjahr, Druckort und Verleger werden in den Metadaten auch die Zielsprachen, die Metasprachen, Themen und Umfang der Grammatik sowie der Dialoge erfasst.

In einem ersten Schritt kann mithilfe der Metadatenansammlung ein erster Überblick über die Strukturiertheit des sehr heterogenen Korpus gewonnen werden. In einem weiteren Schritt können Transferprozesse und Prozesse der Re- und Neukontextualisierung sichtbar gemacht werden und die Kombination der Metadaten mit den Annotationen zeigt eine dynamische Interaktion und Aushandlungsprozesse auf den unterschiedlichsten Ebenen. Darüber hinaus ermöglichen die Tools die kollaborative Annotation durch verschiedene Personen und die Durchsuchbarkeit. Das Datenrepositorium gewährleistet zudem die Archivierung des Materials und der Annotationen.

Es konnte bereits gezeigt werden, dass die Darbietung des impliziten und expliziten sprachlichen Wissens sich in Abhängigkeit folgender Einflussfaktoren konstituiert:

- didaktische Ausrichtung
- Erscheinungsjahr
- Muttersprache des Autors
- Zielsprache
- Anzahl der Zielsprachen
- Zielgruppe

In einem ersten Schritt wurde eine Korrelation von der Anzahl der Zielsprachen (zwei bis zehn) mit der Darbietung des sprachlichen Wissens im Grammatikteil

festgestellt. Je mehr Zielsprachen ein Sprachlehrwerk aufweist, desto weniger grammatisches Wissen wird explizit im Grammatikteil vermittelt. Der Fokus liegt in jenen Werken auf der Lexik und auf der Vermittlung sprachlicher Muster für kommunikative Alltagsroutinen. Lediglich die Phonologie wird meistens in allen Sprachlehrwerken vermittelt. Hier liegen die Unterschiede lediglich in der Ausführlichkeit.

Auch die Zielsprache selbst nimmt Einfluss auf die Inhalte im Grammatikteil. Je nach Zielsprache liegt der Fokus auf anderen grammatischen Aspekten. Während die Phonologie in den Lehrwerken für Französisch besonders viel Raum einnimmt, liegt der Fokus in den Lehrwerken für die deutsche Sprache auf der morphologischen Struktur.

Darüber hinaus lassen sich beispielsweise eine raum-zeitliche Verbreitung der Fremdsprachenlehrwerke aufzeigen sowie wissensökonomische Zentren der Fremdsprachenvermittlung in Abhängigkeit der Zielsprache lokalisieren. So zeigt sich, dass insbesondere in den Grenzgebieten eine erhöhte Notwendigkeit bestand eine Fremdsprache zu lernen. Insbesondere an der deutsch-französischen Grenze lässt sich eine Konzentration von Publikationsorten von Sprachlehrwerken mit Deutschanteil feststellen.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4 Fazit: Wissenstransfer und Wissensökonomien

Die Modalitäten des Wissenstransfers, wie sie vorangehend dargestellt worden sind, weisen nun Gemeinsamkeiten mit einem Phänomen auf, das in der Literatur zum Wissen in der Vormoderne als *Oikonomia* (οἰκονομία) bezeichnet worden ist.<sup>24</sup> Es ist – auch im Kontext von Wissensgeschichtsforschungen – bereits gesehen worden, dass der Terminus der οἰκονομία für die Kennzeichnung von Wissensordnungen gerade mit Blick auf eine Art ‚ordnender Verwaltung‘ („orderly administration“) ein heuristisches Potential bietet.<sup>25</sup> Von Beginn an benennt der Begriff etwas wie eine ‚geordnete Einrichtung‘ oder einen ‚geordneten Plan‘.<sup>26</sup>

23 Siehe Linda Gennies, „Frühneuzeitliche Sprachlehrwerke und ihr Potential für die Diachrone Migrationslinguistik“, in: *Diachrone Migrationslinguistik: Mehrsprachigkeit in historischen Sprachkontaktsituationen. Akten des XXXV. Romanistentages in Zürich (08.10.–12.10.2017)*, hg. von Roger Schöntag und Stephanie Massicot, Berlin 2019, S. 159–186.

24 Siehe Blossom Stefaniw, „Knowledge in Late Antiquity. What is it Made of and What does it Make?“ in: *Studies in Late Antiquity 2* (2018), S. 266–293, hier v.a. S. 284–286.

25 Siehe Stefaniw, „Knowledge in Late Antiquity“, S. 284: „This term, in its most literal sense, indicates the orderly administration of household, community, or empire. The levels of society are analogous in Late Antiquity because the household was the basic organizing model for all of them, as well as for the inner world of the individual.“

26 So wird in diesen Begriff in philosophisch-theologischen Kontexten der Antike und Spätantike auch der geordnete Plan Gottes eingefasst. Siehe zur Begriffsgeschichte: Karl Lichtblau, „Ökonomie“, in: *HWPh VI*, (1984), Sp. 1149–1173, hier: v.a. Sp. 1149–1159. Auch Lichtblau bezeichnet als zentrales Charakteristikum der οἰκονομία gleich zu Beginn seines Artikels die „geordnete Einrichtung und Verwaltung“ des Haushalts. Siehe ferner auch John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York 1974, S. 88 (zum ursprünglichen Inhalt des Begriffs der *oikonomia*), der von einem „household‘ management“

Das Beispiel der Behandlung der Handschriften kann nun bestätigen, dass die Wissensaneignungen über oder in Oikonomien des Wissens erfolgen. Dies beginnt bereits bei einer geordneten Anlage des Layouts einer Handschriftenseite, bei der von Beginn an Räume für Kommentare, Glossen, Scholien und Diagramme eingeplant werden. Darüber hinaus kann das Beispiel der Handschriften aber auch zeigen, welche dynamische Strukturen und Aushandlungsprozesse in die Oikonomien des Wissens mit einbezogen werden müssen. Das Raumpotential, das die Strukturierung einer Handschriftenseite schafft, wird für ein Erklären des Textes und ein Philosophieren als Kommentieren ausgeschöpft. Hierfür wird zum einen aus vielen Richtungen Wissen in die Handschrift importiert, zum anderen – und auch hier können uns digitale Tools besonders helfen – gelangt das Wissen aus einer Handschrift nicht selten auch in eine Reihe neuer Handschriften. Schließlich führt die Bemühung um die beste Ordnung auch zu einer möglichst sinnhaft geordneten Struktur des Textes oder Arguments oder dem, was man dafür gehalten hat. Um zu dem besten oder auch originalen Wortlaut des Textes zu gelangen, ist der Transfer von Textvarianten – wie wir durch die Ergebnisse der computergestützten Auswertungen lernen können – historisch auch reziprok erfolgt. Es wird nicht nur eine plausible Lesart aus einer Vorlage in die Kopie übernommen, sondern diese Version wird auch in einer anderen Handschrift, mit der sich ein Kontakt nachweisen lässt, korrigiert. Ähnliche und teils analoge Dynamiken finden sich auch in den Überlieferungswegen der Pyramiden- und Sargsprüche sowie in der Übernahme von Musterdialogen in den Sprachlehrwerken.

Und schließlich konstituiert sich die Oikonomie des Wissens, wie die Auswertung der Daten in Verbindung mit den Metadaten und eine anschließende hermeneutische Auslegung der Ergebnisse zeigen kann, auch in Relation zu bestimmten gelehrten Kreisen oder Gelehrtennetzwerken oder auch Autoritäten, deren Berücksichtigung etwa beim Transfer des Wissens vom Text in der Überlieferung der aristotelischen Schrift wichtig ist. Zu den Wissensoikonomien sind somit verschiedene, individuierbare Einflüsse und Ursprünge hinzuzuziehen und ebenso epistemische Zentren (z. B. in der altägyptischen Textüberlieferung) oder wichtige Orte (für Drucker und Verleger von Sprachlehrwerken), wie hier nur kurz skizziert werden konnte.

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spricht: „It designates in the New Testament the divine *plan of salvation*“ (ebd.). Meyendorf zeigt auch, dass der Terminus später anders adaptiert worden ist und sich seine Bedeutung im Kontext der byzantinischen Theologie erweiterte. Und siehe schließlich auch den bedeutenden Beitrag von Germano Maifreda, *From Oikonomia to Political Economy. Constructing Economic Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Scientific Revolution*, Farnham/Burlington 2012, z. B. S. 192: „We should first recall that Christian theology had, from the first centuries of the era, used the word *oikonomia* in the context of one of the two interpretative paradigms dominating the reading of political relationships. The first of these paradigms was strictly political because it was primarily public, situating in the one God the transcendence of sovereign power. A second paradigm, of economic theology, coupled to the first conception the idea of an *oikonomia* conceived as immanent order, in divine, as well as human, life.“

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# The Restoration of Ancient Cuneiform Knowledge and its Implications\*

Francesca Rochberg

Where modern and ancient epistemic values diverge can be seen in sharp relief in the history of science. This paper will discuss how the retrieval of Babylonian astronomy exposes this clash of knowledge economies.

In the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the young Englishman, Claudius James Rich, on the strength of his prodigious linguistic abilities in Greek, Latin, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew, was appointed assistant to the British consul-general in Alexandria. In a few short years he was moved to Baghdad as resident of the East India Company, and in the 6 years he lived in Baghdad, Rich explored and wrote largely geographical and pre-archaeological accounts of the British colonial region of what was once ancient Sumer, Akkad and Babylonia. In 1811 he produced his popular *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, followed in 1818 by the *Second Memoir on Babylon*, only two years before his death at the age of thirty-three. Claudius Rich opened the door and ushered in the brilliant and rapid period of decipherment of cuneiform and the identification of the languages of Akkadian and Sumerian during the middle decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By then, many Assyrian royal inscriptions from the walls of palaces were being excavated in Nimrud, Nineveh, and Khorsabad. The famous Akkadian literary epic of Gilgamesh as well as Sumerian texts of many genres, literary and non-literary, from southern Babylonian sites such as Lagash, Ur and Uruk, were also already of interest to the original decipherers of cuneiform.

Toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, something unforeseen and entirely unexpected came to light among the cuneiform tablets from Babylonia, namely numerical tables, ephemerides, of the moon and the five naked-eye classical planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. The realization of what these tables of cuneiform numbers represented was the result of the collaboration between an Assyriologist, Johann N. Strassmaier, and a mathematician and astronomer, Josef Epping, both Jesuit fathers, who published the first results of their findings in a small Catholic journal, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* in 1881. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Franz X. Kugler had penetrated the Babylonian lunar theory, exploding any

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\* I thank the University of Chicago Press and Professor Shadi Bartsch, editor of the journal *KNOW: A Journal On the Formation of Knowledge*, for permission to adapt for this volume my article "These Bones Live!" published in *KNOW: A Journal On the Formation of Knowledge* 1 (2017), pp. 67–83.

presupposition, widespread at that time, about the inability of so-called ancient Oriental cultures to produce science.

The study of cuneiform astronomical texts, therefore, began in 1880 when Epping and Strassmaier first revealed that the numerical table texts written on cuneiform tablets were lunar and planetary ephemerides. This revelation had a certain gravitas, because the tables analyzed by these pioneer scholars of Babylonian astronomy could be recognized as the oldest mathematical astronomy, the oldest exact science. As Otto Neugebauer pointed out,

Epping fully realized the significance of his discoveries. The two columns from a lunar ephemeris which he had deciphered, he said, 'give us more information about Babylonian science than all the notices from classical antiquity combined'— a fact which cannot be emphasized too often. And he [Epping] foresaw clearly that the new material would become of great importance for ancient chronology, for Assyriology in general, and even for modern astronomy.<sup>1</sup>

The recovered astronomical cuneiform texts would ultimately change the face of the history of astronomy, and, by extension, the history of science itself. Neugebauer's three-volume *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (1975) placed Babylonian astronomy firmly in line with the tradition of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and all later Western astronomy up to Copernicus. The direct link from Babylon to the West through the transmission of astral knowledge to Greece and the Greco-Roman world is an important consideration for a fuller assessment of the relation of Babylonian knowledge to later science.

To appreciate the impact that the decipherment and explication of cuneiform astronomical texts would have on the historiography of science, probably the most entrenched idea about the history of science, typifying the intellectual landscape of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was the idea that science originated with the Greeks. In the year just before the appearance of Otto Neugebauer's edition of the Babylonian mathematical astronomical texts,<sup>2</sup> the great quantum physicist Erwin Schrödinger published the book *Nature and the Greeks*. In the chapter entitled "Return to Antiquity" he quoted Theodor Gomperz, a somewhat older contemporary of Kugler, from his work *Griechische Denker* (*Greek Thinkers*), published in 1911, but still relevant for Schrödinger and his audience in the mid-1950s. Seemingly in total disregard for any of the discoveries in the "ancient Orient," Theodor Gomperz wrote the following:

Nearly our entire intellectual education originates from the Greeks [...] You need not know of the doctrines and writings of the great masters of antiquity, of Plato and Aristotle, you need never have heard their names, none the

1 Otto Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Berlin and New York 1975, p. 349 and note 6.

2 Otto Neugebauer, *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts*, 3 vols., Providence 1955.

less you are under the spell of their authority. Not only has their influence been passed on by those who took over from them in ancient and in modern times; our entire thinking, the logical categories in which it moves, the linguistic patterns it uses [...] all this is in no small degree an artefact and is, in the main, the product of the great thinkers of antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

Not to diminish the fact of the influence of ancient Greece on Western thought, but where were the astronomers of Babylonian antiquity, known by then for thirty years, among Gomperz's "masters and great thinkers"? Where was the authority and the quantitative reasoning, the theoretical treatment of celestial phenomena embedded in Babylonian knowledge and the structures of their thought that had enormous impact on the Greeks themselves? The great expositor of Babylonian astronomy, Otto Neugebauer, spent much of his life addressing precisely these questions, demonstrating through his analyses of the astronomical tables, and by tracing Babylonian parameters and methods into Greek and Latin astronomical tradition – even into the Middle Ages and Renaissance – that the history of astronomy – the history of science and of scientific knowledge – began in Babylonia. In so doing, and by focusing exclusively on the mathematical astronomical texts of Late Babylonia, Neugebauer established the fact that there were indeed shared epistemic values in science from antiquity to modernity.

The point of historical inquiry into science and scientific knowledge, however, is not merely to push back the origins of science but rather to reassess on the basis of our evidence what we mean by science, scientific knowledge, and the scientific imagination. If our main concern is not the connection between Babylon and "the West", or on the way Babylonian astronomy can be classified as scientific in many or any of the same ways as Greek astronomy, where quantitative and predictive models, empirical and deductive reasoning styles, and theorizing to explain natural phenomena are all signature, only then may we turn to the epistemic culture of the cuneiform *literati* themselves in their own context. In this way the differences between the ancient and the modern knowledge economies, as they were valued in their respective communities of knowledge, become clear.

It is also important to emphasize that the measure of the intellectual achievement of the cuneiform world is not solely in terms of what came later, although its legacy in the West is unquestioned and profound. As much as there are continuities, so too are there discontinuities, and to disregard the discontinuities between the ancient Near Eastern culture of knowledge and that of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Worlds diminishes the integrity as well as the complexity of the Assyro-Babylonian understanding of things. In particular, while much of cuneiform scholarship long predates the pre-Socratics and Plato, nearly as much is contemporary with Aristotle, the Stoics Chrysippus and Diogenes, the astrono-

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3 Theodore Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, Leipzig 1911, p. 419, *apud* Erwin Schrödinger, *Nature and the Greeks and Science and Humanism*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 19–20.

mers Apollonius of Perga, Hypsicles, and Hipparchus. One of the most significant points of difference is that the very sense we have inherited from the Greek world that science is the study of nature is not endemic to the cuneiform world. For two thousand years Babylonian knowledge of the heavens was not structured by a classification of the moon and the planets as phenomena of nature, nor were their cyclical appearances understood in terms of physical laws. Nor were Babylonian models of astronomical prediction dependent upon a geometrical geocentric cosmos that was held to encompass the realm of nature. As a consequence, the very idea of “physical” phenomena did not apply to cuneiform astronomical sciences.

When we see that knowledge of the heavens belonged to a broad scholarly discipline consisting principally of divinatory texts and compendia of signs, as well as texts dealing with magic, medicine, and personal astrology, rather than the study of nature, we come closer to an understanding of knowledge in the cuneiform world. These areas of investigation into phenomena, and what was meaningful about phenomena to human beings, were integral parts of what the Assyro-Babylonian scribes of the first millennium BCE termed “scholarship” or *tušarrūtu*, literally “the art of the scribe” as well as what they called “wisdom” or *nēmequ* in Akkadian.

Astronomy as well as other domains of knowledge in magical and medical texts dominated the activities of the Late Babylonian *literati* in the last centuries of the cuneiform tradition. These scholars, among whom were the astronomers, were members of various priestly groups in the great Babylonian temples at Babylon and Uruk. Testimony to the continuation of the practice of Babylonian astronomy by these scholar priests, even into the first century of our era, comes from the Elder Pliny (23–79 CE), who claims to have seen the astronomers in Babylon in the “Temple of Jupiter-Bel” while all around the city was little more than a ruin.<sup>4</sup> Fantastic as that may seem, there are in fact a few late astronomical texts datable to the end of the first century of the Common Era.

For scholar-scribes throughout the entire period of cuneiform learning, knowledge was closely connected to texts, and the contents of many scholarly texts were connected to the gods. This relationship forged an identity for scribes entrusted with what they referred to as the divine secrets. The scribal masters were said to be descended from the seven antediluvian sages of the cosmological domain of underground sweet waters and dwelling of the god of wisdom and patron of *literati*, Ea. In this way the uppermost echelon of scribes who wrote scholarly texts, including astronomical ephemerides, identified themselves as the guardians and stewards of a tradition of knowledge they claimed was handed down to them from the remotest antiquity before the Flood. Some of the astronomical literature, however, for example the astronomical observation texts now known as Diaries (in antiquity as the “regular watch”), do not appear to belong to this category of antediluvian traditional knowledge. But other astronomical texts, such as the lu-

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* VI 123, VII 193, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library Nr. 352, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Reprint edition, 1942).

nar and planetary ephemerides, are sometimes designated as *nēmeq anūti*, meaning “the highest wisdom.”

What is notable about Babylonian astronomical science is that the native conception of knowledge of the heavens was fully integral to the study of phenomena as signs. The fact that predictive mathematical astronomy was not separated from celestial divination as we would separate astronomy from astrology raises the historiographical question of how this Babylonian astral knowledge should be understood vis-à-vis the history of science. Where science is traditionally taken to be natural knowledge and the history of science the history of natural knowledge, the epistemic significance of ominous signs fits uncomfortably with that traditional view.

Assyro-Babylonian astronomical knowledge was but part of a greater totality of knowing the world within the learned traditions of their scholars. As a whole those scholarly disciplines were attuned to the regularity and irregularity of phenomena, to what was normative and what anomalous. The preoccupations of cuneiform scholarship, missing the necessity to organize knowledge within a unique and eternal natural world, was nonetheless heavily invested in observation and prediction, mathematical methodologies, divination from signs, and medical diagnostics. The Babylonian scholars of the period when Greek *physikoi* began to explore matter and motion remained unaffected by the interests of Western philosophy in knowing nature or in using nature heuristically. For two thousand years Babylonian knowledge of the heavens was not structured by a classification of the moon and the planets as phenomena of nature, nor were their cyclical appearances understood in terms of physical laws. Models of astronomical prediction were neither dependent upon a geometrical geocentric cosmos, nor constructed to account for motion in the cosmos as such.

What the Babylonian models afford us is the opportunity to trace the history of the representation of astronomical phenomena to a time before astronomy became part of natural knowledge and before any stakes in physical explanation were developed. Unlike Greek kinematic models (that is, astronomical models of motion based on the celestial sphere), which entailed physical criteria about how heavenly bodies made of aether moved in uniform circles, Babylonian astronomical models lacked an underpinning of physics. Instead they had a powerful empirical underpinning, which both influenced the way celestial phenomena were understood and also anchored the Babylonian methods of prediction. Models of astronomical phenomena in cuneiform astronomy took schematic, empirical, and mathematical forms.

The earliest such model goes back to the second millennium BCE and deals with the periodic phenomenon of the change in the length of daylight throughout the year. This early model was based on a schematic or ideal period, namely the 360-day year of 12 30-day months. Some centuries later, from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, empirical models for predicting periodic planetary, lunar, and solar phenomena appear in so-called non-mathematical astronomical texts, known in Assyriological parlance as Diaries, Goal-Year Texts, Almanacs and Normal Star-Al-

manacs. The latest to develop, during the Hellenistic period, were mathematical models which could produce tables or ephemerides using predictive “systems” or methods of calculation now called Systems A and B (and some others less well attested). Each successive development in the making of models, however, only added to, that is, did not replace, older forms. Ideal models continued to be preserved in the divinatory texts in which they were originally found, and non-mathematical models coexisted with mathematical ones for predicting phenomena.

Despite the scribes’ emphasis on the divine origin of scholarly knowledge, or on the gods’ role in producing ominous signs and organizing the world, if we consider the central axis of knowledge in the cuneiform scholarly corpus, it seems not to be principally between human and god, but between the human knower and the ordered phenomenal world. Of course this relationship is arguably the defining feature of what we consider scientific as opposed to other kinds of knowledge. Around this axis many kinds of knowledge in cuneiform scholarship, such as divination, magic, and predictive astronomy, were structured, and the investigation of regularity and irregularity, norms and anomalies, was organized within the particular epistemic, ontological, and metaphysical bounds of that axis.

Cuneiform Studies, therefore, has much to offer the field of Historical Epistemology, with an abundance of evidence for the historicity of knowledge, and the historicity of epistemological standards of scientific knowledge. Cuneiform scholarly texts offer another perspective on the project of science from a place outside the boundaries of our usual assumptions about nature and natural knowledge. The goal now is to make room for the language of the Assyrian and Babylonian scholars so that the terms *nēmequ* and *ṭupšarrūtu* may be considered in relation to other forms of knowledge, or of science, and take their place beside the more familiar *episteme* and *scientia* and be acknowledged for their unique place on the historical-epistemological stage.

Instrumental for the understanding of cuneiform knowledge in relation to science, and so too, the implications of cuneiform knowledge for the history of science, are the changes in the investigation of historical sciences beginning in the 1970s. These are the development of the sociology of scientific knowledge as well as the increasing acceptance of historical epistemologies, each of which attracts historians of science interested to show the historicity of epistemic categories and the historical pluralism of standards of scientific knowledge. Over fifty years ago Thomas Kuhn shook the foundations of the philosophy of science in establishing the historical, cultural, and social dimensions of scientific knowledge and its standards or norms, and his perspectival history of science still underpins those of a pluralist bent. As Kuhn famously said, “Scientific knowledge, like language, is intrinsically the common property of a group or else nothing at all. To understand it we shall need to know the special characteristics of the groups that create and use it.”<sup>5</sup> The situation of science as viewed from “somewhere” and what it deems

5 Thomas Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Chicago 1970, p. 210.

knowledge to be from that particular viewpoint can be contrasted with Thomas Nagel's "view from nowhere" as a term for the objective point of view, or at least the view from which we "conceive of ourselves as instances of something more general in order to place ourselves in a centerless world."<sup>6</sup> This point of view is normally accepted as pertaining to the knowledge derived from modern science.

In this regard, cuneiform scientific texts have much to offer by way of a different perspective, a "view from somewhere," in the particular nature of the evidence for the Assyrian and Babylonian scholars' particular form of wisdom (*nēmequ*) and scribal knowledge (*tuṣšarrūtu*) concerning the phenomena. There is still much cuneiform documentation to be read, reconstructed, and understood, but cuneiform knowledge, as represented by *nēmequ* and *tuṣšarrūtu*, can now be considered beside the more familiar *episteme* and *scientia* and be acknowledged for the unique place it occupies on the historical-epistemological landscape. It provides a "view from somewhere" where basic assumptions we once carried, when we decided that science was an invention of the ancient Greeks, no longer hold.

Though we can try to define a conception or conceptions of knowledge in the ancient Middle East, no equivalent classification in cuneiform languages serves to unify particular forms of knowledge, reasoning-style, or social practice in quite the same way as does our classifier scientific. Even granting how variable the meaning of that term is across the historical span, reasons for including cuneiform knowledge in that history are less intuitive for us than, say, Greek, Greco-Roman, medieval, or even Islamic science. I submit that the reason for this has to do with the underlying disjunction between the interests of the cuneiform scribes in their investigations of the world on one hand, and those of what we call natural science, or natural knowledge, on the other. That the scribes were not directed toward a description of nature puts the entirety of the cuneiform knowledge culture into a different epistemic framework, and thus is representative of a unique economy of knowledge.

In view of overwhelming textual evidence from ancient Mesopotamia the notion of nature upon which we base our own notion of scientific rationality and the method of inquiry we call naturalism must now be seen as a particular, not universal, basis for science. The scribes interested in the phenomena of their particular surrounding environment as signs, phenomena such as eclipses, animal and bird behavior, the features of the human form, or the appearance of the liver of a sacrificed sheep, were engaged in the world in a way that bears kinship with science in its use of observation, analysis of regularities and irregularities, calculation, and prediction, yet did not conceive of nature as a heuristic or explanatory framework for understanding that world. And because the overriding objective of knowledge was the determination of signs of all kinds (astronomical, medical, physiognomic, behavioral, etc.), what was heuristic and explanatory were the meanings and relationships between words and the world conceived primarily through associative

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6 Thomas Nagel, *The View from Nowhere*, Oxford 1986, p. 19.

and analogical reasoning. The interest in understanding and describing perceptual and intellectual phenomena, that is, things seen and things imagined, runs through and across the disciplinary boundaries of the scribal scholarly corpus. An understanding of the totality of *ṭupšarrūtu* would therefore be the basis for a full exposition of what might rightfully be called the cuneiform scientific imagination.

The scribal imagination shaped cuneiform knowledge on different levels. Most basic was that of the potential of the cuneiform script for hermeneutic expansion by association, analogy, and polyvalence of various kinds. Another level can be identified in the conception of the phenomena as signs from the gods, and still another in the phenomena as objects of rigorous mathematical schematization and the construction of models for the purpose of prediction. Co-existing with models for predicting the phenomena was the persistent idea of the influence of the gods through their cosmic "designs," a metaphor for the establishment of norms and order in the world.

As indicated before, however, it is not simply a matter of the gods versus nature. It is the question of how to re-imagine a framework for phenomena that does not involve all-encompassing nature, and how methods of knowing can function within such a framework through the use of empirical, deductive, associative and analogical reasoning. The relationship between what we think of as natural phenomena and what the Assyro-Babylonian scribes thought of as signs seems to be at the crux of this difference.

To further nuance what is meant by science in history, the differences in the meanings of *episteme* for Aristotle versus *scientia* for Augustine are illustrative. For Aristotle, *episteme* had to do with nature, and with progressing from the general to the particular in the syllogism, from what is plain to us by sense perception to what is knowable by nature. The goal of *episteme* was knowledge of nature. *Scientia*, on the other hand, for Augustine, points to knowledge of the world as an instrument for knowing God. If knowledge, its content, methods and goals, is differently defined within the matrix of nature, divine, and human in the history of Western science, philosophy and theology, then how are we to treat knowledge that was not aimed at nature, as it must not have been in ancient Mesopotamia, where the matrix of the divine and the human was all, and an independent nature as a physical realm for knowing or being is not in evidence. The goal of knowledge in the sense of *nēmequ* or *ṭupšarrūtu* was neither nature nor God but skills, both intellectual and technical, often defined as secrets of the scholars (*niširti ummānî*) that often referred to understanding words and signs within an ordered world of regularity and irregularity, norms and anomalies such as is clearly in evidence in divinatory texts. The cuneiform material evokes its own conceptual matrix consisting of the gods, the phenomena, and the human in a way that occupies its own place on the historical epistemic landscape, not equivalent to that of the Aristotelian, or the Augustinian.

Obviously, the solution to the problem of understanding cuneiform knowledge in relation to the history of science is not to exclude it for lack of a shared notion



of “the natural world,” but to explore within its learned corpora its own epistemic criteria and aims, the better to expand and contextualize our own, or those of our more immediate ancestors in the classical or European West. For interpreting cuneiform sources, the solution is not to distinguish between knowledge that represents nature (science) versus that which (merely) reflects culture (non-science, magic, religion, ritual), but, to dismantle the dichotomy, as far as is possible for our way of expressing ourselves, so as not to take those categories themselves as absolutes.

The idea that the absolute categories of epistemology, or scientific knowledge, on one hand, and hermeneutics, or interpretation, on the other, form a dichotomy was already challenged by Richard Rorty in 1979 in his *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. He was an early observer of the problem with making a dichotomy between what is found in the external world, what Rorty called the “mirror of nature,” on one hand versus what is (merely) constructed by human beings. In his terms the line between the respective domains of epistemology and hermeneutics was not a matter of the difference between the “sciences of nature” and the “sciences of man,” or science versus hermeneutics.<sup>7</sup>

Rorty’s argument against the inviolability of natural science should indeed be taken on board in revising our view of the sciences in the ancient Middle East. While Greek rationality favored demonstration and the causal account (of natural phenomena), the epistemic values of the cuneiform tradition suggest another system altogether, one which favored making correspondences through many forms of relation and analogy between parts of the world such as the above (termed AN in Sumerian, *šamû* in Akkadian, meaning “heaven”) and the below (KI in Sumerian, *eršetu* in Akkadian, meaning “earth/netherworld”), between phenomena, words, or even cuneiform signs. Determining which phenomena were ominous and developing models for prediction of celestial phenomena, some of which were related to ominous signs, each depended upon imaginative strategies of analogy, whether to relate phenomena from different domains, as celestial to terrestrial, or to use mathematical analogues for description and prediction of lunar and planetary appearances. Outside of the astronomical/astrological tradition other kinds of scribal knowledge, such as is found in lexical lists, mathematics, or a variety of technical instructions, provide other contexts in which to consider how association and analogy were employed within the bounds of *tušarrûtu*.

In view of the differences in the rationality of a physical science of causes versus a science of signs, correspondences and analogies, the historiography of science must allow for and integrate such differences. This applies not only to Greek and Babylonian astronomy, but also to the integration of astrology, magic, and the knowledge of signs within the boundaries of both Babylonian and later Western science.

Science and nature have often been taken to function as orthogonal coordinates within which humankind is to be placed within a science-nature grid. Na-

7 Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Princeton 1979, p. 321.

ture has been construed in many different forms over the course of the history of its conception, but the science-nature grid has remained firm. Given the nature of cuneiform knowledge, however, this grid must be dismantled. It is one of the principal indications of a deep difference in the epistemic values of ancient versus modern science. A related question that seems to me to follow is that of the very necessity of the relationship of science, and consequently the scientific imagination, to nature. To put it more directly, it seems to me that from the long range view such as the cuneiform record affords us, the relationship between nature and the scientific imagination is not a given, but rather a product of the history of science in the West. If the intellectual project of science in history does not belong exclusively to the understanding or theorization of nature, natural phenomena, or laws of nature, then we must consider whether the scientific imagination itself is limited to that sparked by the conscious study of nature, or if it can be defined in a broader way, encompassing other ways of experiencing and knowing the world. In addition, then, to the empirical and theoretical dimensions of historical sciences the scientific imagination in its own right also has great potential as an object of historical inquiry.

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# Bibliothoiconomy: Greek *homines novi* in the Ottoman Tulip Era

Miltos Pechlivanos

## 1

On May 10<sup>th</sup> 1720, Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, *Bibliothécaire du Roi de France* since 1718, and thus custodian of the largest library in Europe at the time, wrote a letter to Jean-Louis, d'Usson, Marquis de Bonnac, *Ambassadeur Extraordinaire à la Cour de Constantinople*, expressing his gratitude for sending a manuscript entitled 'Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα' [Philotheos' Diversions]. He was convinced that it was 'a simultaneously very instructive and very amusing novel, whose Author is an *homme d'esprit*, and very well versed in the reading of good books in several languages.<sup>1</sup> With the name of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos (1680–1730) as author, the *Diversions* were first published in 1800 in Vienna, though we had to wait until 1989 for a critical edition with a French translation and until 2017 and 2019 for a Modern Greek and a Turkish translation respectively. In a report or 'Analyse' written for Abbé Bignon by his employee Jean Boivin de Cadet, today at the French National Library,<sup>2</sup> we read that the author was the *Philotheos* of the title; Boivin remarks further that the novel, which is set in Constantinople in August 1715, contained 'un portrait avantageux' for Ahmet III, a Sultan who was in that summer on the campaign for the reconquest of Peloponnese from the Venetians.

As it may be with the anonymity of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos as author of the novel in the second decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and its self-fashioning in the European Republic of Letters,<sup>3</sup> the author of *Philotheos' Diversions* fades into the background in favour of his narrative persona in order to depict two days in the capital

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1 'C'est une espece de Roman fort instructif, et très-amusant, tout-a-la fois, dont l'Auteur est homme de beaucoup d'esprit, et très-versé dans la Lecture des bons livres en plusieurs Langues' (Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα/Les Loisirs de Philothée*, ed. and transl. Jacques Bouchard, Athens & Montreal 1989, p. 73).

2 George Kechayoglou, "Η πρώτη, και ουσιαστικότερη, συνοπτική παρουσίαση των *Φιλοθέου Παρέργων* του Ν. Μαυροκορδάτου (2.8.1719)", in: *Ελληνικά* 49 (1999), pp. 305–316, and cf. Jacques Bouchard, "La première présentation des *Loisirs de Philothée* par Boivin le Cadet", in: *Ελληνικά* 54 (2004), pp. 350–352.

3 Miltos Pechlivanos, "Για την αυτολογκρισία ενός ηγεμόνα: ο Νικόλαος Μαυροκορδάτος και τα *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα*", in: *Έλεγχος ιδεών και λογοκρισία από τις απαρχές της ελληνικής τυπογραφίας μέχρι το Σύνταγμα του 1844*, eds. Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Katerina Dede, Dimitris Dimitropoulos and Eirini Papadaki, Athens 2018, pp. 173–192.

of the Ottoman empire.<sup>4</sup> Strolling through Istanbul, the narrator provides a realistic vision of the capital, correcting some of the misconceptions contemporary Europeans might have had about daily life of the Ottomans, portraying different characters interacting with one another – an aim stated directly near the end of the novel, when an Italian acquaintance states:

ἀλλὰ καὶ κέϊνο θαυμαστόν, [...], ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ τοὺς Ὀθωμανοὺς ἄλλως μὲν διαζωγραφεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ὑπολήψει τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐρωπαίων, ἄλλως δὲ τρώντι διακειῖσθαι καθ' αὐτούς [what is amazing is that it seems to me that the Ottomans are portrayed in one way in the regard in which we Europeans view them and are actually completely completely otherwise in themselves] (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 188).

This so called 'first modern Greek attempt in composing a novel,'<sup>5</sup> written throughout in a refined Attic Greek,<sup>6</sup> strives, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> to establish the translatability between East and West, to integrate the Ottoman Empire of the Tulip Era into the European balance of power after the Treaty of Utrecht, within a political scenery where the West did not yet need to be provincialized, since the Ottoman Empire was on a par as a central player. The famous Embassy of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Celebi or Mehmed Efendi in Paris flourished briefly from 1720–1721 and the work of Mavrokordatos was perhaps intended to be a kind of literary diplomacy, of diplomatic mediation reflecting and adjusting perceptions of the Self and images of the Other.

The story combines in successive scenes encounters of people of different origins at various locations in Constantinople. From the Byzantine Hippodrome, where the narrator and his companions meet Cornelius, a native of Cyprus, disguised as a Persian, who will be arrested during the course of the novel (without the reader ever knowing why), the action proceeds to the garden of another friend, Jacob, a crypto-Christian from Izmir, a garden embellished by nature and art, in a combination 'which defined the Tulip Period, when the aesthetic ideal involved an appreciation for a refined, cultivated version of nature.'<sup>8</sup> From there it moves to the prison, where Jacob tries to help Cornelius and the narrator collects the stories of several prisoners, and then on to an encounter with a Muslim boatman, when

4 I follow the only existing detailed presentation of the novel in English quoting some of the passages translated there. See Karen Alexandra Leal, *The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul: Sovereignty and Identity at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2003, pp. 509–530.

5 C. Th. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens <sup>5</sup>1989, p. 265 and pp. 267–268.

6 Jacques Bouchard, "Refined Attic Greek: Hallmark of the Emerging Phanariot Nobility", in: *Proceedings of the 40<sup>th</sup> ARA Congress*, eds. Ruxandra Vidu and Ala Mindicanu, Montreal 2016, pp. 11–17.

7 Miltos Pechlivanos, *Εκδοχές νεοτερικότητας στην κοινωνία του γένους: Νικόλαος Μανροκρδάτος – Ιώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ – Αδαμάντιος Κοραής*, Ph.D. diss. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1999, pp. 65–76, and Pechlivanos, "Για την αυτολογοκρισία", pp. 191–192.

8 Leal, *The Ottoman State*, p. 517.

the two take a skiff to cross over to Pera and visit an 'opulent and erudite Greek scholar' (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 114), whom they find lecturing to guests from England, France and Italy. This plot serves only as a pretext to establish the framework of the novel in which autobiographical narratives of the interlocutors are embedded, but also, as Boivin de Cadet noted, 'many pieces of history, criticism, politics and morals.'<sup>9</sup> The latter include 'Moral and Political Notes in the Life of the wise Thales' and 'In the Life of Solon', after the model of Francis Bacon's *Imagines*, essays on topics such as atheism and superstition, folly or gentleness and austerity, but also an answer to the maxims contained in a book published in French that Boivin had not yet identified, but that we know today was La Rochefoucauld's *Réflexions ou sentences et maximes morales*.<sup>10</sup>

What makes the *Philotheos' Diversions* interesting for our question is the above suggested coexistence of empirical observation (as in the book's portrayal of the spatial and temporal environment of the capital of the empire as a multilingual and multicultural reality, within which a new Greek elite is formed in the Ottoman empire), and of an *Episteme in Bewegung*, a multidirectional transfer of book-knowledge, based on readings in a House of Wisdom, that is, in a library. Indeed, the reader will enter such a library in the epicentre of the *Diversions*, in the house of the opulent and erudite Greek, where the narrator notices several books, some on the table and other sorted in bookshelves (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 114), and hears the scholar discussing Plato and Aristotle, as well as Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides and Xenophon, Demosthenes and Cicero – but also Francis Bacon, whose philosophy 'carries the border between science and polyhistory as a contradiction in itself.'<sup>11</sup> In the chronotope of this House of Wisdom – which transposes in fictional space the library of the Mavrokordati *oikos* in Istanbul itself – Nikolaos presents, with the voice of the Greek scholar, a quasi-autobiographical picture of the erudition of the *homines novi*, the new Greek elite: scholars who fled to Italy after 1453 fearing the Ottomans 'διδάξαντες Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον τῶν ἐξαιρέτων λογογράφων ἅμα καὶ ποιητῶν τῇ Λατίνων λαλεῖν γλώσση' [teach Plato and Aristotle as well as the group of outstanding logographers and poets to speak Latin], but with time a later generation 'ἤκουσιν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Παταβίῳ λαμπροτάτων ἀκαδημιῶν ἄνδρες ἐξάισιοι περὶ πᾶν εἶδος σοφίας καὶ πλουτίζουσι τὸ ὁμόφυλον τῇ τε θύραθεν καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφίᾳ' [return from the illustrious Academies of Rome and Padua, men outstanding in every sort of wisdom, enriching their ethnic peers with the foreign knowledge as with our own] (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 116). Studies in Italy call to mind the case of Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1641–1709), the founder of

9 Kechayoglou, "Ἡ πρόωτη", p. 311 ('plusieurs morceaux d'histoire, de Critique, de Politique, et de Morale').

10 Bouchard, "La première présentation", p. 352, and cf. C. Th. Dimaras, "Alexandre Mavrocordato, Machiavel et La Rochefoucauld", in: idem, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva 1969, p. 19–25.

11 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis*, Hamburg 1983, p. 225.

the dynasty, who between 1657–1664 accumulated cultural capital there, which he transformed into political power. Thanks to his erudition and multilingualism he became a prototype for the Greek *homines novi*, who ‘appeared to be a kind of “office aristocracy” whose “noblesse” was (almost) entirely “politique”’.<sup>12</sup> The self-portrait of his son, Nikolaos, highly educated and multilingual, makes its appearance right afterwards, at least in the form of a model: ‘ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ δ’ ἔσχατιᾷ τοῦ χρόνου ἔνιοι ἀτρώτῳ φιλοπονίᾳ νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀνελίττουσι τὰ τε Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ὅποσα τῇ Λατίνων, καὶ Ἀράβων, καὶ Περσῶν, Ἰταλῶν τε καὶ Γάλλων φωνῇ εὐφρῶς ξυντέθειται’ [in present times there are some, who study day and night with untiring diligence whatever of value has been written in Greek and in Latin, Arabic, Persian, Italian and French] (*Philotheos’ Diversions*, p. 116–118).

If this model could not be but that of a *bibliotheca universalis* (let us not forget that this was a time that saw, in favour of empirical knowledge, the development of a critical stance towards the polyhistor), a programmatic difficulty of course concerns the criteria of an economizing access to knowledge, since leisure time was limited and the *parerga* of book-knowledge was supposed to be in balance with the duties, the *erga*. Since there was too much to know, new responses to the challenges of managing an ever-increasing accumulation of material were needed.<sup>13</sup> And if in the years of composing his *Philotheos’ Diversions* (or his *Περὶ Καθηκόντων / De officiis*, published 1719 in Bucarest and then with a Latin translation 1722 in Leipzig) Nikolaos enjoyed the *otium* of managing accumulated scholarly information (the texts probably being written during the Austrian captivity of the author in Transylvania from 1716–1718), with the library of the Jesuits in Karlsburg at his disposal, how did he organise the personal *bibliotheca selecta* in the years of his formation as a member of the Ottoman office aristocracy? That is, how did he do so in the years of his first principality in Moldavia (1709–1710, 1711–1715) and in Wallachia (1715–1716), and especially in the period after returning to the throne in Bucharest (1719–1730)? How did he conceive and realize the plan of creating (parallel to his own personal library and to the concern for the *bibliotheca selecta* of his successors in the dynasty, of his first born Skarlatos and later, after his premature death, of his second son Konstantinos Mavrokordatos) a princely library in the Văcărești Monastery<sup>14</sup> – a library that could be described as objectified cultural capital of the Mavrokordatos dynasty in the Ottoman Tulip Era?

12 R. G. Păun, “‘Well-born of the Polis’. The Ottoman Conquest and the Reconstruction of the Greek Orthodox Elites under Ottoman Rule (15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries)”, in: *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. R. Born and S. Jagodzinski, Meringingen 2014, p. 69.

13 Ann M. Blair, *Too much to know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age*, New Haven & London 2010; Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta. Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1992.

14 R. G. Păun, “‘Legitimatio Principis’ ou le savoir du pouvoir. Les modèles politiques de Nicolas Maurocordato (1680–1730)”, in: *Pouvoir et mentalités*, ed. Laurențiu Vlad, Bucarest 1999, pp. 89–110.

If we focus our considerations on the thesis of the SFB 980 'Episteme in Motion' 2018 annual conference, that knowledge constitutes itself and undergoes change relative to the processes and networks in which it circulates, in the framework of an *oikos* and its diverse contexts which I tried to outline very briefly, how could we describe a library as an *oikos*: as a dynamic entity in and of itself, internally in motion, self-referential, yet simultaneously open to external relationships?<sup>15</sup> What was its bibliothoiconomy, given that the seventeenth century witnessed with Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, the *Urtext* of a library science, a *bibliothéconomie*? I will organise my argument in three steps. First, there is the question of the networks of reference works that enabled the transfer of learned knowledge to the *oikos* of Istanbul and of Bucharest, something that had to take place in an economic manner, in the face of the *multitudo librorum*, the flood of produced and distributed book-knowledge. Second, I will consider the *propria* of this *bibliotheca selecta*, its distinctive features for the sake of the self-fashioning of the dynasty, focussing on the notions of *critique* in the context of the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* and on *political reading*. Third, I will briefly deal with the epistemology of the *bibliotheca selecta* that regulated the accommodation of the transferred knowledge in its new contexts, underlining the concepts of *oikonomia* and *sensus accomodatus*.

## 2

Since the accumulation of cultural capital – in the first place the linguistic capital that characterized the dragoman, the multilingual *interpreter* – was the condition of possibility for the Greek *homines novi*, studies were *officium* and not *otium*, at least during the years of formation. We have enough information on the readings of Nikolaos from his own letters (and later from those of the secretaries of his court), as well as in ambassadorial reports of the Russians or in accounts of the Venetians,<sup>16</sup> so as not to have to insist here on the still available *Florilegium* from the years of his study: 'Nikolaou Mavrokordatou from Constantinople | selections, from the books read by him | saved for his own use', in which among other readings (which are to be expected), passages from Francis Bacon's works are excerpted and translated from the Latin, and his readings 'On Economy' are documented.<sup>17</sup> His interest on the administration of the *oikos* is evident from the list of ancient and modern authorities – Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon and Plutarch on the one hand, and Francis

15 Umberto Eco's dense formulation moves in a similar vein using a metaphor: 'La biblioteca non è una somma dei libri, è un organismo vivente con una vita autonoma' (*Riflessioni sulla bibliofilia*, Milano 2001, p. 25).

16 Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, eds. Maria Grazia and Mario Sina, vol. IV: 1719–1732, Firenze 1997; M. M. Bogoslovskij, *Petr I. Materialy dlja biografii*, Moscow 1948, v. 5, p. 94; Alexandre A.C. Stourdzia, *L'Europe Orientale et le rôle historique des Maurocordato (1660–1830)*, Paris 1913, p. 357.

17 Rumanian Academy of Sciences, ms. gr. 268- cf. Constantin Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, Bucarest 1909, p. 127.

Bacon, Jean Bodin, Emanuele Tesauro and the commentaries, letters and maxims of his father Alexandros Mavrokordatos on the other.

The contribution of the latter figure, Alexandros Mavrokordatos, should be considered as certain in the *oikos* of the family library. He was after all a medico-philosopher before he turned to matters of power.<sup>18</sup> As equally certain should be considered the contribution of various home teachers of the younger Mavrokordati; among others, there is evidence of Yanyalı Esad Efendi, a teacher of Nikolaos' brother, with whom Nikolaos himself exchanged books, a court philosopher and since 1719 personal librarian of Ahmet III, who prepared an Arabic translation of Johannes Cottunius's commentary on the Physics of Aristotle in the spirit of Paduan Aristotelianism.<sup>19</sup> From the few surviving books from his time bearing an *ex libris* of Nikolaos ('Ex libris Nicolai Maurocordati Constantinopolitani'), it would be worth noting besides *De augmentis scientiarum* by Bacon (or the documented reading of Erasmus dating from this time of Nikolaos' life), a series of books by the now relatively unknown Gian Vittorio Rossi (1577–1647), also known as Janus Nicius Erythraeus, whose circle was also frequented by Gabriel Naudé in his Roman years. Going by the note of Nikolaos in the 1692 edition of the *Pinacotheca Imaginum Illustrium* (Rumanian Academy of Sciences, I 1419), the profit from reading for the adolescent student, who was critical in matters of style, was a double one, connected to the world of words as well as the world of things:

Homilias iam comparavi, et in mea Bibliotheca conservo. Eudemiam semel, iterumque non sine delectatione perlegi tum propter sermonis elegantiam, qua optime describit etiam nullius momenti res tum propter notitiam novorum Cardinalium et aliorum, qui Romanae Ecclesiae vel praesunt, nel inserviunt in caeteris suis operibus. cum valde labore videri Ciceronianus fastidium legenti parit. [I purchased the Homelies and preserve them in my Library. I have read through the *Eudemian* more than once, and this not without pleasure, not only because of its elegant style, by means of which it describes very effectively even things of little importance, but also because of the information about new cardinals and all the others, who hold leading posts within the Roman Church or serve in some of the ecclesiastical institutions; yet although he takes great pains to look like Cicero, he is a nuisance for the reader.]

A third book from the library in Istanbul should give us pause: the *Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa* by the German polymath Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1677). This embodies a sort of succession ritual, belonging as it were to the

<sup>18</sup> At any rate there exist some books with the *ex libris* 'ex bibliotheca Alexandri Maurocordati Constantinopolitani' (Cornelius Dima-Drăgan, "Ein großer Bibliophile: Fürst Nicolae Mavrokordat", in: *Biblos* 29 (1980), pp. 286–287).

<sup>19</sup> For Esad's translation, see Harun Küçük, *Science without Leisure: Practical Naturalism in Istanbul, 1660–1732*, Pittsburg 2020. According to Esad, 'Aristotle was a philosopher on which all monarchs, east and west, unanimously agreed' (p. 156).



books of Alexandros – ‘Ex bibliotheca Alex. Maurocordati Constantinopolitani’ – and having been offered from the father to the son, being in the words of Nikolaos ‘Utilissimus liber ad dirigendum studium, et ad eligendos meliores probatioresque authores’ [a very useful book in order to arrange studies and choose the best and most recommended writers]; it is also marked with signs of close reading.<sup>20</sup>

If the young Nikolaos was trained in Latin by Rossi and the genre of biography, while reading the *imagines* from many of the authors whose works would be ordered in the successive collector’s campaigns of the decades to come,<sup>21</sup> that is, he would have secured an early acquaintance with authors he would turn to later on, in the library of the Mavrokordati. Reference books, like the one by Johann Heinrich Boeckler, functioned like a window to the world of knowledge, anyway to the one western of the Ottoman Empire. Alongside Boeckler, the *Polyhistor Literarius* by Daniel Georg Morhof(f) – ‘Ex libris Jo. Nicolai Maurocordati de Scarlatti Principis Valachiae, et Moldaviae 1724’ –, must have played a very important role. A copy of the 1714 edition bears numerous reading marks and it seems that it was the main tool for the creation of the library in the Văcărești Monastery.<sup>22</sup> In the fragmentary catalogues of the Mavrokordati libraries available to us containing about 3,000 titles, many printed catalogues of other libraries can be traced, which are equally precious tools of the *ars* of *bibliothéconomie*. These include, for instance, the catalogue of the library of Johannes Cordesius, drafted in 1643 by Naudé, also speckled with markings from the hand of Nikolaos, or catalogues of auctions, like that of the *Bibliotheca Riviniana* (in whose auction in 1727 in Leipzig the participation of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos is documented), or the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana* (1682), ‘almost a seventeenth-century universal short title catalogue.’<sup>23</sup> They also feature bibliographies contributing to the more precise description of the Bibliothoiconomy of the library *oikos* in Bucharest, such as the ‘Bibliographia politica’ or the ‘Syntagma de studio liberali’, again by Gabriel Naudé.<sup>24</sup>

Ann Blair has made the fruitful suggestion that the encyclopedism of the Latin speaking Republic of Letters should be discussed under the anachronistic term of ‘reference works’, quoting Naudé’s *Advice* in the English translation of John Evelyn (1661):

20 Cf. Corneliu Dima-Drăgan, “Însemnări bibliografice ale domnitorului Nicolae Mavrocordat”, in: *Studii și Cercetări de Bibliologie* S.N. 12 (1972), pp. 94–96 and 98–101.

21 The most important of these campaigns is probably the ordering of many hundred books of the personal and the princely library in Bucharest from Amsterdam through the mediation of Johannes Clericus – the Jean Le Clerc with whom the secretaries of the court Antoine Epis, Stefan Bergler, Dimitrios Prokopiou and Nicolaus Wolff maintained a correspondence from 1721 to 1727 (see Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, eds. Maria Grazia and Mario Sina, vol. IV: 1719–1732, Firenze 1997).

22 In the library catalogues previous editions are also mentioned (1688/1692 and 1693); see also Dima-Drăgan, “Însemnări bibliografice”, pp. 101–104.

23 Cf. John A. Sibbald, “The Heinsiana – Almost a seventeenth-century universal short title catalogue”, in: *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*, eds. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, Leiden & Boston 2013, pp. 141–159.

24 In *H. Grotii et aliorum dissertationes de studiis instituendis* (Amsterdam 1645).

Neither must you forget all sorts of commonplaces, dictionaries, mixtures, several lections, collections of sentences and other like repertories. In earnest, for my part, I esteem these collections extremely profitable and necessary, considering [that] the brevity of our life and the multitude of things which we are now obliged to know, e're one can be reckoned amongst the number of learned men, do not permit us to do all of ourselves.<sup>25</sup>

We do not have the space here to discuss at length the reference works of the library of the Mavrokordati, which include the following: the dynasty's towering group of the multilingual dictionaries (many of which entail a multitude of encyclopaedic elements, from Ambrosio Calepino's *Dictionarium* of 1564, combined with the *Onomasticon* of Conrad Gesner, an aid for reading the classical canon and sign of conservatism, to the *Dictionnaire universel* of Antoine Furetière in the edition of 1708); the collections of sentences and commonplaces or *antiquae lectionis* (from Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, a 'storehouse of rhetorical and cultural information made accessible by alphabetical indexing',<sup>26</sup> to Erasmus' *Adagia* and Niccolò Perottis *Cornucopiae*); the various encyclopedias of early modernity from Johann Heinrich Alsted's (1588–1638) 'entire field of knowledge'<sup>27</sup> to an alphabetic encyclopedic dictionary, marked with Nikolaos' *ex libris* and with notes by him from 1723, by Nicholas Lloyd (1630–1680), the *Dictionarium Historicum Geographicum Poeticum*, based on the older, not alphabetical work of Henri Estienne.

Given that 'the shift from ancient to modern authorities in European culture generated more rapidly than ever an overabundance of works in the new vein and of shortcuts to them,'<sup>28</sup> we could argue with SFB 980 that the knowledge of readers in the library of the *homines novi* is 'always the result of dynamic negotiation processes between them and the objects they engage and interact with, processes that create knowledge and expose it to constantly changing contextualisations'. In addition to old genres filled with new material, new genres also appeared, notably the learned journal and the book reviews that often filled their pages. We have already referred to the correspondence of the secretaries of Nikolaos with Jean Le Clerc; in the catalogues of the library at our disposal his *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, *Bibliothèque choisie* as well as *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* are naturally included. Nikolaos' son, Skarlatos Mavrokordatos, in 1721 in a report concerning the resources of the library that his teacher Thomas Testabusa asked him to write, transliterates in Greek the titles of journals and the word *critica*: 'τὰ Ζουρνάλ δε σαβάν καὶ Τρεπουπλικ δε λετρ τὰ ὅποια κάμνουν τὴν κρητικα καθ'

25 Ann Blair, "A Europeanist's Perspective", in: *Organizing Knowledge. Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress, Leiden & Boston 2006, p. 207.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 210.

27 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis*, p. 100.

28 Blair, "A Europeanist's Perspective", p. 215.

ἐνὸς βιβλίου' [the Journal des sçavans and the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, which perform the *critica* of each and every book].<sup>29</sup>

### 3

With the transfer of the concept of *Critique* in the *oikos* of the dynasty – not forgetting the *Ars critica* of Jean Le Clerc from 1697, which Nikolaos read 'avec plaisir'<sup>30</sup> – a name is given to a dynamic negotiation at the epicentre of the Bibliothoiconomy we are visiting. To *interpret* was at any rate commended as the daily occupation of the new office aristocracy of the *interpreters* of the Sublime Porte. Herbert Jaumann has shown how the polyhistorian became the learned journalist, which also meant avoiding the reconstruction of knowledge and turning to the *ratio* and the current events of time. On the line leading from Bacon via Vossius to Le Clerc there is a set of writings which, exhibiting an emphatic claim to neutrality, and the indifference of the critical method to the semantic content of the texts, seek an analogy to the Cartesian epistemic form of the method.<sup>31</sup> The turn to contingent events, on the other hand, would soon lead from the *critica perennis* to the type of critique that in France was referred to as *critique mondaine*. As André Baillet writes in the first chapter of his *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, in the Mavrokordati library in the edition of 1725, everyone may claim the freedom to order himself to become a *censeur* or a *juge*.

Suffice it to recall, alongside Skarlatos' reference to *critica*, the comment of Jean Boivin concerning *Philotheos' Diversions*, in which their author embedded 'many pieces of history, criticism, politics and morals'. Nikolaos' self-fashioning, as it is performed as early as Antoine Epis writes to Jean Le Clerc one of his first letters in 1721, resembles that of a *censeur*. Epis sends to the 'plus éclairé Examineur des Ouvrages d'esprit de nôtre siecle, et de ceux de l'antiquité' [the most enlightened reviewer of the works of spirit of our century and those of antiquity], as he addresses Johannes Clericus, some of the 'tres-judicieuses remarques' of his Prince on the Ancients and the Moderns. These include, for instance, those remarks which – next to his tribute to *The Pleasures of the Imagination* that he read in the French translation of the *Spectator* – censure Richard Steele for rejecting rhyme and belittling hieroglyphics:

'On appelle la rime en Arabe *Kafije*, c'est a dire terminaison, ou cadence des vers. La Sainte Ecriture est presque toute en rime; car c'est un trait d'éloquence dans les langues Orientales que de se servir des rimes même dans la prose. La langue Arabe est une religieuse imitatrice de la langue He-

29 Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, "Préoccupations livresques de Scarlat Mavrokordat dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine", in: *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 28 (1990), p. 33. Cf. also Stessi Athini, *Οψεις της νεοελληνικής αφηγηματικής πεζογραφίας*, Athens 2010, pp. 240–246.

30 *Epistolario*, p. 127.

31 Herbert Jaumann, *Critica. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Literaturkritik zwischen Quintilian und Thomasius*, Leiden/New York/Köln 1995, pp. 175, 179.

braïque: et les Excellens Poetes Persiens ont suivi la trace des Arabes. Pour les Gerogliphes [= Hieroglyphes] on ne sauroit desavouer la veneration que toute l'Antiquité avoit pour eux, avant qu'elle degenerat en Pedantisme. Et on ne peut pas comprendre comment Mr. Steele a voulu être d'un sentiment contraire' [In Arabic a rhyme is called *Kafije*, this means termination, or rhythmic cadence. The Holy Scripture is almost entirely written in rhymes since it is an elegant trait of oriental languages that rhymes are used even in prose. The Arabic language is a religious imitator of Hebrew and the excellent Persian poets followed in the steps of the Arabs. Regarding hieroglyphics one cannot avoid the veneration of the entire antiquity for them, before it degenerated to pedantry. And one cannot understand how Mr. Steele would want to feel opposed to that].<sup>32</sup>

The recontextualization of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in South-East Europe becomes evident when we consider the self-portrait of Nikolaos: 'Vous pouvez être convaincu par la du plaisir que S[on] A[ltesse] a pris toujours dans la lecture des Anciens, dont elle en juge sainement, comme aussi des Modernes qu'on estime en Europe' [You can therefore rest assured of the pleasure always taken by his Highness in reading the ancients, passing a sound judgment on them, as well as on the moderns, who are so esteemed in Europe].<sup>33</sup> This also becomes evident when we trace his criteria when ordering books: 'Nous souhaitons extrêmement les livres des Rabins, qui sont traduits en latin (ils ne sont pas en grand nombre). Quoiqu'ils ne soient pas du gout moderne, et qu'on y traite quelques fois des bagatelles: notre curiosité nous les recommande. Si l'on cherchoit dans les autres siecles le gout du nôtre, il faudroit rejeter plusieurs bons livres' [We especially wish the books of the Rabbis, which are translated in Latin (there isn't a great number of them). Even though they are not of modern taste and even if they treat of trivialities, our curiosity recommends them to us. If we look in other centuries for the taste of ours, we should reject several good books].<sup>34</sup> Expressing an Ottoman self-understanding, Nikolaos' secretary describes the climate in the Bucharest court and its knowledge culture: '*Spiritum servitutis* ne regne guere ici, et on craint point l'Inquisition' [No spirit of servitude prevails here, and we have no fear of the Inquisition].<sup>35</sup> That impartiality of the multifaceted and unbiased li-

32 *Epistolario*, p. 71.

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 127. Additionally, the erudite Greek in *Philotheos' Diversions* (pp. 118–120) is satisfied 'with few, but excellent books by the judgement of experts': evidently on religious knowledge, but also Plato (most of all the *Republic* and the *Laws*, since he feels content 'observing that until our century some kingdoms and states use many of the laws to be found in Plato'); among Aristotle's works, however, only 'the ones on ethics, the rhetorical ones and especially those on passions', since the moderns are the ones 'who have gained insight into the inner core of nature and after outstanding observations in all areas of knowledge they have arrived at innumerable discoveries, some not less true and some unexpected ones, so that I often want

brary of the 1720s is apparent from several shelves of the library, for instance in the crucial matter of the Cartesian method regarding the relations of book-knowledge and the new scientific *ratio*. At the same time the works of Descartes himself were ordered for the Bibliothoiconomy of Bucharest, as were the anti-cartesian treatises of Jacobus Revius (*Statera philosophiae cartesianae*, 1650) and Jean-Baptiste de La Grange's *Contre les nouveaux philosophes* (1681), but also the enthusiastic defence of Descartes by Balthasar Bekker in *De philosophia cartesiana* (1668) or even the *Parallèle des principes de la physique d'Aristote et de celle de René Descartes* (1674) by René Le Bossu and in Italian the *Viaggio per lo mondo di Cartesio* (1703) by Gabriel Daniel.

If, however, the attempt to recontextualise the concept of *Critique* as the quasi unprejudiced reading of ancients and moderns among the milieu of the descendants of Greeks in the Ottoman Empire brings us to some of the basic stances of *homines novi* (at least of the *habitus* of Nikolaos, to say nothing of the inner differentiation between the three generations of the dynasty, which would further complicate the dynamics of *Wissensoikonomie*), another modification of learned reading should be mentioned briefly, in order to gauge the relations between the *oikos* of the dynasty and the *oikos* of the library, the *Wissensoikonomie* and the Bibliothoiconomy. Helmut Zedelmaier has called this variant of learned reading 'political reading', which means reading dictated by rules of political wisdom and usefulness, and which teaches the reader who wants to succeed and survive in courtly society. Here reading is integrated into the strategies of courtly 'self-preservation' and must be guided by its rules, such as the art of misrepresentation, simulation and dissimulation, which dictates that the reading must be concealed so that no conclusion about the person and his 'true' intentions can be derived from it.<sup>36</sup> In a biographical statement on himself in a letter to an unknown correspondent from his years in Moldavia, Nikolaos writes of his apprenticeship in the art of governing:

Ὅποσης δυσχερείας γέμει ὀποινοῦν ἀρχῆς εἶδος καὶ πάλαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐλελήθει, ἅτε δὴ κομιδῇ ἐφήβους αὐτόπτας γιγνομένους ὦν ὁσημέραι ὁ μακαρίτης ἡμῶν ἐπειράτο πατήρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὁθωμανῶν βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ. Πρόσω δὲ χωρούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ ἀφηγημένῳ αὐτῷ τὰ διηλεκῶς ἀπαντῶντα καὶ τὰ πάλαι, ὦν τὰ μὲν ὄψει τὰ δὲ ἀκοῇ παρειλήφει, ἐπὶ λεπτοῦ διῶντι, οὐ μόνον φιληκῶς τὸν νοῦν προσείχομεν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνστησόμενοι πορείαν τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν βίβλων ἀναγνώσει τὸ πλεῖον ἐπιμετροῦντες ἡμεν τοῦ χρόνου [With whatever difficulty the exercise of any authority is afflicted, it was not hidden to us while young men

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to state that if the wise Aristoteles was to return to life and on physics and on the subject of morals and characters, he would admit defeat, he would happily be a pupil of the moderns'; provided of course that on should not include among them 'the politician of Florence' or the anonymous of the *Moral Maxims* [La Rochefoucauld], who have declared 'war on our common mother, Nature' or paved 'new roads to malice'.

36 Helmut Zedelmaier, "Lesetechniken. Die Praktiken der Lektüre in der Neuzeit", in: *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Helmut Zedelmaier and Martin Mulso, Tübingen 2001, p. 24.

take careful account of what our deceased father experienced in his time in the imperial court of the Ottomans. As our age is getting on, and while he recounted what he came across over time, registering what he saw as well as what heard about the past in great detail, not only did we listen keenly in an attentive spirit, but with the prospect of taking the same course, we spend most of our time reading books on politics].<sup>37</sup>

The sustained effort to reconcile empirical knowledge with book-knowledge in the self-fashioning of Nikolaos brings us here to the dialectics of governmentality and the *otium* of the studies.

Boeckler's *Bibliographia historico-politico-philologica curiosa* entailed as a sort of afterword the *Bibliotheca politica contracta*. It is exactly this subset of knowledge which constitutes the dominant aspect in the libraries of the Mavrokordati and I do not think that this should surprise us, if we consider the intercultural institution, the body of which the dynasty aspired to become. Besides, we have already ascertained the presence of 'Bibliographia politica' by Gabriel Naudé in the library, who, as it were, had by that time established the dislocation of reading interests of scholars and had described it as a move towards ethics and politics: 'nous voyons que l'estude des Morales & Politiques occupe maintenant la plus-part des meilleurs & plus forts esprits de celuy-cy'.<sup>38</sup> Considering the title of a monograph recently devoted to Naudé,<sup>39</sup> I wouldn't think it as an exaggeration, if we referred to the library of the Mavrokordati as a princes' mirror, updated to the data of the classical century, of *l'âge classique*, or at any rate, a mirror of an Ottoman elite in its apprenticeship.

Typography had at its disposal various ways to impress the *virii illustres* of the past for the erudite reader. Etching, for example, made it possible to immortalize the face, as in the *Illustrium imagines ex antiquis marmoribus, nomismatibus, et gemmis expressae* by the engraver Theodoor Galle (1571–1633) or the *Bibliotheca chalcographica illustrium virtute atque eruditione in tota Europa clarissimorum virorum* by Jean Jacques Boissard (1528–1602) and Johann Theodor de Bry (to limit myself to two titles documented in Bucharest). The libraries of the Mavrokordati held an impressive number of biographies, which the prince and his successors must have been reading with enthusiasm in their spare time, from Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius and Cornelius Nepo, and Petrarch (and his return to this genre from the perspective of conceiving history as *exemplum*) to the systematic interest in the *vitae* of kings of early modern times (one could easily recall here the tribute to Bacon in the *Philotheos' Diversions* (p. 172) 'έν τῇ λίαν κατηγορημένη ιστορίᾳ τοῦ ἐπὶ πολιτικῇ φρονήσει θαυμαζομένου Ἐνρίκου' [in the most documented history of the, due to political astuteness, well admired Henry]) but also a great number of public

37 Émile Legrand, *Épistolaire Grec*, Paris 1888, p. 46.

38 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, ed. Bernard Teyssandier, Paris 2008, p. 65.

39 Robert Damien, *Bibliothèque et Etat. Naissance d'une raison politique dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1995.

figures, scholars or clergy of the Italian Renaissance and French absolutism, from Cesare Vorgia and Cosimo I of the Medicis to Cardinal Richelieu. That an engagement with the genre of the *imagines* started already at an early age of Nikolaos, is attested to by the presence of Gian Vittorio Rossi. The *otium* thus organise an *oikos* of knowledge, which would comprise knowledge about the dynastic houses in the years in which the founders and acquirers of the library lived; among the books in use of Konstantinos Mavrokordatos we find the multivolume encyclopaedic work of Ferdinand Ludwig von Bressler und Aschenburg (1721–1722): *Les souverains du monde. Ouvrage qui fait connoître la Genéalogie de leurs Maisons, l'Etendue & le Gouvernement de leurs Etats, leur Religion, leurs Revenus, Forces, Titres, Prétentions, Armoiries, avec l'origine historique des pieces qui les composent, & le Lieu de leur Residence.*

Symbolic succession gestures may, however, be more important in the context of our dynasty's *oikos*. A book could be passed on from the collection of the elder to that of the younger Mavrokordatos, as we have witnessed in the case of Boeckler's book being passed from Alexandros to Nikolaos. Bossuet's (1627–1704) *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'écriture sainte a monseigneur le Dauphin* (1710) has a double *ex libris* of Nikolaos and his son and successor Skarlatos. One can imagine Mavrokordatos the father symbolically presenting this handbook of political wisdom to his son and successor, or, after Skarlatos' illness and the frustrated hopes of succession, Nikolaos preparing the younger Konstantinos for the part, organizing the collection of those books which should guide him at the junctions of knowledge with power: 'Κατάλογος τῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἑλληνικῶν, γραικολατινικῶν, λατινικῶν, ἰταλικῶν, γαλλικῶν καὶ ἄλλων Κωνσταντίνου Μαυροκορδάτου τῶν εἰς χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ' (Ιούνιος 1725) [Inventory of all books, Greek, Greco-Latin, Latin, Italian, French and others in the use of Konstantinos Mavrokrdatos (June 1725)]. (Rumanian Academy of Sciences, ms. gr. 1052).

#### 4

With the concept of the *bibliothoiconomy*, I have tried to describe the regulating and deregulating forces at work in a given systemic context that gives shape to an *ordre bibliothéconomique*, enables the economic access to an ever-accumulating book-knowledge and seeks functional results for the self-culture and self-preservation of the *oikos*. The change in the balance between authoritative and empirical knowledge and the shift from ancient to modern authorities in European learned culture define the horizon on which Nikolaos rises recommending himself to the Republic of Letters, creating, almost simultaneously with the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu (1721), the novel space of an intercultural encounter.

Where, however, do the limits of the *Bibliothoiconomy* in the early environments of the Greek *homines novi* lie? In other words, what could still be said without unsettling the balance of the *oikos* of the library? That is, how did order impede its own transgression, but also the other way around, how did transgression renegotiate this order? We have to keep in mind the reproach of Machiavelli or of La Rochefoucauld. Even if we 'we cannot say with certainty whether the reserved

and conciliatory Nikolaos Mavrokordatos was indirectly confessing his faith in the heliocentric system, when around 1718 he praised the moderns having entered the innermost of nature' adding that Aristotle was left behind by them 'in physics',<sup>40</sup> an unknown reader of a manuscript of *Philotheos' Diversions*, deposited in the Rumanian Academy of Sciences, noted in the 1730s in the margin: 'φλυαρεί ό γαϊδαρος' [the donkey is waffling].<sup>41</sup>

If the Prince did not want to be accused of waffling, let alone of being a donkey, the possibilities open to him weren't that many. One of these could have simply involved one of the many variants of the silence and concomitant dissimulation known to the seventeenth century. Typical for this *reservatio* is the motto usually attributed to Gabriel Naudé: 'Intus ut libet, foris ut moris est' [inwardly as you like, outwardly as the custom is], which he is said to have adopted from his Paduan teacher Cesare Cremonini<sup>42</sup> – another modern authority familiar at least to Alexandros Mavrokordatos during his formative years in Padua. A *dissimulatio* of this type, if nothing else, is presented in *Philotheos' Diversions* (p. 82) in the figure of the crypto-Christian Jacob, who was one of those who adopted the religion of the Turks 'άλλέν παραβύστω τήν πάτριον άγιστεϊάν όσον έφικτόν τιμώντων' [while observing secretly, to the extent possible, their ancestral traditions]. However, between the uncompromising observance of the order of the Old encyclopaedia and the view of New Philosophy as its destruction,<sup>43</sup> there is, as a third stance, that of *renovatio*, of a will to change in a reformatory sense. For this option, the *homines novi* had an ecclesiastical concept at their disposal, the recourse of an *accomodatio*, a flexible, κατ' οικονομίαν, attitude towards things.

Gerhard Richter has traced the history of the concept of "Oikonomia" from the New Testament to contemporary theology, underlining the use of Oikonomia 'as a homonym that not only designates such diverse things as the household, God's world government, the incarnation and earthly existence of Christ, as well as ecclesiastical, pastoral action, but in all this still has the breadth to indicate both an action and an institution or order.'<sup>44</sup> The ecclesiastical Oikonomia 'has its place between strict compliance with regulations and a certain flexibility. This was already the case in the time of the great fathers, who spoke of it for the first time. But at that time, the discussion was focused on individual, special cases that had emerged. It was agreed that the oiconomy found its limit in the existence of doctrine and that

40 Panajotis Kondylis, *Ο νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι φιλοσοφικές ιδέες*, Athens 1988, p. 114.

41 Quoted in the introduction of Jacques Bouchard, in: Mavrokordatos, Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα, p. 36.

42 Herbert Jaumann, "Wahres Wissen für die *République des lettres*. Gabriel Naudé als Methodologe der historischen Kritik – zur *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages* (1625)", in: *Verteidigung als Angriff. Apologie und Vindicatio als Möglichkeiten der Positionierung im gelehrten Diskurs*, ed. Michael Multhammer, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Frühe Neuzeit, 197), p. 79.

43 Anthony Grafton, "The World of the Polyhistor: Humanism and Encyclopedism", in: *Central European History* 18.1 (1985), pp. 31–47, here p. 45.

44 Gerhard Richter, *Oikonomia. Der Gebrauch des Wortes Oikonomia im Neuen Testament, bei den Kirchenvätern und in der theologischen Literatur bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin/New York 2005 (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 90), p. 2.



faith could not be touched by it. [...] In the meantime, the ecclesiastical *oikonomia* has become active in many questions of everyday life and has above all led to an emphasis on compliance.<sup>45</sup> *Oikonomia* thus attains more strongly the connotation of philanthropy, leniency and condescension.

There is an episode from the *Philotheos' Diversions* that tells the same story. In the garden of Jacob 'the disguised Persians are astonished at the crystal carafes of white wine which their host places on the table. They cannot believe that wine of such quality can be found in Constantinople. Jacob states that times have changed and that the Ottomans have cast off their former severity as a result of their closer ties with Europe. Moreover, Ottomans of culture have come to the conclusion that the prohibition against wine leads to its abuse, that wine is not less necessary to solid nutrition than water and that numerous personages choose to drink privately.<sup>46</sup> This gave rise to some observations on the use of wine, not endorsed by the Quran, but authorized for a while by a great number of interpretations, which were collected by a wise Ottoman for the well-being of a great many distinguished Ottomans. Corrupted nature is backed up and rectified by the 'ἀναγκαίαις οἰκονομίαις' [necessary *oikonomia*] (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 98), so we read:

διὸ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων οὐκ ἀποκλείεται πῶς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ φιλόανθρωπον· ὅποσα γὰρ οὐκ ἐναργῶς διατετρᾶνται ἐν ἐκείνοις, ἢ τῶν ἀγγηγῆτων φρόνησις, Λυγκέως ὀξυδερκέστερον καθιεῖσα τὰς ὄψεις, μάλα δεξιῶς ἀνορῦττει καὶ ἀνιμάται τὸν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς λέξεως ἐναποκειμένον καὶ λαυθάνοντα νοῦν [so, neither in religion, nor in human affairs, are leniency and philanthropy to be excluded: given that whatever is not lucidly stated is subjected to scrutiny by the wisdom of the commentators with a gaze sharper than that of the Lynx. It brings to the surface and sheds light on the concept hidden and evading at the bottom of the word] (*Philotheos' Diversions*, p. 96).

Since innovations in knowledge were associated with traditions and authorizations, if they were to be made visible or even plausible at all, the hermeneutical reading in the library and its *Bibliothoiconomy* searches, with a gaze sharper than that of Lynx, for a *sensus accomodatus* behind the *sensus litteralis*. This accommodation would have been theoretically discussed and analysed to settle the conflict of knowledge.<sup>47</sup> For the *Bibliothoiconomy* of the Greek *homines novi* in the Ottoman Tulip Era (at least at the age of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos) time is on the one hand innovatory and its course consists in a dialectic of order and transgression, at least with the sense of reform, nothing short of which could be comprehensible for those I introduced as *homines novi*. On the other hand this could only be the

45 Ibid., p. 584.

46 Leal, *The Ottoman State*, p. 520.

47 Cf. Lutz Dannenberg, "Hermeneutik zwischen Theologie und Naturphilosophie: der *sensus accomodatus* am Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts", in: *Philologie als Wissensmodell / La philologie comme modèle de savoir*, eds. Denis Thouard, Friedrich Vollhardt and Fosca Mariani Zini, Berlin/New York 2010 (Pluralisierung & Autorität, 20), pp. 261–265.

case, since, as Nikolaos states, inaugurating the discourse of *Περὶ Καθηκόντων* / *De officiis*: ἐνήκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσει τὰ σπέρματα τῆς ἀρετῆς [God has implanted in human nature the seed of virtue].<sup>48</sup> Since the truth is unchangeable, but it is made known in time and the historical revelation takes place κατ' οἰκονομίαν, in the course of an *accomodatio*, revelation of the truth itself has to appear as an adaptation to the human understanding and imagination.

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<sup>48</sup> Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, *Περὶ Καθηκόντων Βίβλος/Traité des Devoirs*, ed. and transl. Lambros Kampéridis, Athens 2014, p. 20.

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# Offenbarung, Außer-ordentliches und Ordnung im Potentialis

Patrick Ebert

## 1 Offenbarung, Ereignis und Ordnung

Der vorliegende Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem Zusammenhang von Offenbarung und Ordnung aus protestantisch-theologischer Perspektive. Wie verhalten sich die beiden Motive zueinander? Theologisch lässt sich der Zusammenhang mehrfach fassen. So können Offenbarung und Ordnung derart zusammengedacht werden, dass die Offenbarung zur eigentlichen Ordnung oder zum Eigentlichen der Ordnung wird. Offenbarung steht dann für die gute Ordnung, die wahre Ordnung – so wie es sein soll, es sich gehört, es zu sein hat und nicht anders sein kann –, aus der sich jede Norm und Normativität ergibt und die im Status der Eigentlichkeit und Ursprünglichkeit als absolutes, totales und unumstößliches Fundament gilt – als *fundamentum inconcussum*, auf das man sich letztlich immer zurückziehen kann. Als theologische Fragestellung ist diese Art der Verbindung von Offenbarung, Ordnung und Eigentlichkeit nicht unüblich. Etwa lässt sich Karl Barths Ausführungen zum *Deus absconditus* und *Deus revelatus* im Rahmen der Frage nach der Allmacht und Freiheit Gottes in seiner Offenbarung entnehmen, dass die Wundermacht – und so die Offenbarung in Jesus Christus – gerade keine *potentia extraordinaria* darstellt, sondern als ordentliche Macht (*potentia ordinaria*) Gottes auftritt: Das Wundersame ist das Ordentliche – die Offenbarung in Jesus Christus ist das Ordentliche.<sup>1</sup> Wenn von einer *potentia extraordinaria* zu sprechen wäre, so Barth, dann nur in dem Sinne einer *noch verborgenen* ordentlichen, eigentlichen Macht und so der eigentlichen Ordnung als die „im gewöhnlichen Verlauf der Dinge verborgene, die von uns immer wieder mit jenen anderen Mächten verwechselte, die noch nicht endgültig und ausschließlich als die seinige offenbar gewordene Allmacht [...], sofern gerade die göttliche Ordnung in ihr noch nicht vollkommen ist [...]“<sup>2</sup> Außerordentlich also nur vorläufig, nur scheinbar vor dem noch nicht überwundenen Hintergrund der uneigentlichen, verfallenen (scheinbaren) Ordnung – in Nähe zum Heideggerschen *man*: *extraordinaria* als lediglich vorläufige Stufe von *ordinaria*. Nach Barth wäre so besser darauf zu verzichten, vom Außerordentlichen zu sprechen, sodass in teleologischer Antizipation für ihn letztlich die Unterbrechung Gottes

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1 Vgl. Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik II/1. Die Lehre von Gott*, Zürich 5. Aufl. 1975, S. 606–609.

2 Ebd., S. 608.

in der Offenbarung die „*ordentlich* gebrauchte und ausgeübte Allmacht zu erkennen und verehren“<sup>3</sup> gibt. Hier wird eine hierarchisch-dualistische Sicht auf den Ordnungsbegriff deutlich, die es Barth unmöglich macht, Außerordentliches anders denn als das Gegenteil zum eigentlich Ordentlichen zu denken.<sup>4</sup> Ähnlich sieht es aus, wenn Katharina Kristinová in ihrem kürzlich erschienenen offenbarungstheologischen Entwurf *Offenbarung, Transzendenz und Ordnung* verbindet: So wird hier das Einbrechen der Transzendenz (der Offenbarung) als Einbrechen einer *anderen* Ordnung in die bestehende Ordnung beschrieben.<sup>5</sup> Auch hier geht es also nicht um ein *Anderes der Ordnung*, ein Außer-ordentliches, ein Extra-ordinäres, sondern um eine *andere Ordnung*. So macht Kristinová explizit:

Die Unverfügbarkeit der Transzendenz wird oft eher als die schlicht dynamische, kritische und Krisis auslösende Überschreitung und Unterbrechung stabiler Strukturen verstanden, so dass man dazu neigt, sie als das Gegenteil von Ordnung und System aufzufassen. Aus meinen Überlegungen geht aber hervor, dass gerade die sich als eigenmächtige Ordnungen und Systeme verstehenden Wirklichkeitskonzepte einen willkürlichen Charakter haben, und dass das, was ihnen als die radikale Dynamik entgegenschlägt, diejenige Intelligibilität ist, welche der Welt ihre genuine Struktur verleiht. Die Transzendenz ist unverfügbar, dynamisch *und* strukturiert. Sie ist die geregelte Unterbrechung der willkürlichen Ordnungen der Gewalt.<sup>6</sup>

Offenbarung gilt hier also als *eigentliche Unterbrechung*, als geordnete und geregelte Unterbrechung, die als *Intelligibilität* oder *Rationalität*, als strukturierte und strukturierende Größe auftritt und dies im Unterschied zu dem, was sie geregelt, d.h. ordentlich und im Zeichen der *eigentlichen* Ordnung unterbricht – im Unterschied zum Willkürlichen, nur vermeintlich Geordneten, zum *Unordentlichen*. Mit den Worten Heideggers scheint sich auch hier im Hintergrund eine ‚*eigentliche*‘ Ordnung – die Ordnung der Offenbarung oder Offenbarung als *wahre* Ordnung – gegen das Chaos, die Willkür, d.h. die ‚*uneigentliche*‘ Ordnung zu behaupten. In beiden Fällen taucht Offenbarung als *andere Ordnung* und nicht als *das Andere der Ordnung*, nicht als Außer-ordentliches auf. Hier treten die Ordnungsfiguren der wahren, *eigentlichen* Ordnung und das unordentliche Chaos im Rahmen eines hierarchisch-dualen Systems von *eigentlich/uneigentlich*, *ursprünglich/gefallen*, *Telos/vorläufige Verstellung* auf. Die *eigentliche* Ordnung stellt sich als das

3 Ebd., S. 608.

4 Hier wäre weiter zu fragen, ob dies vielleicht auch darin liegt, dass Barth Gottes Offenbarung nicht radikal genug vom Ereignis her denkt, sondern von einem Subjekt Gottes und dessen Handeln ausgeht. Zur Frage nach der Subjektivität Gottes vgl. Thomas Freyer, *Zeit – Kontinuität und Unterbrechung. Studien zu Karl Barth, Wolfhart Pannenberg und Karl Rahner*, Würzburg 1993, S. 68–181.

5 Vgl. Katarína Kristinová, *Die verbotene Wirklichkeit. Untersuchungen zur wirklichkeitskonstituierenden Relevanz des christlichen Offenbarungsbegriffs*, Tübingen 2018, S. 33.

6 Ebd., S. 73.

wahrhaft Geordnete, als Ziel, Ursprung und wohl auch Pharmakon jedes Zustandes der Unordnung dar, sodass sich die Differenz zwischen Ordnung und Unordnung vor dem Hintergrund der Eigentlichkeit (*Telos, Arché*) als *relative* Differenz oder *relative* Andersheit darstellt, die vorläufig ist bzw. vor dem Hintergrund eines höheren, da eigentlichen oder ursprünglichen Einheitsmoments aufgespannt ist. Doch lässt sich jenseits des dualistischen Denkens von Ordnung und Unordnung noch eine weitere Denkform finden – das Motiv des bereits erwähnten Außer-ordentlichen. Anstatt dabei als andere Ordnung gefasst zu werden, kommt Offenbarung als Außer-ordentliches – dies gilt es im Laufe dieses Beitrags zu erläutern –, als das Andere der Ordnung in den Blick, als das, was sich der Ordnung entzieht, indem es diese überschreitet oder überschießt (*Überschuss, excès*) und dabei erst jede Ordnung konstituiert. Im Sinne dieses Sammelbandes wäre von dem Moment der *Transgression* oder *Transzendenz* zu sprechen im Sinne dessen, was der Ordnung vorausgeht und als das thematisiert wird, „*was über die Ordnung hinausgeht*.“<sup>7</sup> Hierin rückt auch für die Theologie die für das Konzept der Wissensoikonomien zentrale Wechselwirksamkeit von Ordnung und Transgression an eine wichtige Stelle. Dabei tritt Offenbarung (als Außer-ordentliches) als Ereignis auf, d.h. Offenbarung wird als Anderes der Ordnung in seiner Ereignishaftigkeit bedacht. Offenbarung wäre so gerade nicht die eigentliche Ordnung, das wahrhaft Geordnete, sondern das, was jede Ordnung als Ereignis unterbricht, stört aber auch konstituiert und ermöglicht. Unter Ereignis wird an dieser Stelle im Sinne Derridas das verstanden, „*was niemals vorausgesagt werden kann. Ein vorausgesagtes Ereignis ist kein Ereignis. Es bricht über mich herein, weil ich es nicht kommen sehe. Das Ereignis als Ankömmling ist das, was vertikal über mich hereinbricht, ohne dass ich es kommen sehen kann [...]*.“<sup>8</sup> Das Ereignishafte ist somit der Bruch, der Riss, das Überkommen, Hereinbrechen und Widerfahren, das, was jeden Erwartungshorizont überschießt oder überschreitet, in ihn einbricht und ihn sprengt.<sup>9</sup> Das Ereignis zeichnet sich dabei durch eine konstitutive Singularität aus: „*Ein Ereignis ist immer außerordentlich [...]. Ein Ereignis muss außerordentlich sein, eine Ausnahme von der Regel.*“<sup>10</sup> Ein Ereignis ist in dieser Singularität außerordentlich und geht nie in der Ordnung auf. Dem Ereignis liegt des Weiteren kein Urheber zugrunde und es setzt keinen Rezipienten voraus. Stattdessen widerfahren Ereignisse jemandem derart, dass erst im Ereignis dieser jemand nachträglich konstituiert wird als der, der auf das Ereignis *antwortet*. Als derjenige, dem ein Ereignis widerfahren ist, kommt das Selbst als Respondent immer schon zu spät, um das Ereignis *in flagranti* zu erwischen. Das, was sich ereignet, das *Wovon* des Widerfahrnisses, hat sich uns immer schon entzogen und zeigt sich nur als das *Wor-*

7 Bernhard Waldenfels, *Ordnung im Zwielficht*, München, 2. Aufl. 2013, S. 164.

8 Jacques Derrida, *Eine gewisse unmögliche Möglichkeit, vom Ereignis zu sprechen*, übers. von Susanne Lüdemann, Berlin 2003, S. 35.

9 Vgl. ebd., S. 34–35.

10 Ebd., S. 50.

auf unserer Antwort.<sup>11</sup> Ereignis und Antwort sind dabei uneinholbar zeiträumlich verschoben. Das Ereignis kommt uneinholbar zu früh, die Antwort uneinholbar zu spät – die Verschiebung zeigt sich in der Vorgängigkeit des Ereignisses und Nachträglichkeit der Antwort, wobei sich diese Verschiebung nie synchronisieren lässt, sondern sich als konstitutive Diastase oder *différance* darstellt.<sup>12</sup> Dieses Ereignisdenken Derridas spiegelt sich in den Überlegungen Levinas' zum Anspruch und der Alterität des Anderen und in Bernhard Waldenfels' *Phänomenologie des Fremden* im Ausgang von *Pathos* und *Response* wieder. Von Bedeutung ist dabei, dass sich das Ereignis in seinem Zeigen durch einen radikalen Entzug auszeichnet: Etwas zeigt sich, indem es sich entzieht, sodass das Ereignis nichts ist, was verstanden, erschlossen oder erkannt werden kann, sondern das, was sich jedem Verstehen und Erkennen entzieht und sich nur *verspätet* als ‚Worauf‘ der Antwort zeigt. Legt sich aus jüdisch-christlicher Perspektive ein solches ereignishaftes und pathisch-responsives Verständnis von Offenbarung gemäß den Überlieferungen des biblischen Zeugnisses vom Sichzeigen Gottes, vom Widerfahren Gottes und dem Begegnen Gottes, d.h. der Offenbarung Gottes durchaus nahe – zu erinnern wäre etwa an die Visionsberichte der Propheten (1 Kön 22,19–22; Ez 1; 10; Am 7–9), an Gottes Sichzeigen im Sichentziehen vor Mose im Dornbusch (Ex 3,1–4) und der Felspalte (Ex 33,18–23), die markinische Erzählung der Verklärung (Mk 9,2–13),<sup>13</sup> die Offenbarung vor den zwei Jüngern auf dem Weg nach Emmaus (Lk 24,13–35)<sup>14</sup> und christlich theologisch wohl am relevantesten die Passion Christi in ihrem Klimax der Kreuzigung als Ereignis, das sich jeder Ordnung und jedem Verstehen entzieht,<sup>15</sup> als radikales *skandalon* und *moria* (σκάνδαλον und μωρία) –, so kann vom biblischen Befund aus und im Rückgang auf das pathisch-responsive Ereignisdenken die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von Offenbarung und Ordnung neu bedacht werden. Dies gilt es nun systematisch zu erörtern und in den Folgen für einen aus diesem Offenbarungsverständnis gewonnenen Ordnungsbegriff zu erörtern. Im Folgenden wird deshalb zunächst aus phänomenologischer Perspektive eine Klärung des Ordnungsbegriffs in Anlehnung an die Gedanken von Bernhard Waldenfels

11 Vgl. Bernhard Waldenfels, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden*, Frankfurt am Main 2006, S. 44.

12 Vgl. Bernhard Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie der Aufmerksamkeit*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, S. 46–47.

13 Vgl. Andrew P. Wilson, *Transfigured. A Derridean Rereading of the Markan Transfiguration*, New York 2007.

14 Vgl. Philipp Stoellger, „Im Vorübergehen. Präsenz als Entzug als Ursprung der Christologie“, in: *Emmaus – Begegnung mit dem Leben. Die große biblische Geschichte Lukas 24,13–35 zwischen Schriftauslegung und religiöser Erschließung*, hg. von Elisabeth Hartlieb und Cornelia Richter, Stuttgart 2014, S. 99–110.

15 Vgl. Philipp Stoellger, „Deutung der Passion als Passion der Deutung. Zur Dialektik und Rhetorik der Deutungen des Todes Jesu“, in: *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament*, hg. von Jörg Frey und Jens Schröter, Tübingen 2005, S. 577–607; Philipp Stoellger, „Vom Nichtverstehen aus. Abgründe und Anfangsgründe einer Hermeneutik der Religion“, in: *Hermeneutik der Religion*, hg. von Ingrid U. Dalferth und Philipp Stoellger, Tübingen 2007, S. 59–89.



vorgenommen.<sup>16</sup> Ordnung wird dabei von einem pathisch-responsiven Zwischen-geschehen ausgehend gefasst und gegenüber den problematischen Konzeptionen einer Grund- oder Gesamtordnung ausgewiesen. Von hier aus soll dann die Frage nach spezifischen Rationalitäts- und Erkenntnis- oder Wissensfeldern näher in den Blick genommen werden und in einem letzten Schritt auf die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von Offenbarung, Glaube und Ordnung rückgewendet werden. Die phänomenologischen Ausführungen zu Außer-ordentlichem, Ordnung, Pathos und Response können dabei das theologische Denken von Offenbarung, Glaube und deren Zusammenhang mit dem Motiv der Ordnung fruchtbar infizieren und neue Sichtweisen auf diesen Komplex eröffnen.

## 2 Ordnung im Zwielficht – Bernhard Waldenfels

Zunächst soll das Verständnis von Ordnung phänomenologisch näher gefasst werden. Unter Ordnung lässt sich mit Bernhard Waldenfels „*ein geregelter (d.h. nicht-beliebiger) Zusammenhang von diesem und jenem*“<sup>17</sup> fassen, wobei weiter zu unterscheiden ist zwischen *Ordnungsgefüge*, dem *Ordnungsbestand* und der *Ordnungsgenese*, also dem Ordnen oder Sichordnen eines Ordners oder der Ordnung (23). Die Ordnung selbst fächert sich wiederum in verschiedene Ordnungstypen (räumlich, zeitlich, kausal), -bereiche (Ordnung der Natur, Ordnung des Menschen usw.) und -stile (geschlossen, offen usw.) auf (24), sodass sich ‚Ordnung‘ als vielgestaltiges und vielschichtiges Motiv herausstellt.

Für Waldenfels ist dabei besonders die Frage nach den Rändern von Ordnungen von Bedeutung. Was taucht an diesen Rändern auf? Was ist der Gegenpart zur Ordnung? Lediglich ein regelwidriger Zustand, der sich beheben lässt? Oder ein regelloser Zustand (24)? Kann nicht auch die Regellosigkeit nur eine vorläufige Regellosigkeit bezeichnen, die aufgehoben wird, sobald die Ordnung erweitert wird? In beiden Fällen wäre von einem Unordentlichen die Rede, das immer noch unter das binäre Raster einer Ordnung fällt im Sinne eines *noch nicht* oder *nicht mehr* Geordneten (Ordentlichen) (25). Anders ein Ungeordnetes, das sich jeder Ordnung entzieht, das nie in einer Ordnung aufgeht – das Außerordentliche. Doch wie über dieses Außerordentliche sprechen, ohne es sofort wieder der Ordnung einzugliedern, einzuordnen, zum Ordentlichen zu machen (25)? So fungiert jedes Sprechen und jede Rede im Sinne des *logos*, wie Derrida es verdeutlicht, bereits als Ordnung, d.h. folgt bestimmten Regeln, nutzt bestimmte Signifikantenkombinationen und -*anordnungen*, schließt andere aus und organisiert sich durch die noch zu erläuternden Motive der Typik und Wiederholung:<sup>18</sup> „Da das Sprechen an die Struktur der Sprache gebunden ist, ist es [...] einer gewissen Allgemeinheit, einer gewissen Iterierbarkeit, einer gewissen Wiederholbarkeit unterworfen und muss

16 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Ordnung im Zwielficht*.

17 Ebd., S. 23. Die Seitenangaben in Klammern beziehen sich auf diesen Text.

18 Vgl. Jacques Derrida, *Randgänge der Philosophie*, hg. von Peter Engelmann, übers. von Gerhard Ahrens, Wien, 2. Aufl. 1999, S. 335–337.

schon deswegen die Singularität des Ereignisses verfehlen.<sup>19</sup> Jede Rede ordnet. Dementsprechend läuft jeder „direkte Zugriff und jede zudringliche Rede [...] Gefahr, das Zwielfichtige jeglicher Ordnung alsbald in künstliches Licht zu tauchen oder es lediglich zu beschwören“ (26).

Entgegen dieser direkten Beschreibung wäre an die Seitenwege einer indirekten Beschreibung zu denken (26) – eine solche phänomenologische indirekte Beschreibung gilt es, dem Ordnungsgeschehen samt dem Moment des Anderen der Ordnung widerfahren zu lassen. In einer solchen Beschreibung zeichnet sich zunächst der *selektive* und *exkludierende* Grundzug jeder Ordnung ab: So tritt jede Äußerung „auf *indirekte* Weise auf, gebrochen durch ein Medium von Zwischengliedern, Zwischenformen, Zwischeninstanzen“ (55), was phänomenologisch als ‚etwas erscheint als etwas‘ gefasst werden kann. Nach Waldenfels muss dabei in diesem Auftreten zwischen der *Richtigkeit* (Norm, Normalität) einer Ordnung und ihrer *Gestaltung* gemäß der pränormativen *Wichtigkeit* oder *Relevanz* unterschieden werden (56–57).

Dabei wird in dieser *Gestaltung* der Feldbegriff relevant, da *Feld* phänomenologisch einen „innerlich gegliederte[n], flexibel nach außen hin abgegrenzte[n] Erfahrungsbereich, dessen Grenz- und Kraftlinien auf wechselnde Standorte innerhalb des Bereichs zulaufen“ (58), beschreibt, was vergleichbar ist mit dem Motiv der Szene, der Bühne oder dem Schauplatz. Anstatt einem formalistisch leeren Raum-Zeit-Schema, stellt das Feld dabei einen flexibel begrenzten, gegliederten Erfahrungsbereich dar, in dem alles (an)geordnet ist und somit „nicht [...] in gleicher Weise Platz findet“ (59).

Diese Gestaltung in Form einer Gliederung nach Relevanz findet dabei derart statt, dass etwas sich von einem Hintergrund *abhebt* und *hervortritt* (59), d.h. als Differenzierung in *Figur* und *Grund* oder *Vordergrund* und *Hintergrund* gemäß der Gestaltpsychologie. Mit Waldenfels ist hier an das Motiv des Themas und die Thematisierung zu denken: „Das Thema wäre etwas, das als dieses auftritt“ (59). Phänomenologisch tritt etwas immer ‚als etwas‘ und zwar ‚als dieses‘ auf. Etwas wird als dieses thematisch. Dies ist das selektive Moment von Ordnungen – etwas steht als Figur und Thema im Vordergrund, während anderes im Hintergrund bleibt, von dem sich die Figur als Thema abhebt. Gerade in diesem kontingenten Motiv der Wichtigkeit, dessen, was auffällt, wichtig wird und sich aufdrängt, können Ordnungen immer anders sein und „erweisen sich als Ordnungen im Potentialis.“<sup>20</sup> Kontingent ist diese Wichtigkeit, da sich in der Erfahrung keine zureichenden Gründe angeben lassen, warum etwas wichtig ist und etwas anderes nicht. Warum uns etwas auffällt und unsere Aufmerksamkeit weckt, liegt nicht am Wesen dessen, was uns widerfährt, aber auch nicht im *Möglichkeits- und Ent-*

19 Derrida, *Eine gewisse unmögliche Möglichkeit*, S. 21.

20 Waldenfels, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden*, S. 19.

scheidungsraum dessen, dem etwas auffällt – stattdessen ereignet es sich.<sup>21</sup> Und dies nicht zufällig oder beliebig.

Somit stellt sich die Relevanz nicht als absolute, sondern lediglich als relative Relevanz dar, was sich nach Waldenfels auf dreifache Weise in der Erfahrung bemerkbar macht: „(a) Etwas hebt sich ab von einem Grund: ein Auftauchen *aus* ..., (b) etwas tritt auf für jemanden: ein Auftreten *für* ..., (c) etwas tritt auf mit anderem: ein Auftreten *mit* ...“ (60).<sup>22</sup> Wenn dabei gemäß der dritten Relation (c) das Erscheinen von ‚etwas‘ mit ‚etwas anderem‘ gleichursprünglich ist, so weist das Sichzeigen oder Erscheinen (Auftreten) von ‚etwas‘ immer schon (horizontal) über sich hinaus, sodass sich ein thematisches Feld eröffnet (63), d.h. dass etwas immer schon auf etwas anderes verweist, wie Zeichen immer schon auf Zeichen verweisen.

Schließlich lässt sich noch eine vertikale Ausformung der Ordnungsfunktion beschreiben. So tritt etwas (*typisch*) als ein solches auf (65). „Träte etwas nicht jeweils als ein solches auf, so wäre es kein Etwas, das seinen Augenblick überdauerte, es wäre unsagbar, reines Ereignis“ (66). Dies bedeutet: „etwas tritt *wieder* auf; wenn ich von etwas spreche, ist es schon da, ein absolutes Original wäre unfassbar. Das Paradox der Wiederholung liegt nun darin, daß etwas *als dasselbe* auftritt, obwohl doch dieses Wiederauftreten eine zumindest winzige Differenz ins Spiel bringt. Wiederholung ist die *Wiederkehr des Ungleichen als eines Gleichen*“ (66). So hängt das Erscheinen oder Sichzeigen – etwas zeigt sich *als* etwas und zwar *als ein solches* – an der Wiederholung, die sich mit Derrida als Iterabilität (iter – wieder; itara – anders) fassen lässt, da hier nicht etwas voll Identisches wiederholt wird, sondern etwas erst in der Wiederholung entsteht, sodass jedoch damit jede reine selbstgenügsame Idealität und Identität des ‚etwas‘ konstitutiv verunmöglicht wird.<sup>23</sup> Eine derartige Typik der Wiederholung bedeutet weiter, dass ein jeder „Typus ein Wesen auf Zeit“ (68) ist. Typisches und Atypisches sind keine Wesensbestimmungen, sondern haben uneinholbar eine Genese im Rücken, sodass sie nicht „gegen Änderungen gefeit“ (68) sind.

Gemäß dieser Struktur des Sichzeigens strukturiert sich ein jedes Zeigefeld als spezifische Ordnung, in der sich etwas so und nicht anders raum-zeitlich ordnet oder zeigt, in Form von *Selektion* und *Exklusion*, d.h. Relevanz, Thema und Typik (69). *Ordnungen und so die spezifisch organisierten Felder sind immer schon selektiv und exklusiv*. Dies findet vor jeder Normierung statt, sodass sich Ordnungen von

21 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie der Aufmerksamkeit*, S. 274.

22 Dabei findet, wie bereits gesagt, die Suche nach Relevanzkriterien der Selektion, warum jeweils dieses und nicht vielmehr jenes auftritt, weder in (a) noch (b) oder (c) eine Antwort: So hebt sich zunächst nur etwas ab, da es wichtig *ist* bzw. anderes unwichtig *ist* – warum dies so ist, findet keine Antwort. Und auch das ‚jemand‘ der zweiten Relation liefert keine Kriterien, da das Auffallen und Einfallen von etwas keine Setzung ist, sondern Ereignis, das jemandem widerfährt (61). Auch in der dritten Relation liegt *bereits* Relevanz *vor* (63.65). Dabei können ebenfalls keine zureichenden Gründe gefunden werden, warum bestimmte Zusammenhänge zwischen ‚diesem‘ und ‚jenem‘ bestehen.

23 Vgl. Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc.*, hg. von Peter Engelmann, übers. von Werner Rappl, Wien 2001, S. 69, 183–184.

ihrer Genese her als *konstitutiv zwielichtig* darstellen. Dies wiederum hat Folgen für die Ebene der *Richtigkeit*, d.h. Normativität und Normalität von Ordnungen. So wird auch diese ‚absolute Dimension‘ immer wieder von den blinden Flecken der *Ordnungsgenese* heimgesucht (72–74), sei es in den üblichen Sitten, gesetzten Normen, oder der Habitualität als eine Art Verkörperung von Ordnung (74–80), da auch diesen Formen der Richtigkeit die selektive und exkludierende Ordnungsgestaltung vorausgeht, sodass auch sie sich als Selektions- und Exklusionsmechanismen darstellen (77–80). *Selektion und Exklusion* also als „Entstehung eines vielfachgeregelten Zusammenhangs, dem nichts vorausgeht als anders geregelte Zusammenhänge“ (82).

### 3 Problematische Ordnungsfiguren: Gesamtordnung – Grundordnung – Positivismus

In dieser Selektion und Exklusion im Rahmen der Ordnungsgeneses qua Gestaltung als Feld produziert jede Ordnung ihre Grenzen mit – das, was ausgeschlossen wird, was in der Ordnung nicht aufgeht. Dabei mangelt es auch im philosophischen Ordnungsdenken nicht an Modellen, die die Grenzen zu entschärfen versuchen, dabei jedoch problematische Grundannahmen aufweisen. Eine Betrachtung der Philosophiegeschichte lässt dabei nach Waldenfels zwei Varianten einer solchen nicht unproblematischen Entschärfung deutlich werden. Die erste Variante benennt Waldenfels im Modell der *Gesamtordnung* im Sinne des griechischen Kosmos (89). In ihm findet *alles* einen Platz, *seinen* Platz, wie ein Teil im Ganzen (90.92). Der Maßstab dieser An- und Unterordnung stellt sich dabei als natürliche Norm der *Wichtigkeit* dar (92), sodass der je eigene Platz im Ganzen der angestammte Platz ist bzw. der nur vorläufig nicht-angestammte Platz. Als Gesamtordnung umgreift sie Eigenes und Fremdes, sodass jede Fremd- oder Andersheit lediglich relativ ist, d.h. „bezogen auf bestimmte Standorte [...]“<sup>24</sup> Der Kosmos ist die Ordnung schlechthin, dessen Alternative das Chaos darstellt in Form einer „ungeordnete[n] Mannigfaltigkeit [...]“<sup>25</sup> Doch auch der Kosmos hat seine Grenzen: Wildnis, Wolf, Barbaren und Chaos (91). Dieser „Weg der Totalisierung, der zu einer wahren Welt aufsteigt“ (88), findet sein Extrem in einem Totalitarismus, der alle Schatten und alle Andersheit tilgen würde (93) in Form einer gelebten Totalität, in der die eigene (vermeintlich wahre) Ordnung gegenüber dem Anderen durch Abschließung immunisiert wird, aber auch in Form der erschauten Totalität, die eine Verdopplung in sinnliche und intelligible Welt, *Ordnung für uns* und *Ordnung an sich* vornimmt (88), wobei jede *Ordnung für uns* nur vorläufig besteht und so immer schon den Horizont eines Telos oder einer Vorausschau der „alles in sich vereinigenden Gesamtordnung“ (95) à *distance* voraussetzt. Radikale Ereig-

24 Bernhard Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden. Studien zur Phänomenologie des Fremden 1*, Frankfurt am Main, 6. Aufl. 2013, S. 16.

25 Waldenfels, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden*, S. 17.

nishaftigkeit, radikale Transzendenz und radikale Alterität (auch die der Offenbarung Gottes) hätten hier keinen Raum.

Ähnlich steht es mit dem zweiten Modell: dem der *Grundordnung*, die laut Waldenfels, als kompensierende Reaktion der Neuzeit auf das Zerbrechen der bei den Vorsokratikern, Platon und Aristoteles zugrundeliegenden Gesamtordnung des klassisch griechischen Denkens verstanden werden kann (97–98). Dem drohenden Chaos wird die Richtigkeit gegenüber gestellt in Form eines universalen Vernunftgesetzes. So wird das Ordnungsvakuum gefüllt, indem die universale Grundordnung der Vernunft oder Rationalität als transzendente Ermöglichung jeder (subjektiven) Ordnung fungiert (97–98). Dabei wird jedoch nicht unter- oder eingeordnet, sondern unterworfen. Und es findet ebenfalls eine Verdopplung statt: So werden gemäß der Grundordnung Normen verdoppelt in faktisch geltende materiale Normen und allgemeingültige, formale Grundnormen (100). Somit bestehe die gesamte Universalisierung darin, „daß konkrete Normen einem Maßstab unterworfen werden, der universale Gültigkeit verspricht“ (100). Alles wird so einem ‚universalen‘ Gesichtspunkt unterworfen, ohne „die Einseitigkeit und die Herkunft dieses Gesichtspunktes hinreichend“ (100) zu bedenken. Rückt in diesen Überlegungen zur Grundordnung der Begriff des Subjekts ins Zentrum, so geht diese Grundordnung mit dem neuzeitlichen Konzept des *autonomen, aktiven* Ordners in der Rolle des *Subjekts, Selbstbewusstseins* usw. einher – das Ideal des Urhebers und Gesetzgebers (115–116.120). Zugleich findet eine Hierarchisierung von Eigenem und Fremdem statt, sodass eine Präferenz des Eigenen vor dem Fremden zu beobachten ist – das Ideal des Eigentümers (119).

Im Falle des Zusammenhangs von Offenbarung und Ordnung scheint zumeist das Modell der Gesamtordnung zum Tragen zu kommen in Form der eigentlichen, wahren Ordnung. Doch zugleich kommt auch hier die Frage nach dem Ordner im Sinne des Urhebers, Gesetzgebers und Eigentümers auf – welche Rolle hier Gott anstatt des Subjekts übernimmt. Die Handlungs- und Aktionslogik, sowie die Relativierung jeder Alterität bleiben jedoch erhalten.

Ein drittes Modell des (problematischen) Ordnungsdenkens besteht in der modernen Kritik dieser beiden Formen, die jedoch in einen nicht weniger problematischen Positivismus und Relativismus umschlagen kann (105). Die Angabe des bloßen Bestehens der Ordnung als Grund der Ordnung, d.h. „daß das, was ist, so ist, wie es ist“ (105), kommt über eine tautologische Versicherung nicht hinaus, wobei lediglich, wie im Falle der Gesamt- und Grundordnung, die Unterschiede eingeebnet werden im Sinne eines „Einerlei von Tatsachen“ (107). Auch eine *ganz* offene Welt des *anything goes* ist letztlich nur eine geschlossene Welt, in der alles eindeutig ist und vorliegt, nämlich so, wie es nun einmal ist. Ein Außer-ordentliches und radikale Fremdheit oder Alterität kann es in dieser absoluten Immanenz nicht geben. Doch letztlich produziert auch diese Gesamtordnung ihre Grenzen immer schon mit. So wird zum einen die/-der- oder dasjenige ausgeschlossen, die/der oder das dieser absoluten Offenheit und Grenzenlosigkeit widerspricht. Zum anderen vermag auch diese absolut offene Ordnung, die alles umfasst, es nicht, ihre eige-

nen Konstitutionsbedingungen, d.h. ihre Genese in sich aufzunehmen bzw. in sich abzubilden. Wie jede Ordnung kommt auch sie immer schon zu spät und ist unweigerlich exkludierend und selektiv, was es im Folgenden näher zu erläutern gilt.

#### 4 Responsive Ordnungsgenese und Außer-ordentliches

Aus phänomenologischer Perspektive legt es sich nämlich – gegenüber dem Modell der Gesamt- aber auch der Grundordnung – nahe, die Ränder der Ordnung von dem Begriff der Schwelle aus anzugehen. Dabei kommen sog. Schwellenerfahrungen wie Wachen und Schlafen, Gesundheit und Krankheit in den Blick, die nicht im Sinne einer Übergangs-Synthese zu fassen sind (34–35). Das, was in der Schwellenerfahrung jenseits der Schwelle auftaucht, ist dabei nicht einfach draußen, sondern drängt *widerfahrend*, *asymmetrisch* über die Schwelle herüber (35) und hat sich immer schon in der Ordnung eingenistet. Das Ungeordnete ist dann nicht der hypostasierte Gegenpart oder ‚kosmischer Müll‘, der als solcher wieder ein- und untergeordnet werden kann als Negativum oder Uneigentliches, sondern das, worauf geantwortet wird und in welcher Antwort eine Ordnung entsteht (38–39). Waldenfels spricht hierbei von ‚offener Anknüpfung‘ (39), die von der Verknüpfung darin unterschieden ist, dass keine Synthese stattfindet, keine Synchronie zwischen Ungeordnetem und Ordnung, zwischen Widerfahrnis und Antwort besteht. Die Verknüpfung stellt sich demgegenüber als „eine Verbindung von Einzelgliedern zu einem Ganzen, dem sie sich ein- oder unterordnen“ (43), dar, wobei die Synthese der Verknüpfung von einem vermittelnden Dritten gewährleistet und reguliert wird (41). Die Anknüpfung andererseits beschreibt einen Zusammenhang *zwischen* den Gliedern der Ereigniskette, der sich als *asymmetrisches Verhältnis* von Anspruch und Antwort fassen lässt – ein Zusammenhang, der gerade nicht in einem Dritten kulminiert (42). Zwischen Anspruch und Antwort klappt ein Abgrund, Riss oder Hiatus, der sich zeiträumlich als Diastase darstellt, in der die Deckung von Anspruch und Antwort unmöglich ist (43). Mit Anspruch und Antwort bzw. Widerfahrnis (Pathos) und Antwort rückt so ein Zwischenereignis in den Blick, das, „indem es geschieht, an anderes anknüpft, und zwar so, daß es auf dessen Anregung und Anspruch antwortet“ (50). Ordnen wäre so responsiv als Antworten zu verstehen, als Anknüpfen – im Gegensatz zum Verknüpfen in Form eines Entsprechens, das synchron strukturiert ist und die Fremdheit und Andersheit des Anspruchs oder Widerfahrnisses in der Synthese immer schon relativiert. Dabei ist das Antworten nicht auf die sprachliche Ebene beschränkt, sondern gilt als „Ausdruckssphäre leiblichen Daseins“ (44), wie in Blick, Geste, Zuwenden, Aufmerken usw.

Das responsive Ordnen lässt sich dabei im Zuge des *gewohnten, ordentlichen* Erfahrungsgangs *zunächst* als *Reproduktion* fassen (137), während im Rückgang auf *außerordentliche* Widerfahrnisse und Ereignisse „Neuartiges in unsere bestehende Erfahrungsordnung einbricht und zu *radikalen Umbestimmungen* und *Neubestimmungen* nötigt“ (138). Hier ist von einer *Produktion* die Rede, in der ein „neues Maß mitproduziert [wird], das Maß entsteht also mit der Erfahrung, die sich nach ihm

bemißt“ (139), wobei es keine *reine* Reproduktion aber auch keine *reine* Produktion gibt, sondern: jedes produktive Antworten geht auf ein Ereignis zurück, antwortet dabei jedoch in einer bestimmten Sprache, einem bestimmten Logos, einer bestimmten Habitualität, d.h. in Rückgang auf ein leibliches Responsorium.<sup>26</sup> Und jede Reproduktion geht auf ein Ereignis zurück, das danach verlangt, Antworten zu *finden und zu erfinden*. Das Ordnen spielt sich so responsiv zwischen Finden und Erfinden ab (158). Somit handelt es sich im Sinne der Responsivität des Ordnen bei der Produktion und Reproduktion nicht „um ein produktives Tun, das einem bestimmten Produzenten und Reproduzenten zuzuordnen wäre“ (142), sondern um ein Geschehen, ein Ereignis – im Falle der Betonung der Produktion: um *Schlüsselereignisse* (143), die ein Neuordnen verlangen, Ordnungen umstoßen usw. Die Neuordnung zeigt sich dabei in Motiven der Verformung (Deformation), der Abweichung, d.h. als *Übergangereignisse*, sodass neue Vorbilder „als Zerrbilder vorhandener Vorbilder, neue Vorschriften als Streichungen alter Vorschriften“ (147) auftreten. Kommen dabei Antworten immer zu spät, beginnen wir immer schon verspätet respondierend mit dem Ordnen, so finden wir uns immer schon ordnend vor, kommen mit dieser Ordnung jedoch immer schon zu spät gegenüber dem Ereignis, sodass sich produzierte Ordnung und Ereignis, auf das ordnend geantwortet wird und von dem ordnend ausgegangen wird, niemals decken und die Ordnung immer hinter dem Ereignis, auf das sie antwortet, zurückbleibt.

„[A]ngestoßen von Auslöse- und angebahnt durch Schlüsselereignisse“ (152) liegen die Kriterien in der responsiven Entstehung der Ordnung selbst, sodass schließlich die Frage nach dem Angelpunkt der Ordnungsgenese als Anspruch oder Außerordentliches ins Zentrum rückt: „Eine Ordnung im Entstehen lebt von dem, was sie draußen läßt“ (159). So setzen Exklusion und Selektion etwas voraus, „was in Ordnung kommt und ihnen als Zu-Ordnenes vorausgeht“ (163), was sich jedoch einem direkten Zugriff immer schon entzogen hat, „weil dieser Zugriff immer schon eine Ordnung voraussetzt, deren Mittel er nutzt“ (163). Vom Außerordentlichen lässt sich so phänomenologisch nur in Form indirekte Rede und indirekter Beschreibung sprechen. (163) Im Zuge dieser Beschreibung tritt das Außer-ordentliche als Überschuss, Überschreitung oder Transzendenz auf (164), wobei Transzendenz hier von der Bewegung des Überschreitens her zu verstehen ist und nicht als hypostasierte Größe. Das Ordnen besagt so „bei aller Selektion-Exklusion zugleich auch *Transgression*, Überschreitung von Ordnung“ (164). *Transgression* oder Transzendenz ist radikale Alterität, radikale Fremdheit, in der „das Ausgeschlossene in seiner Ausgeschlossenheit virulent bleibt“ (164). Als singulärer Anspruch, der sich der Ordnung nicht einfügt und unterordnet, provoziert das Außer-ordentliche *selektive* Antworten (164). Dabei bleibt „jede Antwort hinter dem erhobenen Anspruch zurück[...]“ (165). Erneut zeigt sich hier das Motiv des Anknüpfens und nicht des Verknüpfens oder Entsprechens. In der Anknüpfung stellt sich aufgrund der Diastase als zeiträumliche Verschiebung jeder Zusammenhang

26 Vgl. Bernhard Waldenfels, *Antwortregister*, Frankfurt am Main, 2. Aufl. 2016, S. 463–538.

von Anspruch und Antwort als gebrochener, verschobener Zusammenhang dar, d.h., dass Anspruch und Antwort nie symmetrisch oder reziprok konvergieren. Als Überanspruch oder überschießender Anspruch fordert das Außerordentliche unausweichlich eine Antwort, die jedoch gemäß der Struktur des Anknüpfens (Diastase, Asymmetrie) stets „hinter den Ansprüchen“ (176) zurückbleibt.<sup>27</sup>

Zur Erläuterung dieses *responsiven Wiedereintritts* des Außerordentlichen in die Ordnung lässt sich Levinas' Unterscheidung von *Sagen und Gesagtem* aufrufen,<sup>28</sup> die besagt, dass das Ereignis des Sagens nicht im Gesagten aufgeht. Verknüpfen lässt sich nur Gesagtes – Entsprechungsverhältnisse bestehen nur zwischen Gesagtem und Gesagtem, zwischen Antwortgehalt (answer) und Anspruchsgehalt.<sup>29</sup> Doch entzieht sich diesem Gesagten immer schon das Ereignis des Sagens, das als Antworten (response) an den ereignishaften Anspruch *anknüpft*. Dabei zeigt sich das Sagen immer nur im Gesagten. Das Sagen geht in das Gesagte ein, doch geht es darin nicht auf, sondern entzieht sich diesem zugleich. „Das Verschwinden des Sagens und Tuns in der Sinn- und Regelhaftigkeit des Gesagten und Getanen“<sup>30</sup> lässt sich dabei nur aufhalten „durch ein immer wieder neu einsetzendes Widersagen (*redire*) und Ent- oder Widersagen (*dédire*), das von Levinas eingefordert wird“,<sup>31</sup> und das responsiv in Gang gehalten wird durch *wiederkehrende* Ansprüche, denen nie entsprochen werden kann, und die wiederkehren, da ihnen nie entsprochen worden ist – auf sie bleibt immer wieder von neuem zu antworten, d.h. immer wieder von neuem responsiv zu ordnen.<sup>32</sup>

## 5 Responsive Ordnung und kontingente Felder

Strukturieren sich im Sinne dieses Ordnungsverständnisses Ordnungen in Feldern, so kann man sich von hier aus den großen Ordnungsfiguren (Episteme,<sup>33</sup> Norm, Sinn, Vernunft) nähern. Der phänomenologische, *responsive* Ordnungsbegriff ließe sich so von der Strukturierung und den *Organisationsweisen der Erfahrung* (die je konkreten, spezifischen und verschiedenartigen Lebenswelten)<sup>34</sup> in

27 Vgl. dazu auch Bernhard Waldenfels, *In den Netzen der Lebenswelt*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, S. 144–147.

28 Vgl. Emmanuel Levinas, *Jenseits des Seins oder anders als Sein geschieht*, übers. von Thomas Wiemer, Freiburg/München, 4. Aufl. 2011, S. 29–33.

29 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Antwortregister*, S. 242–243.

30 Waldenfels, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden*, S. 51.

31 Ebd., S. 51–52.

32 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Antwortregister*, S. 381.

33 *Episteme* wird dabei „als Wissensfeld oder Wissensraum, innerhalb dessen Erkenntnisse, Wahrnehmungen, Benennungen, Schematismen und Aussagen ihren Platz finden“ (Bernhard Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie in Frankreich*, Frankfurt am Main 1983, S. 522), verstanden, wobei freilich die jeweilige, kontingente Episteme im Sinne des responsiv-genetischen Ordnungsdenkens im Potentialis auftritt. Wenn so auch für die Episteme das Denken des Ereignisses von Bedeutung wird, ließe sich das Motiv des Transfers als Bewegung der Episteme von Schlüsselereignissen her denken (vgl. Waldenfels, *Ordnung im Zwielicht*, S. 216) – und so z.B. vom Offenbarungsereignis.

34 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Lebenswelt*, S. 23–52.



Exklusion und Selektion auf verschiedene Ordnungsdiskurse ausweiten: auf Erkenntnisordnungen/-felder (Episteme),<sup>35</sup> Handlungsordnungen/-felder (Norm), Sinnfelder (Sinn/Wahrheit), Sehfelder (was sichtbar ist und was nicht), Zeigefelder (was sich zeigt und was nicht) und Redefelder (was sagbar ist und was nicht), wobei sich die jeweiligen ‚Zentren‘,<sup>36</sup> um die sich die Felder herum strukturieren und so Ordnungen gestaltet werden, selbst eine responsive Genese im Rücken haben, eine Genese, die die jeweilige Ordnung also gerade nicht als universale Grund- oder totale Gesamtordnung auszeichnet, sondern als Ordnung im *Potentialis*, als Ordnung, die hätte anders sein können und immer schon hinter dem Anspruch zurückbleibt, sodass es gilt, sie immer wieder von neuem zu sagen, von neuem zu ordnen. Keine eigentliche Ordnung also, sondern *kontingente* Ordnung, die von ihrer eigenen Unmöglichkeit (dem Außer-ordentlichen) in Form der ursprünglichen Verspätung als responsive Ordnung immer schon heimgesucht wird.

Bernhard Waldenfels hat dies an der großen Ordnungsfigur der *Vernunft* oder *Rationalität* erläutert und ausgeführt. Waldenfels schlägt dabei in der Auseinandersetzung<sup>37</sup> mit Jürgen Habermas' Konzept der kommunikativen Vernunft drei Momente vor, wie im Ausgang von einem responsiven Ordnungs- und Lebensweltbegriff eine Transformation der klassischen transzendentalen Vernunft (Grundordnung) zu denken wäre.<sup>38</sup> Anstatt dabei von einem archeoteleologischen Ganzen der Vernunft oder einer (entsubstantialisierten) Rationalität auszugehen, kommt in diesem responsiven Ordnungsverständnis die konkrete (responsiv organisierte) Lebenswelt (auch in ihrer Genese) in den Blick, die sich in „*ein Netz und eine Kette von Sonderwelten*“ verwandelt, die sich vielfach überschneiden und überlagern, die sich aber – abgesehen von partiellen Gesichtspunkten – nicht *hierarchisch* anordnen und *teleologisch* ausrichten lassen im Hinblick auf ein umfassendes Ganzes. Die Vernunft als *Totalität* tritt auseinander in Sinnfelder, in Rationalitäten, die Vernunft als *Gesamtteleologie* zerfasert sich in Entwicklungslinien [...].“<sup>39</sup>

35 Dies hat in aller Ausführlichkeit Michel Foucault, *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften*, Frankfurt am Main, 24. Aufl. 2017 vorgenommen. Foucaults Archäologie hat dabei nicht das Ziel eine Entwicklungsgeschichte der Episteme vom 16. bis ins 19. Jh. zu schreiben, sondern betrachtet die historische Entstehung und Gewordenheit der jeweiligen (kontingenten) leitenden Episteme. Für Foucault sind dabei die Übergänge von einer Episteme zur anderen, d.h. der *Transfer* vor dem Hintergrund eines *événement fondamental*, d.h. einem *Grundereignis* oder, mit Waldenfels gesprochen, einem *Schlüsselerignis* zu verstehen, „das in keinem bestehenden Diskurs hinreichend Platz findet“ (Waldenfels, *Ordnung im Zwielficht*, S. 216). Vgl. dazu Patrick Ebert, „Die Enden des Menschen als ‚das Ende des Menschen‘? Anthropologiekritik und mediale Anthropologie“, in: *Figurationen des Menschen Studien zur Medienanthropologie.*, hg. von Philipp Stoellger, Würzburg 2019, S. 117–161; Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie in Frankreich*, S. 521–527.

36 Die ‚Zentren‘ sind im Sinne des zeiträumlich verschobenen *Worauf* der Antwort zu verstehen – nicht als das *Wovon* des Widerfahrnisses.

37 Vgl. Waldenfels, *Lebenswelt*, S. 94–117.

38 Vgl. ebd., S. 116.

39 Ebd., S. 27.

Im Zuge dieser Transformation wäre zunächst von einer „Verkörperung der Vernunft [zu] sprechen“<sup>40</sup> worin die Vernunft in die Sphäre der Sinnlichkeit und Leiblichkeit verlegt wird, sodass die Rationalität an den Erfahrungen bemessen wird, in denen sie sich zeigt, in denen sie erscheint.<sup>41</sup> Rationalität erweist sich so immer als konkretes und kontingentes Rationalitätsfeld gemäß der leiblichen Erfahrung und deren pathisch-responsivem Charakter.

In dieser Verkörperung findet eine Erweiterung der Vernunft statt, jedoch nicht in dem Sinne, dass die *ratio*, d.h. die Ordnung einfach erweitert wird und sich rational einfach mehr aneignet, sondern dahingehend, dass nun „Vorformen, Vieldeutigkeiten und Dunkelheiten“<sup>42</sup> ihren Platz *in* (wie das Sagen *im* Gesagten, das Außerordentliche *in* der Ordnung, der Sprung *im* Gefäß und der Riss *im* Gewebe) der Vernunft finden „als eine zugehörige Schattenzone der Andersheit, von der sie sich nur zum Schein freimachen kann.“<sup>43</sup>

Dies führt schließlich zur „*Vervielfältigung* der Vernunft, Andersheit und Verschiedenheit dringen bis in die Kernzone der Vernunft vor.“<sup>44</sup> Damit ist keine Auflösung der Vernunft oder Rationalität als eine Art Ode an die Irrationalität im Sinn, sondern ein „Netz aus heterogenen, jedoch vielfältig verflochtenen, sich nicht nur ausschließenden, sondern auch überschneidenden Rationalitätsfeldern, Diskursen, Lebensformen, Lebenswelten“<sup>45</sup> die viele Knotenstellen, Übergänge, Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten, auch Konfliktzonen hätten, „aber keinen einheitlichen Mittel- und Fluchtpunkt.“<sup>46</sup> Vernunft oder Rationalität werden nicht relativistisch abgeschafft oder abgelöst, sondern dezentriert und reloziert und darin – nicht beliebig im Ausgang von einem responsiven Geschehen, in dem keine Ordnung, keine Rationalität dem Anspruch je gerecht werden könnte, sondern immer hinter ihm zurückbleibt und so ein Widersagen und Widerrufen verlangt – vervielfältigt: Ordnungen und Felder im Potentialis.

Dieses responsive Ordnungsdenken hat nun auch für den Begriff der *Episteme* entscheidende Folgen. So sieht sich aus phänomenologischer Perspektive die *alltäglich anschauliche Erfahrung* (Doxa) „mit einer neuen Art von Episteme konfrontiert.“<sup>47</sup> Diese Episteme stellt sich als Verkörperung einer *positiven, spezifischen* Vernunft dar, die *weder bloß vorläufig noch endgültig* ist und „sich weder durch objektives noch durch reflexives Wissen überbieten“<sup>48</sup> lässt, sondern das Wissen ist so im Zuge einer leiblich-tätigen Umformung bzw. Übersetzung als *paradoxe* Figur eines *konkreten Allgemeinen*<sup>49</sup> qua „Verkettung, Verflechtung und partiellen Über-

40 Ebd., S. 116.

41 Vgl. ebd.

42 Ebd.

43 Ebd.

44 Ebd., S. 116–117.

45 Ebd., S. 117.

46 Ebd.

47 Ebd., S. 48.

48 Ebd.

49 Hier wäre auch an die Quasi-, Ultra- oder durchgestrichene Transzendentalität der *différance*

scheidung von Deutungsrastern und Regelsystemen“<sup>50</sup> in die alltägliche Erfahrung *inkorporiert*, verleiblicht, medialisiert. Episteme oder Wissen ist demnach kontingent, konkret und je geworden, hat also uneinholbar eine Genese im Rücken und verkörpert sich so in der Erfahrung selbst, ohne dabei aufgelöst oder relativiert zu werden, da auch dem Wissen eine pathisch-responsive Genese zugrunde liegt. Zwischen Episteme (Wissen) und Doxa (alltäglich anschaulicher Erfahrung) lässt sich so nur unterscheiden, wenn auf die Unterscheidung der Ordnungsmotive von Produktion und Reproduktion zurückgegriffen wird, wobei daran zu erinnern ist, dass Produktion und Reproduktion immer schon ineinander verwoben auftreten. Im Falle der *Produktion* einer Ordnung, in der ausgehend von Schlüsselereignissen neue Strukturen, Gestalten und Regeln entstehen und neue Sichtweisen, Lebensformen usw. aufkommen, neue Paradigmen, aber eben auch neue Rationalitäten und Wissensstrukturen oder -formen, kann man sich nicht mehr auf *eine* Eigentlichkeit, Wahrheit und Richtigkeit berufen, da diese Maßstäbe in der Produktion erst mitentstehen.<sup>51</sup> Alltäglich anschauliche Erfahrung und Episteme als Wissen von dieser sind dann nicht mehr zu unterscheiden, sondern treten als *positive*, spezifische Vernunft oder Episteme auf, die sich „einer reflexiven Aufhebung und unbeschränkten Verallgemeinerung“<sup>52</sup> widersetzt. Im Falle der *Reproduktion* von Ordnung, also der Nachgestaltung, lässt sich jedoch eine Unterscheidung zwischen dem „Grundmuster, das Sichtbarkeit, Sagbarkeit und Machbarkeit garantiert“<sup>53</sup> – Episteme –, und dem empirischen Einzelfall machen. Hier taucht die *Richtigkeit* auf: So z.B. im Falle eines eingeführten Maßsystems aber auch einer eingeführten Grammatik, einer gesellschaftlichen Regel oder eines Gesetzes: Gemäß dieses Maßstabs und so auch dieser Episteme lässt sich zwischen richtig und falsch, zutreffend oder unzutreffend unterscheiden, nicht jedoch zwischen richtig oder falsch des Maßstabs oder der Episteme selbst. So gibt es nicht die wahre oder falsche Episteme.<sup>54</sup> Doch innerhalb einer Episteme gibt es gemäß dieser Episteme als Maßstab richtig und falsch. Die Episteme als Wissensfeld selbst jedoch hat immer eine responsive Genese im Rücken, sodass sie immer schon zu spät kommt und so nie zur eigentlichen Episteme wird, immer anders hätte sein können und so immer veränderbar bleibt und dem Wandel unterliegt – d.h.: Episteme ist konstitutiv *Episteme in Bewegung*. Episteme als Wissensraum oder Wissensfeld ist so stets spezifisch, nicht relativ, aber eben auch kontingent (geworden), konkret und gerade nicht uneingeschränkt verallgemeinerbar, universal – totalitär. Episteme tritt dann als Quasi-Transzendental auf, als paradoxe Struktur eines konkreten Allgemeinen.

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und *Ursprung* bei Derrida zu denken. Vgl. dazu u. a. Jacques Derrida, *Grammatologie*, übers. v. Hans-Jörg Rheinberger und Hans Zischler, Frankfurt am Main, 12. Aufl. 2013, S. 107–108, 157.

50 Waldenfels, *Lebenswelt*, S. 48.

51 Vgl. ebd., S. 49.

52 Ebd., S. 49.

53 Ebd., S. 50.

54 Vgl. ebd., S. 50.

## 6 Offenbarung als Transgression – Ordnung und Widersagen

Wenn man nun, wie bereits nahegelegt, Offenbarung von einer solchen responsiven Ereignishaftigkeit aus versteht, d.h. Offenbarung und Glaube als pathisch grundiertes (Offenbarungswiderfahrnis) und responsiv ausgerichtetes (Glaube als Antwort) Zwischenereignis, so würde dementsprechend Offenbarung als Außerordentliches in den Blick kommen, auf welches hin im antwortenden Glauben Ordnungen entstehen bzw. ordnend geantwortet wird. Als Antwort auf das Offenbarungswiderfahrnis wird im Glauben eine spezifische, konkrete und kontingente Ordnung freigesetzt, produziert/reproduziert – eine je konkrete Lebenswelt des Glaubens mit spezifischen Sinn-, Rede-, Handlungs-, Zeige- und Rationalitäts- und eben auch Wissens- oder Erkenntnisfeldern (Episteme). Im Zuge der Organisation der Erfahrung und der Gestaltung der Ordnung im Antworten (im Antworten als Glauben) zeichnen sich jedoch auch diese Ordnungen als selektiv und exklusiv aus, sodass jenes ein- und anderes ausgeschlossen wird. Dieses wird wichtig – jenes nicht. Dieses wird normativ in Sitte, Recht und Habitualität – jenes nicht. Werden dabei die Maßstäbe für Wichtigkeit und Richtigkeit und so die Gestaltung der Ordnung im Antworten, in der Produktion als Gestaltung selbst antwortend mitproduziert, ist also jedes Ordnen, auch das des Glaubens, gemäß der ereignishaften Struktur des Widerfahrnis des Außerordentlichen (hier der Offenbarung) uneinholbar verspätet und asymmetrisch angeordnet und bleibt so hinter dem Anspruch oder Widerfahrnis zurück, so kann auch von der Ordnung des Glaubens, der Rationalität aber auch dem Wissen des Glaubens nicht im Sinne eines Entsprechens oder eines Verknüpfens gesprochen werden, in dem eine eigentliche Ordnung entworfen würde, die dem Offenbarungsanspruch entspricht, sondern von einem Anknüpfen und Antworten oder Respondieren. Als Respondieren bleibt es qua Diastase und Asymmetrie konstitutiv hinter dem Anspruch zurück. Und doch haben wir auf Ansprüche zu antworten, ist es unausweichlich auf diese zu antworten, sodass Ansprüche wiederkehren, uns heimsuchen und immer wieder von Neuem ein Widersagen, Widerrufen und Wiederholen verlangen. Auch die Felder des Glaubens im responsiven Ordnen des Glaubens verlangen ein Widersagen und Widerrufen – sie sind nie abgeschlossen und jedes Ordnen hätte anders sein können und verlangt gemäß der ereignishaften Struktur der Offenbarung als Außerordentliches (Transzendenz, Transgression, Überschreitung, Überschuss), immer wieder neu und immer wieder anders gesagt und so immer wieder anders geordnet zu werden – immer wieder von neuem. Dementsprechend stellt sich auch die Lebenswelt des Glaubens, die immer wieder von neuem vom Offenbarungsanspruch heimgesucht wird, auf den sie zu antworten hat, als veränderbares „Netz aus heterogenen, jedoch vielfältig verflochtenen, sich nicht nur ausschließenden, sondern auch überschneidenden Rationalitätsfeldern, Diskursen, Lebensformen, Lebenswelten“<sup>55</sup> usw. dar, die in keinem gemeinsamen Ziel- oder Ursprungspunkt konvergieren, da sich dieser immer schon entzogen hat

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55 Ebd.

und sich immer nur verspätet als *Worauf* der konstitutiv unzulänglichen Antwort zeigt und so immer wieder von neuem Antworten und selektives, exkludierendes Ordnen fordert – immer wieder und immer wieder anders, doch nie beliebig, sondern immer in Antwort auf einen außerordentlichen (radikal transzendenten und transgressiven) Anspruch.

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### III

## Temporalität, Materialität und Ritual





# Motile Mythologies: (Re)constituting Ancient Egyptian Ritual Knowledge in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BCE

Rune Nyord

## 1 Introduction: Egyptian Funerary Texts

In the middle of the 24<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the ancient Egyptian king Wenis introduced an innovation in burial practice that would influence Egyptian mortuary religion profoundly during the following millennia. The interior of earlier royal tombs had remained largely undecorated, while the decorative programme in the mortuary temples where the cult of the dead king was performed focused mainly on the status and achievements of the king on the one hand, and on the performance of his cult on the other.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, Wenis had his burial chamber, antechamber, and the corridor leading down to them inscribed with a sizeable collection of previously unknown religious texts. Furthermore, the texts and the space where they were inscribed seem to have been carefully tailored together, so that texts belonging together thematically and ritually were not only placed next to each other, but were distributed in such a way that individual walls each have fairly distinct subject matters, especially in the sarcophagus chamber itself.<sup>2</sup>

The texts are ritual in nature, some being framed as spoken by or about the deceased king, while others are addressed directly to the king by a mostly unidentified speaker.<sup>3</sup> The texts are personalised, so that the name of the owner of the tomb is inserted in appropriate places. Only a rare oversight leaves the word *mn*, 'so-and-so', which must have been how the original ritual manuscripts from which the inscriptions were derived were worded.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Miroslav Verner, *Sons of the Sun. Rise and Decline of the Fifth Dynasty*, Prague 2014, pp. 154–198.

2 See especially Jürgen Osing, "Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 42 (1986), pp. 131–144; James P. Allen, "Reading a Pyramid", in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, ed. by Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, Cairo 1994, vol. I, pp. 5–28 (with critique by Harold M. Hays, "Unreading the Pyramids", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Oriental* 109 (2009), pp. 195–220).

3 Harold Hays, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*, Leiden and Boston 2012, vol. I, pp. 17–78.

4 Kurt Sethe, *Die altaegyptische Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrucken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig 1908, vol. I, l. 147a [Spell 215], cf. Nils Billing, *The Performative Structure. Ritualizing the Pyramid of Pepy I*, Leiden and Boston 2018, p. 91f n. 129.

The texts offer a wealth of mythological and ritual information, and have attracted attention for this reason since their first publication in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> However, the nature and original conception of the texts are not immediately obvious, and early suggestions run the gamut from literal descriptions of what happens in the afterlife,<sup>6</sup> to the actual script of the funerary ritual which was thus conveniently displayed for ritualists to read on the walls of the rooms where it took place.<sup>7</sup>

However, the texts themselves do offer some important clues to how the Egyptians understood them. The very fact that they are inscribed to a height of several meters means we can effectively rule out the idea that they were meant to be read: not only was the tomb chamber sealed, so the texts could only have been read prior to the burial of the king, but significant parts of the texts are simply too high up on the wall to be read by someone standing on the floor in any case. Thus, they cannot have been intended as ordinary communication.

Each individual spell – or in later pyramids each individual column of text – is headed by the words *ḏd mdw*, ‘Recitation’, which offers the clearest statement of how the Egyptians understood them. While the words are used in ritual manuscripts to instruct a particular text to be read aloud as part of the performance, in the pyramids the lack of readers precludes such an understanding as a practical instruction. This means we have to understand the identification descriptively as a statement that what follows *is* a recitation. Given Egyptian attitudes to writing, this leaves two basic possibilities in practice. Either the texts prescribe or commemorate an actual ritual performance, most likely that of the funeral or subsequent mortuary cult, or the texts were thought in themselves to constitute a recitation in a material medium – a ‘prosthesis of the voice’ in the words of Egyptologist Jan Assmann.<sup>8</sup> Since in the first instance the function of the inscriptions would in any case have been to ‘presentify’<sup>9</sup> the ritual and its effect, and since secondly, at least part of the rituals described would have been performed live as well, the two models may well have actually amounted to the same thing for the ancient Egyptians.

Building on these considerations we can see the inscription of ritual texts on the walls of tombs as a technological innovation, which – based on Egyptian conceptions and experiences of writing – makes rituals materially present in the sacred space thus constructed around the deceased. The most readily identifiable ritual backgrounds from which such texts may have been taken are the funerary ritual and subsequent mortuary cult, but there is no reason in principle why other rituals could not be incorporated within this technology as well. Thus, we find notable

5 Gaston Maspero, *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris 1894.

6 E.g. Adolf Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin 1905, esp. pp. 87–100.

7 Joachim Spiegel, “Das Auferstehungsritual der Unaspiramide”, in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 53 (1956), pp. 339–439.

8 Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca and London 2005, p. 248f.

9 In the sense used by Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays*, Princeton 1991, pp. 151–163.

collections of spells for averting dangerous animals like snakes and scorpions,<sup>10</sup> which seem to have no intrinsic connection with either funerals or ancestor cult, but rather appear to play a role in constructing and safeguarding the ritualised architectonic space delineated by the inscriptions.

We will explore the implications of this understanding of the texts in more detail, but a few major consequences are worth pointing out from the outset. While the 19<sup>th</sup>-century notion of the texts as a kind of ‘guidebook’ to the afterlife for use by the deceased is still referred to occasionally, particularly by non-specialists, this idea has mainly been abandoned in favour of one regarding the texts first and foremost as ritual texts.<sup>11</sup> However, the full consequences of this view of the nature of the texts, along with their likely heterogeneous origin, has been less fully realised. If the texts are ritual texts, this means that the mythological situations alluded to should be understood within the framework of the ritual, rather than as literal and concrete beliefs about the afterlife.<sup>12</sup>

## 2 Later funerary texts

After the Old Kingdom, the Pyramid Texts tradition is largely abandoned, with the last known example from a royal tomb being that of King Ibi who ruled for a few years in the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>13</sup> Around two centuries later, we find the earliest securely datable examples of a new tradition of funerary texts written on the inside of coffins from elite burials.<sup>14</sup> These inscriptions include on the one hand verbatim parallels to spells and spell sequences from the royal pyramids of the late Old Kingdom, and on the other a sizeable corpus of new, or significantly reworked, texts. The new spells are even more heterogeneous than the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, containing liturgies from the funerary rituals and the subsequent mortuary cult,<sup>15</sup> texts very likely derived from private rituals and the temple cult,<sup>16</sup>

10 Christian Leitz, “Die Schlangensprüche in den Pyramidentexten”, *Orientalia N.S.* 65 (1996), pp. 381–427.

11 Cf. the approach taken in the recent monographic treatments in Hays, *Organization of the Pyramid Texts* and Billing, *Performative Structure*.

12 See Rune Nyord, “The Divine Beard in Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts”, in: *Barbes et barbues. Symboliques, rites et pratiques du port de la barbe dans le Proche-Orient ancien et moderne*, ed. by Youri Volokhine, Bruce Fudge, and Thomas Herzog, Bern 2019, 48–50; idem, “‘Taking Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Religion Seriously’: Why Would We, and How Could We?”, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17 (2018), pp. 73–87.

13 Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d’Aba*, Cairo 1935.

14 Harco Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture*, Leiden and Boston 2014, pp. 124–229.

15 See Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg 2002; Harco Willems, “The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT Spells 30–41)”, in: *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, ed. by Harco Willems, Leuven 2001, pp. 253–372.

16 Rune Nyord, “Scribes of the Gods in the Coffin Texts”, in *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC). Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources*, ed. by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, London 2015, pp. 273–307; Alexandra von Lieven, “How ‘funerary’ are the Coffin Texts?”, in: *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture: Proceedings of the*

as well as spells which are so closely connected to the material aspects of the coffin that they must have been composed specifically with this medium in mind.<sup>17</sup>

As with the Old Kingdom pyramids, yet more noticeable because of the much larger number of inscribed coffins, no two coffins show exactly the same selection of spells, although often marked similarities in the textual repertoire may be found in coffins from the same necropolis and the same period, demonstrating that there was no fixed canon of obligatory texts.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the relatively large number of spells known only in a single or a few copies along with the heterogeneous nature of the spells indicate that the pool from which texts were selected was not a closed set, but could be supplemented by new material drawn from a wide range of contexts, including apparently the local temple cult in the town to which the necropolis belonged.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Knowledge transfer in the funerary texts

The relationship between the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts and the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts thus raises a number of questions relevant to the theme of *Wisensioikonomien* occupying us here, with the knowledge encoded in the texts transgressing from one social 'household' to another with a sizeable temporal hiatus in between. In Egyptological scholarship, the understanding of the phenomenon was profoundly shaped by the political and ideological milieu in which it was first conceptualised. Thus, in his discussion at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Egyptologist James Henry Breasted seems to have been the first to characterise the process as a question of 'democratising the hereafter': afterlife privileges previously restricted to the royal family now became available to everyone.<sup>20</sup>

Despite its obvious anachronism, the notion of 'democratisation' became highly influential, articulating as it does a concrete instantiation of a popular explanatory model where historical change is conceptualised as a diffusion of privileges from central powers to the wider populace – a 'law' derived, presumably, from a Whig-historical reading of such European events as the Reformation and the French Revolution.<sup>21</sup> As there was obviously no idea of rule by votes or representation in the afterlife, in more recent times the word 'demotisation' has often been used instead, to avoid the specifically political connotations of 'democratisation'.

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*Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium Held at Christ's College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, ed. by Rune Nyord, Leiden/Boston 2019, pp. 100–116.

17 E.g. Rune Nyord, "The Body in the Hymns to the Coffin Sides", in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 82 (2007), pp. 5–34.

18 See the convenient overview of the distribution of texts in Leonard H. Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*, Berkeley 1979.

19 E.g. the Hathor rituals evidenced in Meir coffins, Nyord, "Scribes of the Gods", pp. 275–283.

20 James Henry Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt. Lectures Delivered under the Morse Foundation at Union Theological Seminary*, New York 1912, pp. 252 and 257.

21 Slightly later, the Russian Revolution forms a very clear influence on the interpretation by Moret, A., 'L'accession de la plèbe égyptienne aux droits religieux et politiques sous le Moyen Empire', in: *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-F. Champollion*, Paris 1922.

Often, the designations themselves have been put in quotation marks to signal a certain distancing, but the overall model has generally been wholeheartedly embraced until recently.

Within the last two decades, the model has come under increasing criticism, to the point where anyone who has been following this debate will find it difficult to use either 'democratisation' or 'demotisation' as a characterisation of the religious changes between the Old and Middle Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> However, while negating some central assumptions of the 'democratisation' idea, the recent criticism tacitly accepts several others which can also be traced back to Breasted and beyond, and which are arguably as problematic as the ones criticised. This means that while the discussion of the appropriateness of speaking of 'democratisation' in describing the religious changes from the Old to the Middle Kingdom may now be definitively resolved, other problematic aspects of the conceptual model have been carried forth into recent scholarship. These assumptions are firstly the simple equating of the occurrence of texts in a burial assemblage with particular beliefs about the afterlife, and secondly the reified notion of 'text' as a stable unit which can be moved from one place and time to another essentially unchanged.

Together, these two ideas have allowed us to think about the process as primarily a question of the dissemination of funerary beliefs from the royal sphere in the Old Kingdom to private people in the Middle Kingdom, corresponding to a Lyotardian 'narrative of emancipation' where historical change is explained according to the model of increasing proliferation of rights and freedom.<sup>23</sup> However, as I will argue here, there are good reasons, both theoretical and empirical, to question this overall image.

### 3.1 *Text equals belief*

As discussed earlier, the entire phenomenon of funerary texts poses significant interpretive problems, since the texts were inscribed in places and manners making it impossible to regard them as ordinary communication. This makes it tempting to approach the texts in terms of what they can tell *us*, rather than trying to reconstruct their contextual function. At least in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Egyptological conception of the texts was formed, the question foremost in the mind of an archaeologist examining an ancient burial would have been what the culture in question believed about the afterlife, and thus the texts were used to answer this exact question.<sup>24</sup> However, as we have seen, the texts were not intended to inform *us*, or anyone else, about ancient Egyptian beliefs, but rather they were inscribed

22 See the recent summary and overview in Rune Nyord, "Introduction: Egyptian and Egyptological Concepts", in: *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture: Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium Held at Christ's College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, ed. by Rune Nyord, Leiden/Boston 2019, pp. 14–18.

23 Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester 1984 [1979], esp. pp. 31–41.

24 E. g. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, pp. 87–100.

in the tomb to embed the deceased in rituals effecting his or her post-mortem transformation. They were ritual texts, not expositions of dogmatic belief. This means that we cannot assume that texts are transferred as packages consisting of the text itself along with the attached beliefs, such that displaying a text previously inscribed in a royal pyramid in one's tomb is necessarily a sign that one now believes the same thing about the afterlife as the owner of the royal pyramid.

Since the vast majority of Middle Kingdom private tombs make no effort to copy the entire programme of a royal pyramid, it would be most accurate to say that what is indisputably diffused is not in the first instance either the text itself or assumed beliefs, but rather the specific technology of the funerary texts – that is, the ability to transform a ritual into a new, material shape.<sup>25</sup> As exemplified by the inscriptions in the pyramids, this technology was not tied to a specific text corpus, but could in principle be applied to any ritual with a central recitation component. By way of modern intuition, the technology of funerary texts could certainly be said to be a question of beliefs, but in this case it is a 'belief' about the efficacy of texts and their ritualised inscription, not in the first instance about what status a deceased person will have in his or her 'afterlife'. This in turn means that we need to pay particular attention to the social contexts: on the one hand that of the primary use of the texts (to the extent it can be known or hypothesised), and on the other that of the inscription in tombs.

### 3.2 *A text is a thing*

The traditional philological view of a text is that of an *Urtext* possibly undergoing a series of corruptions during the process of transmission as it is repeatedly copied and recopied.<sup>26</sup> While such corruptions can certainly on occasion be meaningful and lead to reinterpretations, the overall view thus becomes that of the text as an ideally stable, unchanging entity, to which human fallibility introduces a gradual decay. Thanks to movements such as the 'New Philology' in Renaissance studies, greater attention has come to be attached to the particularity and specific contexts of individual manuscripts, and this point of view has come to play a certain role in Egyptology as well, though primarily in the exploration of literary texts.<sup>27</sup>

25 For 'technology' in the broad sense used here, cf. e.g. Marcy Norton, "Subaltern Technologies and Early Modernity in the Atlantic World", in: *Colonial Latin American Review* 26/1 (2017), pp. 18–38.

26 See e.g. the ideal expressed (if quickly abandoned in practice) by the editor of the Coffin Texts of identifying and giving pride of place to "the best or oldest text", Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I: Text of Spells 1–75*, Chicago 1935 p. xv.

27 E.g. Richard B. Parkinson, "Sinuhe's Dreaming(s). The Texts and Meanings of a Simile", in: *Through a Glass Darkly. Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt*, ed. by Kasia Szpakowska, Swansea 2006, explicitly on p. 146. For a recent example of work on Egyptian funerary texts drawing certain inspirations from such approaches, see Antonio Morales, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut. Analysis of their Distribution and Role in the Old and Middle Kingdom*, Hamburg 2017.

However, the discussion of the transmission of funerary texts has mainly taken for granted a traditional view of the text as a stable, bounded entity, to which particular groups either do or do not have access. This means that apart from the question of whether access to such texts can be understood straightforwardly to indicate privileges in the afterlife as just discussed, it is also worth questioning more generally whether such a reified view of the text can offer an adequate account of the data.

#### 4 Funerary texts in context

Although texts offer an immediacy that makes them particularly attractive as a focus point for modern observers, the built and ritualised environment of an Egyptian tomb aggregates a great number of different technologies, from masonry, stone carving, woodworking, and painting, to the many technologies involved in procuring, transporting and working the diverse raw materials, as well as the social organisation and management of the workforce, etc.<sup>28</sup> Within this aggregate (which we could also think of as an *oikos* in line with the theme of the present volume), the role played by custodians of ritual texts is a miniscule one, despite the saliency of their contribution for the modern observer. This becomes even more striking if we focus also on the wider social context of the tomb, which formed the focus of offering rituals presenting a variety of foodstuffs which would have been cultivated and cooked, again involving complex social networks centring on the work of the mortuary priests whose access to the necessary products was ensured by contractually-secured funerary establishments of farmland and labour force.<sup>29</sup> In the royal cult, these activities would have been on a particularly grand scale, but as proponents of the continuity between the royal and private spheres have cogently argued, the private ancestor cult for the most part differed from this only in scale, not in kind.<sup>30</sup>

An influential mode of interpreting images and texts in ancient Egyptian tombs regards the frequent images of the production and presentation of offerings as meant to serve as a magical backup in case people stopped bringing actual offerings. There is little evidence that this is how the Egyptians understood such representations, and in fact, this interpretation may address a problem perceived more by modern observers than by the ancients, namely how a post-mortem exis-

28 A general study of these interrelated questions for the Middle Kingdom remains a desideratum, but see the more specific recent contributions along these lines in *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000–1550 BCE*, ed. by Gianluca Miniaci, Juan Carlos Moreno García, Stephen Quirke, and Andréas Stauder, Leiden 2018.

29 See the general treatment of the mortuary cult in Rémi Legros, *Stratégies mémorielle. Les cultes funéraires en Égypte ancienne de la VI<sup>e</sup> à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, Lyon 2016.

30 E.g. Harold Hays, "The Death of the Democratization of the Afterlife", in: *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, ed. by Nigel and Helen Strudwick, Oxford 2011, pp. 115–130; Smith, Mark, "Democratization of the Afterlife", in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles 2008 (online at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/70g428wj>).

tence predicated on cult could be believed to lead to eternal life. As I have argued elsewhere, the assumption that the Egyptians were on a 'quest for eternal life' stems more from 19<sup>th</sup> century European expectations than from ancient Egyptian sources, which may explain why the Egyptians do not seem very occupied by this particular paradox.<sup>31</sup>

If we sidestep this 'magical' interpretation, the most obvious understanding of the texts and images referring to the mortuary cult is that they serve to embed the sacred space of the tomb within the wider network of social activities for which it is to serve as the centre, while at the same time establishing the tomb owner as watching over, and securing the prosperity of, the many activities among the living for which the tomb forms the hub.<sup>32</sup> In principle, this interpretation works also for objects, images and texts placed in the tomb chamber.

We can thus understand the lists and depictions of offerings in the tomb chamber and the coffin as a way of establishing an immediate connection between the body of the transformed ancestor dwelling in the tomb and the activities among the living resulting in the presentation of offerings. Although for a different purpose, Antonio Morales has recently argued that there is a close identity between the sacrifices brought in the temples attached to the royal tombs of the Old Kingdom on the one hand, and the offering spells written inside the pyramid on the other.<sup>33</sup> From the perspective taken here, this can be seen as a way of establishing firm material connections between the functions of two separate parts of the pyramid complex, with the inscriptions ensuring the mutual connection between the body of the deceased king and the mortuary rituals carried out to invoke him.

Thus, far from representing an isolated strand of transmission of pure, abstract beliefs, the texts were entangled in a widespread network of social, economic and ontological relations. If we ignore all of these wider contexts and insist on approaching the 'text' in the abstract as the only means to approach the 'beliefs' we are ultimately interested in, we tend to affirm a modern scripture-focused viewpoint which may thus reflect the ancient Egyptian experience quite poorly.

## 5 Material texts

Perhaps the clearest way in which the changes to the text accompanying their transfer through time and space can be seen is in the materiality of the writing practice. The carved and painted hieroglyphs of the Old Kingdom pyramids are detailed and monumental, and their iconicity was regarded as an inherent feature which was never subordinated to a purely semiotic referentiality. Thus, the many signs in the hieroglyphic script depicting the full human form were scrupulously

31 Nyord, "Taking Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Religion Seriously".

32 An understanding inspired by recent relational approaches in archaeology, such as that of Oliver J. T. Harris, "Relational Communities in Prehistoric Britain", in: *Relational Archaeologies. Humans, Animals, Things*, ed. by Christopher Watts, London/New York 2013, pp. 173–189.

33 Antonio J. Morales, "Iteration, Innovation und Dekorativität in Opferlisten des Alten Reichs. Zur Vorgeschichte der Pyramidentexte", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 142 (2015), pp. 55–69.



avoided for ritual reasons, either by being omitted entirely, by being substituted with other signs, or by being 'abbreviated' to include only the parts of the body most salient for the meaning of the sign.<sup>34</sup>

Further, the carving of hieroglyphs always drew on different technologies, including at least that connected to the tools and techniques of the stonemason, and those of the scribe. This can be seen in the pyramid of King Pepi I of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, whose inscriptions were in many cases altered, whether as a result of a general process of 'proofreading' or as the result of a later change of mind.<sup>35</sup> The latter possibility is favoured by fact that many changes concern a systematic redacting where spells worded in the first person as spoken by the king himself are changed into the third person, by substituting the pronouns in some places and adding the name of the king in others.<sup>36</sup> The voice of the wall was, in other words, reconceived from being first identical to that of the king, to being instead an anonymous speaker talking about the king.

In the Middle Kingdom coffins, an entirely different approach is adopted. Here, the texts are painted with reed pen and ink, and instead of the hieroglyphic columns of the pyramids, a number of conventions are taken over from papyrus manuscripts as known from contemporary texts dealing with healing and ritual matters.<sup>37</sup> It is likely that this more closely reflects the layout of the texts as transmitted outside the coffins, but more importantly for our purposes, the texts were clearly conceived in a different way, leading to a number of innovations. Firstly, the texts are written with linear hieroglyphs or the derived cursive script known as 'hieratic', both of which show a significant amount of abstraction and stylisation, and correspondingly a clear move away from the iconicity of the hieroglyphic script. Similarly, the layout of manuscripts is reflected by the addition of headings and occasional instructions for the ritual uses of spells, either as part of the running text, or as a horizontal header at the top of the page. The latter layout pattern is very useful when unrolling a papyrus scroll looking for a particular entry, while on a coffin it seems to offer less distinct advantages.

Such headings are almost entirely absent from the Old Kingdom pyramids, although a single surviving example indicates that this was most likely not because they did not yet exist, but rather because it was not generally regarded as appropriate to transfer them to the monumental setting.<sup>38</sup> As suggested earlier, the pyramid inscriptions were understood in themselves as a material performance, and

34 Pierre Lacau, "Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 51 (1913), pp. 1–64; recent discussion in Barbara Russo, "La vipère à cornes sans tête. Étude paléographique et considérations historiques", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 110 (2010), pp. 251–274.

35 Billing, *Performative Structure*, pp. 89–91.

36 Ibid.

37 Notably the so-called Ramesseum Papyri, see Richard B. Parkinson, *The Ramesseum Papyri (British Museum Online Research Catalogues)*, London 2012. Online at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online\\_research\\_catalogues/rp/the\\_ramesseum\\_papyri.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rp/the_ramesseum_papyri.aspx).

38 Alfred Grimm, "Zur Tradition des Spruchtitels rA nj swAD wdHw. Ein Fragment aus der

headings and instructions of the kind surviving in the Middle Kingdom coffins and papyrus manuscript may well have been regarded as extraneous to the performance itself, being seen instead as means of classifying and contextualising the performance of the spell not obviously relevant for the new performative context.

When spells known from the Old Kingdom pyramids carry such titles and other paratextual information in Middle Kingdom copies, they generally tend to confirm the ritual and conceptual backgrounds one might have surmised from their use in the Old Kingdom, such as situating the spells in relation to the offering rituals of the mortuary cult.<sup>39</sup> Since extant rubrics of this type are almost entirely a Middle Kingdom phenomenon, the question whether the rubrics were new, and the result of re-interpretive work on adapting the texts to a new context, or whether they were transmitted from the Old Kingdom becomes largely moot. However, what we can observe is a clear engagement with the materiality of the text, where it is certainly not just a question of mindlessly copying an Old Kingdom practice, but rather texts, in whatever form, are deliberately given a new shape – or equally deliberately allowed to retain one closer to their non-monumental use.

## 6 Conclusion

I hope to have made a case that even in a situation where our main sources are purely textual, to gain a nuanced understanding of the underlying processes of knowledge transfer, we need to take a much more holistic view, and one which accommodates the mutual influences of different parts of the networks (or ‘households’) involved. In particular, I have argued that the focus on textual transmission as a direct reflection of a diffusion of beliefs runs the risk of distorting the evidence by reifying the texts and thereby also the hypothesised beliefs. This is especially true when dealing with a traditional religion which was much more occupied with questions of cult and practice than with those of belief.<sup>40</sup> As an alternative, I have suggested an approach where the scribal transmission of texts is regarded as one among a number of other technologies aggregated in the making of a fully-furnished tomb and the subsequent performances taking place there. Even the tomb, in turn, is only one part of a much larger network of other settings where the ancestor cult is performed and its material and social necessities produced.

This perspective offers an important corrective to recent Egyptological approaches to the old question of ‘democratisation’, showing that simply negating the idea while accepting its underlying ideological premises is not a productive way forward. At the same time, this approach brings out how the changes in funerary culture in the early-to-middle Bronze Age in ancient Egypt can be seen as a prime example of the kind of interplay between *oikoi* that form the focus of this volume.

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Pyramide des Königs Teti mit dem Ritualvermerk eines unbekanntes Opferrituals der Mundöffnungszeremonien”, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 10 (1983), pl. 3a.

39 E.g. James P. Allen, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, Vol. 8: Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*, Chicago 2006, p. 18 (l. 50a).

40 Cf. the classical critique by Rodney Needham, *Belief, Language and Experience*, Chicago 1972.

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# Das Haus deuten: Frühislamische Kontroversen um das mekkanische Heiligtum

Nora Schmidt

In einem Aufsatz über die islamische Pilgerreise, die Ḥajj, stellte der algerisch-französische Philosoph Mohammed Arkoun zwei epistemische Zugänge zur Pilgerfahrt einander gegenüber: die in der hanbalitischen Rechtsschule dogmatischen, sunnitischen Erklärungen zur Ḥajj würden sich auf rechtliche Aspekte und damit auf die äußerlich korrekte Durchführung der religiösen Pflicht des Pilgerns konzentrieren. Ihr gegenüber stünden die bereits im Frühislam den Anfeindungen der ‚Traditionarier‘ ausgesetzten, vielfach unter schiitischem Einfluss entwickelten mystischen Zugänge zur Ḥajj, welche die innere spirituelle Reise und die seelische Entwicklung des Individuums auf dem Weg zum Heiligtum und zur göttlichen Seele fokussierten.<sup>1</sup>

In diesem Aufsatz soll es mir darum gehen, diese und andere dichotomische Perspektiven auf die Ḥajj zu entkräften. Ich werde stattdessen das frühislamische Wissen über die Pilgerfahrt und das mekkanische Heiligtum als Wissensoikonomie deuten und damit einerseits die verschiedenen epistemischen Errungenschaften, die mit der Ḥajj seit ihren Anfängen, besonders aber seit der frühen Abbasidenzeit, einher gingen betonen und zugleich die verschiedenen Verflechtungen in den auf die Pilgerfahrt bezogenen Wissenstraditionen aufzeigen. Dabei möchte ich das Augenmerk auf die einigende Dynamik kontrovers aufeinander bezogener Deutungen der Ḥajj und des Heiligtums, der Kaʿba, legen.

Mit der Kaʿba ist bereits in mehreren Suren des Koran, in denen Abraham als Erbauer des mekkanischen Heiligtums fungiert, besonders deutlich ein Historizitätsverständnis verbunden, welches die Ursprünge des im Islam realisierten Monotheismus in eine biblisch konnotierte Urgeschichte zurückprojiziert.<sup>2</sup> Angelika Neuwirth hat gezeigt, dass mit der koranischen Perspektive auf das mekkanische

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1 Interessanterweise trägt der auch von Arkoun angeführte mystische Bericht des Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī den Titel „die gedankliche Pilgerfahrt im Fall, dass man die vorgeschriebene Pflicht nicht erfüllen kann“. Bereits der Titel zeigt, dass es in der Mystik keineswegs darum geht, die einer spirituellen Pilgerfahrt den Vorzug über die körperlich durchgeführte Reise zu geben. Vgl. Arkoun, „Le Ḥajj dans la Pensée Islamique“, in: *Lectures du Coran*, Tunis 1991, S. 345–377, hier S. 364.

2 Zu den Ursprüngen der abrahamitischen Urgeschichte der Kaʿba im Koran siehe Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, Berlin 2010, S. 637–652 und eadem, *Die koranische Verzauberung der Welt und ihre Entzauberung in der Geschichte*, Freiburg 2017, S. 231–234.

Heiligtum der Anspruch verbunden ist, den Tempel Salomos zu ersetzen. Es ist die Akedah Isaaks, die als die ätiologische Grundlage des salomonischen Tempels in den Texten des Koran aufgegriffen und in Mekka neu lokalisiert wird,<sup>3</sup> allerdings, wie Neuwirth im Beitrag zum vorliegenden Sammelband herausarbeitet, nicht in Form einer historischen Supersession durch einen „dritten Tempel“ in Mekka, sondern durch kultische und geistige Verbindung mit den in der Spätantike bereits sublimierten und transzendental neu gedeuteten heiligen („Opfer“-) Stätten Golgatha und Jerusalem.

Anders aber die postkoranische, hagiographische islamische Tradition zur Ḥajj: Die frühislamische Gelehrsamkeit erzählt von der Geschichte der Ka'ba als Geschichte einer mehrmaligen Restauration durch einzelne monotheistische Gläubige und Bauherren, die das arabische Heiligtum gegen polytheistische Degenerationen immer wieder rehabilitierten. Auch hier spielt der biblische Patriarch Abraham eine entscheidende Rolle; er stellte diesem Verständnis nach den Bau wieder her, den der erste Mensch Adam selbst nach dem Vorbild eines metaphysischen Heiligtums errichtet hatte. Muhammad sei seinerseits am Wiederaufbau der Ka'ba durch die Quraish noch kurz vor Einsetzen seiner Offenbarungen beteiligt gewesen und habe damit die Ka'ba Abrahams rehabilitiert.<sup>4</sup> Wenn auch, wie Francis Peters betont, in der islamischen Geschichte des Heiligtums der Vergleich der Ka'ba mit dem Tempel Salomos immer wieder anklingt, haben sich die islamischen Wissenstraditionen zum Ursprung und der Geschichte der Ka'ba in Mekka doch von der koranischen Deutung gerade in diesem Punkt entfernt.<sup>5</sup> An der Baugeschichte der Ka'ba reflektiert sich nun nicht mehr die Erinnerung an „biblische“ Heiligtümer und einzelne wirkmächtige Wissensbestände, wie die Akedah oder die Kreuzigung Jesu, sondern ein Moment der Wiederentdeckung, der Freilegung und Restauration eines „ursprünglichen“ Monotheismus durch einzelne religiöse Eiferer. Dieses am Bau des islamisch wichtigsten Heiligtums, der Ka'ba, paradigmatisch reflektierte Geschichtsverständnis ist nicht in einheitlichen, doktrinär postulierten oder institutionell verfestigten Lehrmeinungen verfasst, sondern in einer Vielzahl unterschiedlicher, teilweise einander widersprechender und differierender Überlieferungen enthalten. Gerade in der Perspektive auf die Ka'ba zeigen sich konkurrierende islamisches Geschichtsverständnisse und damit auch unterschiedliche Bezugskonzepte zu den benachbarten und historisch vorausgegangenen religiösen Traditionen, dem Judentum und Christentum.

Im folgenden werde ich mehrere frühislamische, d.h. postkoranische Deutungsvarianten des Ursprungs der Ka'ba diskutieren. Es geht mir dabei darum zu zeigen, dass die unterschiedlichen Zweige der frühislamischen Wissenschaft, die

3 Vgl. ebd.

4 Francis E. Peters, *The Ḥajj. The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*, New Jersey 1994, S. 62 mit Bezug auf Ibn al-Azraqī und 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.

5 Peters, *Muslim Pilgrimage*, S. 69: „The point was conservatism, preserving the received architectural tradition, much as Zerubbabel and the returning Israelites attempted to do vis-à-vis the Temple of Solomon.“

Historiographie (al-Azraqī und Ibn Hishām) und der Koranexegese (aṭ-Ṭabarī) eine Diskursgemeinschaft darstellen, auch wenn sie, wie jüngst Peter Webb in seinem Aufsatz stark betonte, teils ganz unterschiedliche Akzente setzen oder wesentliche Teile der Geschichte der Ka'ba auslassen oder ergänzen.<sup>6</sup> Gleichzeitig werden wir sehen, dass die frühislamischen Autoren sich zwar nicht einhellig auf die koranischen Texte zum Heiligtum, wohl aber auf unterschiedliche spätantike Wissensbestände rückbeziehen, indem sie etwa biblisches, rabbinisches oder gnostisch konnotiertes Wissen integrieren. Dieser Aspekt ist in der Forschung zur Ḥajj und der Ka'ba bisher ausnehmend wenig berücksichtigt worden.

Auch Webb kommt etwa zu dem Ergebnis, dass die islamischen Texte zur Ḥajj „komplexe Diskurse offenbaren“<sup>7</sup> da die historischen bzw. literarischen Texte des 9. Jh. „sich nicht immer nahtlos zusammenfügen mit Qurʾān und Hadith.“ Es gebe „Brüche und Diskrepanzen zwischen beiden“, die Webb für instruktiv hält, „um zu verstehen, wie islamische Gelehrte der ersten Jahrhunderte interpretatorische Varianten und sogar neue Darstellungen von Geschichte entwickelt hätten.“<sup>8</sup> Dabei bleibt ein Komplexitätsgrad, die Fortschreibung spätantiker religiöser Deutungen im frühen Islam, sogar noch unerwähnt. Indem wir solchen religions- bzw. theologiehistorischen Fortschreibungen spätantiker Wissensbestände in den islamischen Geschichten der Ka'ba nachgehen, bekommen wir zugleich einen Eindruck davon, dass das Wissen des Pilgers nicht allein mit der ‚kalten Nadel‘ historischer Identitätskonstruktion durch einzelne Gelehrte gestrickt ist, sondern auch die emotionale Ambivalenz individueller Erfahrung in Anschlag bringt.

## 1 Prolegomenon: Wissensgeschichte der Ḥajj

Die Verbindung zwischen dem religiösen Ritus der Pilgerfahrt und der frühislamischen Wissenskultur der Abbassidenzeit war von Anfang an eng.<sup>9</sup> Angefangen bei der Bewältigung logistischer und ökonomischer Herausforderungen, wie der Versorgung von Pilgern mit Wasser und Lebensmitteln, über die Bestimmung der Gebetsrichtung (*qibla*) mittels astronomischen Wissens und der wissenschaftlichen Produktion von Landkarten setzte die religiöse Pflicht zur Ḥajj immense

6 Peter Webb, „Hajj before Muhammad. Journeys to Mecca in Muslim Narratives of Pre-Islamic History“, in: *Ḥajj: Collected Essays*, hg. von Venetia Porter und Liana Saif, London (British Museum), S. 6–14.

7 Ebd. (Englisches Original: „reveal complex discourses“)

8 Ebd. (Englisches Original: „There are fissures and discrepancies between the two, and these are fruitful sites for investigating how Muslim scholars in the first centuries of Islam developed variant interpretations and even new accounts of history.“)

9 Der Prophet Muhammad soll selbst eine Abschiedswallfahrt unternommen haben, die zugleich das Ende seines prophetischen Wirkens markiert. Während der Zeit seiner unmittelbaren Nachfolger, der s.g. rechtgeleiteten Kalifen und in der frühen Umayyadenzeit waren die Ḥajj und die Ka'ba Gegenstand politischer Kontroversen, im Zuge derer die Ka'ba um eine Moschee ergänzt (Uthman), zerstört und wiederaufgebaut wurde. Vgl. zu den historischen Ereignissen Peters, *Muslim Pilgrimage*. Zur Bedeutung der Ḥajj im Kalifat der Abbasiden siehe auch den von Venetia Porter herausgegebenen Band zur Ausstellung im British Museum: *Ḥajj – Journey to the Heart of Islam*. Dort insbes. Hugh Kennedy, „The Early Muslim Ḥajj“, S. 76–92.

erkenntnismäßige und wissenschaftliche Produktivität frei, etwa die Entwicklung von Instrumenten, geographischen Hilfsmitteln und Karten. Aber Astronomie und Geographie sind nur die augenfälligsten Zweige einer auf die Pilgerfahrt konzentrierten Wissenskultur.<sup>10</sup> Daneben spielt die Ḥajj als eine der religiösen Pflichten in den Rechtswissenschaften eine entscheidende Rolle und hat hier zahlreiche Traktate und Spezialisten hervorgebracht. Und nicht zuletzt sind zahlreiche Gelehrte, Lehrer, Studierende ganz unterschiedlicher Fachrichtungen selbst gepilgert und haben dabei Wissen in Bewegung gesetzt.<sup>11</sup> Nicht wenige Gelehrte und Dichter der Abbasidenzeit unternahmen die Ḥajj wie eine Bildungsreise, auf deren Weg sie in den wichtigsten Zentren in Mesopotamien Halt machten und die sie mit der Akkumulation von ‚Traditionswissen‘, vor allem dem *Ḥadīth*, verbanden.<sup>12</sup> Manche Genres der frühislamischen Wissenschaften, die in den primär mündlichen Lehrbetrieb der Bildungszentren Mesopotamiens entwickelt wurden, haben aufgrund der Ḥajj weite Verbreitung gefunden, wie zum Beispiel die erste schriftliche Sprichwortsammlung des Philologen Abū ‘Ubaid (st. 838), die der Philologe nach Mekka mitbrachte, wo sie abgeschrieben und vervielfältigt und später zu einem noch in al-Andalus rezipierten Standardwerk der arabischen Philologie wurde.<sup>13</sup> Über zahlreiche Dichter sind *akhbār* (literarische Traditionen anekdotenhaften Charakters) überliefert, deren Lebensweg maßgeblich von der Ḥajj beeinflusst wurde.<sup>14</sup> Weitere Effekte der institutionellen Pilgerfahrt wie organisierte Überfälle auf Pilger und die politische Pflicht der Protektion und Organisation der Ḥajj durch den Machthaber in Bagdad werfen zusätzlich Licht auf die sozioökonomische und politische Wirkmacht der Ḥajj in der Abbasidenzeit.<sup>15</sup>

Vielfach ist das einigende Moment des Ritus der Ḥajj in sozialer Hinsicht betont worden. Seit dem 8. Jh. war die Ḥajj eine Institution, die Reisen von (muslimischen) Frauen ermöglicht und gefördert hat und damit „the only network in which women’s participation was traditionally acknowledged“.<sup>16</sup> Da die Ḥajj von allen Zweigen der islamischen Theologie und allen Rechtsschulen als verbindliche Pflicht erachtet wird, werden Diskrepanzen zwischen Sunna, Shi‘a, zwischen Mystikern und Orthodoxen im Modus des Pilgerns teilweise suspendiert. Noch in der Moderne haben Politiker und Intellektuelle der islamischen Welt diese

10 Zum Ausmaß der Professionalität der Netzwerke der Ḥajj in der Abbasidenzeit und einschlägige Beispiele siehe Kennedy, „Early Muslim Ḥajj“, S. 76ff.

11 Vgl. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden 1968, S. 8.

12 Eine besonders weite Reise legte zum Beispiel al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī zurück, der von Tirmidh in Khorasan nach Mekka pilgerte und auf dem Rückweg in Basra und Bagdad Studienaufenthalte einlegte. Vgl. Gobillot, „Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī“, in: EI THREE (online resource).

13 Vgl. Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*, übers. von Uwe Vagelpohl, hg. von James Montgomery, New York 2006, S. 54.

14 Für Beispiele aus dem Kitāb al-Aghānī, andere poetische *akhbār* und frühislamische Dichtung des Hejaz siehe die noch unpublizierte Dissertation von Sam Wilder: *Ghazal Poetry and the Marwānids: A Study of Kuthayyir ‘Azza*.

15 Siehe Webb, *Imagining the Arabs. Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam*, Edinbrough 2016, S. 274ff.

16 Cooke und Lawrence, „Introduction“, in: *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, hg. von dens., Chapel Hill/London 2005, S. 3.



einigende Dynamik der Ḥajj betont oder aber auf die Nivellierung von sozialen Unterschieden durch die bewusste Einnahme einer demütigen Haltung und den Verzicht auf individuelle Merkmale im Zustand des *iḥrām* (z. B. noch der Ägypter Hasan al-Bannā oder der US-amerikanische Pilger Malcolm X).<sup>17</sup> Ein ‚panarabisches‘ bzw. ‚panislamisches‘ Moment attestieren antike Quellen aber bereits der früh- bzw. vorislamischen Institutionenbildung um das mekkanische Heiligtum: „Quraysh apparently decided to affiliate into its cult all objects of veneration which had been worshipped at other places in Mecca“.<sup>18</sup> Die Kaʿba war demnach bereits im spätantiken Arabien nicht nur Ort des Wissenstransfers und Kulminationspunkt verschiedener Netzwerke, sondern auch ein *locus* der Kombination unterschiedlicher Wissensobjekte und -bestände.

## 2 Zum Begriff der Wissensökonomie

Die Ḥajj ist eine Reise zu einem Haus, der Kaʿba, die allerdings schwerlich mit dem aus dem Griechischen entlehnten Begriff des *oikos* beschrieben werden kann. Die Kaʿba ist nicht Haushalt im sozialen Sinn noch ihrer religiösen Bedeutung nach, denn sie ist, wie sich islamische Theologen einig sind, nicht die Wohnstätte Gottes. Sie ist sogar im Gegenteil eine Art Leerstelle, mit den Worten des tunesisch-französischen Psychoanalytikers Fethi Benslama, einer der „Risse im Anfang“ des Islam, der zeige, dass das religiöse System des Islam nicht auf einen Determinanten, sondern auf einen Unbekannten ausgerichtet sei.<sup>19</sup> William A. Graham hat in seinem Aufsatz über den Ritus der Ḥajj in ähnlicher Stoßrichtung betont, dass die islamische Ḥajj antisakramentalen und antimythischen Charakter habe, da sie sich stark gegen magische Zuschreibung von Objekten und gegen ein Konzept von Gebet und Opfer im Sinn eines reziproken Tauschgeschehens wende und an biblische Geschichte ‚erinnert‘, ohne sie wie einen Gründungsmythos zu affirmieren.<sup>20</sup>

Das in diesem Band ausgearbeitete Konzept der Wissensökonomien, und so auch die Einstufung der Ḥajj als Wissensökonomie, soll über den primär sozial-historisch oder wirtschaftswissenschaftlich gebräuchlichen Begriff des Netzwerks hinausgehen. Es ist zwar richtig, dass „(d)aily and annually across time and space, the history of Islam flows from Mecca and back to Mecca. It flows through myriad networks. They connect individuals and institutions, at once affirming and transforming them.“<sup>21</sup> Aber die soziale, wirtschaftliche, mediale und technische

17 Cooke und Lawrence, „Introduction“, S. 7.

18 Rubin, „The Kaʿaba. Aspects of its ritual functions and position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times“, in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986), S. 97–131, hier S. 122.

19 Fethi Benslama, *Psychoanalyse des Islam. Wie der Islam die Psychoanalyse auf die Probe stellt*, Berlin 2018, S. 30f.

20 William Graham, „Islam in the Mirror of Ritual“, in: *Islam's Understanding of Itself*, hg. von Richard Hovannisian und Speros Vryonis Jr., Malibu 1984, S. 53–71, hier S. 66. Siehe auch Marion Katz, „The Ḥajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual“, in: *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2005), S. 95–129, hier S. 101.

21 Cooke und Lawrence, „Introduction“, S. 1.

Vernetzung der islamischen Welt durch die Ḥajj stehen nicht im Fokus des Interesses der arabischen Wissenschaften zur Ḥajj, sondern ihnen geht es primär um die Erklärung des *Ursprungs* des Heiligtums der Ka'ba und der religiösen Pflicht des Pilgerns.

Statt bei der Klage stehenzubleiben, dass wir schwerlich von mythisch eingefärbten Narrativen über die Ka'ba auf die historischen Praktiken der Pilgerritten schließen können<sup>22</sup> oder die Diskrepanz zwischen historischer/literarischer Darstellung und empirischen Realitäten als Spezifikum islamischer Literatur zu betonen, wollen wir diese Gründungsmythen zur Pilgerfahrt selbst als ein verwobenes Netzwerk kontrovers aufeinander bezogener Deutungen lesen. Angefangen mit dem Koran etabliert sich eine Wissensökonomie der Ḥajj primär in *textlichen* und *hermeneutischen* Bezügen. Theoretisches, traditionell überliefertes und praktisches Wissen, das Wissen der Offenbarung und das Wissen der Erfahrung, stellen im Modus des Pilgerns gerade keine getrennten Sphären, sondern eine lebendige Einheit dar. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass jeder Pilger das in theologischen und historischen Werken verhandelte Wissen zu den Ursprüngen des Heiligtums und des Pilgerrituals ständig reflektiert hätte, wohl aber baut der Ritus der Pilgerfahrt auf diesem Wissen auf. Dabei kreisen die frühislamischen Wissenschaften der Ḥajj primär um die Frage des Ursprungs.

### 2.1 *Eternalisten vs. Abrahamiten?*

Ab der Mitte des 9. Jh. sind diese Ursprungshypothesen, nach der Aussage des Literaten und Historikers al-Jāhiz (st. 868) von einer Kontroverse geprägt: Einer ‚abrahamitischen‘ und einer ‚eternalistischen‘ Sicht, für die sich Jāhiz selbst ausspricht. Unübersehbar reflektiert diese Trennung zweier Lager die zeitgleich prominent diskutierte Frage der Ewigkeit oder Erschaffenheit des Koran, der den Historikern dieser Zeit bereits als heilige Schrift mit sakramentalem Charakter vor Augen stand.<sup>23</sup> Anders als die sehr viel stärker mit politischen Kontroversen verwobene und schließlich dogmatisch beendete Kontroverse um die (Un) Erschaffenheit des Koran, haben die unterschiedlichen Lager in der Frage des Ursprungs der Ka'ba beide ein Nachleben. Aber zunächst eine chronologische Klärung: Im Koran selbst steht Adam nicht mit dem Bau der Ka'ba in Verbindung, sondern allein Abraham und sein Sohn Ismail.<sup>24</sup> Die koranische Ismail-Überlieferung geht auf die Deutung und Fortschreibung der im Buch Genesis enthaltenen Aussagen über die an den ersten leiblichen Sohn Abrahams ergangene Segensverheißung zurück und greift zugleich, wie Joseph Witztum gezeigt

<sup>22</sup> Diese Diskrepanz betont etwa auch Marion Katz, „Hajj“, S. 96.

<sup>23</sup> Josef Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin/New York 1992, Bd. 3, S. 446ff. Zur Bedeutung des Korans für die frühislamischen Wissenschaften siehe auch Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis*, Oxford 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Nicolai Sinai, *Fortschreibung und Auslegung. Studien zur frühen Koraninterpretation*, Wiesbaden 2009, S. 135ff.

hat, einzelne rabbinische und hagiographische Interpretamente spätantiker Literaturen auf.<sup>25</sup> Im *Ḥadīth*, dem wichtigsten ‚Sitz im Leben‘ der traditionellen religiösen Überlieferung der Geschichte der Ka‘ba vor der Etablierung systematischer institutioneller Geschichtswissenschaften im 9. Jh., ist diese grundsätzlich auch ein Bau Abrahams, wenn sich hier auch eine Vielzahl im Koran nicht enthaltener Ausschmückungen finden.<sup>26</sup>

In historischen Werken ab der Mitte des 9. Jh., etwa in der *Geschichte Mekkas* des Mekkanischen Historikers al-Azraqī (st. 837), wird dann eine adamitische Vorgeschichte der Ka‘ba geschrieben, die eine universalistische bzw. eternalistische Perspektive auf das Heiligtum eröffnet.<sup>27</sup> War die Ka‘ba zuvor ein arabisches Heiligtum und Pilgerzentrum, soll sie jetzt Mittelpunkt der ganzen Erde und kulturelles Pendant zum Garten des Paradieses sein. Hierin zeigt sich implizit eine Beziehung zum salomonischen Tempel und auch dem Kreuzigungshügel Jesu in Golgatha, die beide als Grabstätten Adams figurieren.<sup>28</sup> Trotz der Gegenüberstellung einer ‚eternalistischen‘ bzw. ‚universalistischen‘ und einer ‚abrahamitischen‘ Schule<sup>29</sup> durch al-Jāhīz ist die Trennung beider Perspektiven in den Quellen unvollkommen, wie insbesondere al-Azraqīs Geschichte Mekkas zeigt. Im Folgenden werde ich eine Zusammenfassung des Narrativs aus dem Werk al-Azraqīs bieten, der beide Varianten, die Abrahamische und die Adamische Geschichte miteinander verbindet. Zudem werde ich Differenzen und Ähnlichkeiten zu anderen historischen Texten, wie der Prophetenvita des Zeitgenossen al-Azraqīs, Ibn Hishām (st. 836), und dem etwas später verfassten historischen Werk aṭ-Ṭabarīs (st. 923), wo nötig und hilfreich, ergänzen.

### 3 Die eternalistische Urgeschichte: Adam als Erbauer der Ka‘ba

Als Gott die Erde schuf, wollten die Engel die Schöpfung des Menschen verhindern und an ihrer Stelle die Erde bewohnen, da sie selbst nicht Böses tun, sondern Gott allumfassend heiligen würden. Als Gott ihnen mitteilte, dass er ein den Engeln nicht zugängliches Wissen habe, stellten sie sich mit erhobenen Händen um seinen Thron, weinten und umrundeten den Thron, um Gottes Zorn zu mindern.<sup>30</sup> Gott beruhigte nun die Engel, indem er unterhalb seines Thrones einen Tempel

25 Joseph Witztum, „The Foundations of the House (Q 2:127)“, in: *Bulletin of SOAS* 72 (2009), S. 25–40.

26 Siehe Webb, „Hajj before Muhammad“, S. 7f.

27 Die Sicht der Ka‘ba als Erdmittelpunkt hat sich, Peter Webb zufolge, erst recht spät durchgesetzt und hängt mit der „universalistischen“ Deutung der Ka‘ba als Bau Adams zusammen, der in den historiographischen Quellen ab dem 9. Jh. neben die stärker in die israelitisch bzw. biblisch geprägte Bedeutung Abrahams und Ismails getreten sei. Vgl. Webb, „Hajj before Muhammad“, S. 9f, besonders Fußnote 4.

28 Friedrich Mildenerger, „Adam IV (systematisch theologisch)“, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (TRE), Bd. 1, S. 431–437, hier S. 432.

29 So al-Jāhīz (Hinweis auch in Webb, „Hajj before Muhammad“, S. 11.)

30 Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 3f.

errichtete, den die Engel fortan umkreisen sollten.<sup>31</sup> So beginnt, in al-Azraqīs Darstellung, die Geschichte der Ka'ba. Dieser erste Bau sei im Vers des Koran (Q 52,4) gemeint, in dem von einem „bewahrten/besuchten Haus“ (*baitin ma'mūr*)<sup>32</sup> die Rede ist.<sup>33</sup> Dieser von Gott selbst errichtete Tempel, um den die Engel kreisen, wurde von dem ersten Menschen Adam noch im Paradies wahrgenommen, bevor er dieses verlassen musste. Nach dem Vorbild dieses primordialen Heiligtums hat Adam dann die irdische Ka'ba errichtet, um sie zu umrunden, wie die Engel den von Gott errichteten Tempel.

Wir erfahren aus diesem erstem Bericht al-Azraqīs zweierlei über den Bau der Ka'ba: Die irdische Ka'ba ist nach dem Modell eines himmlischen Heiligtums errichtet und beiden, den Engeln und Adam, sollen der Bau und das folgende Umrunden zur Beruhigung ihrer Schuldgefühle dienen. Im Bau des Heiligtums wird die Konkurrenz zwischen Engeln und Menschen in kulturelle Arbeit transferiert: Die Engel selbst lieferten Adam das Baumaterial „aus den fünf Bergen Lubnān, Tūr az-Zaytūn, Tūr Sīnā, al-Jūdiyy und Hirā“ und schließlich, ergänzt al-Azraqī, kam ein Zelt aus dem Paradies selbst auf den Tempel, in dem sich ein weißer Stein befand, der durch die Berührung mit den sündhaften Menschen allmählich schwarz wurde.<sup>34</sup>

Der Bau der Ka'ba kompensiert einen Sündenfall, den Wunsch der ersten Geschöpfe, der Engel, mit Gott allein zu bleiben und die Zirkumambulation um das Heiligtum ist ein Weg der Aufarbeitung dieser Schuld. Ganz ähnlich interpretierte Marion Katz: „The association with Adam thus draws the rites of the Ḥajj firmly into the cosmic drama of sin and redemption.“<sup>35</sup> Das kosmische Ausmaß des Ka'ba-Baus wird durch die Beigabe des Materials aus den verschiedenen Regionen der Erde und dem Paradies unterstrichen. In einer Variante aṭ-Ṭabarīs ist Adam nicht vom Paradies aus auf der Erde gefallen und (einigen Traditionen zufolge in Indien)<sup>36</sup> aufgeschlagen, sondern er war im Zustand der Schöpfung physisch so groß, dass seine Füße zwar auf der Erde standen, er aber mit dem Kopf in den Himmel ragte, weshalb er Zeuge der Verehrung Gottes durch die Engel und deren Umrundung des himmlischen Tempels wurde.<sup>37</sup> In dem mit den Füßen auf der Erde und dem Kopf im Himmel verankerten Adam wird besonders deutlich, dass die Urgeschichte der Ka'ba die Einheit zweier Welten referiert. Der Körper des (ersten) Menschen ist das Bindeglied zwischen der menschlichen und der göttlichen Sphäre, der materiellen und der geistigen Welt. Im rabbinischen Judentum ist die Vorstellung von Adams Körper als einem Mikrokosmos und damit die

31 Ebd.

32 Oder noch direkter: „bei dem Haus, zu dem man pilgert“

([www.corpuscoranicum.de/kommentar](http://www.corpuscoranicum.de/kommentar), gesehen am 15.1.2020)

33 Dieser Vers wird in den meisten Korankommentaren auf die Ka'ba bezogen.

34 Wüstenfeld, *Mekka*, S. 4 (Transkriptionen im Zitat hier und an allen anderen Stellen nicht im Original).

35 Katz, „Hajj“, S. 111.

36 Siehe Webb, „Hajj before Muhammad“, S. 8.

37 Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, Bd. 1, S. 123.

„überragende körperliche Gestalt“<sup>38</sup> Adams eine prominente Figur. Das Bild bei aṭ-Ṭabarī erweckt daneben die Assoziation an die gnostische Figur des Adam bzw. Adamas, der einen Gott, oder aber den ersten Menschen bzw. den vollkommenen Menschen bezeichnen kann.<sup>39</sup> Von dem Adam der Genesis unterscheidet sich die gnostische Adamfigur auch dadurch, dass diese beide Geschlechter in sich vereinigt und daher nicht an der Seite einer Frau steht.<sup>40</sup>

Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die islamischen Autoren des späten 9. Jh. in Mesopotamien von solchen gnostischen Vorstellungen mitgeprägt wurden. Der Manichäismus etwa war die Glaubensrichtung einer zahlenmäßig kleinen religiösen Gemeinschaft unter abbasidischer Herrschaft, die aṭ-Ṭabarī gekannt haben muss. Ohne die komplexen kosmologischen und anthropologischen Hypothesen solcher gnostisch geprägter Religionssysteme wie des Manichäismus übernehmen zu müssen, scheint sich für al-Azraqī und aṭ-Ṭabarī im Ursprungsmythos der Ka'ba eher der gnostische Adamstypus zu reflektieren als die Figur der Genesis oder die Adam-Christus Typologien des Neuen Testaments.

#### 4 Die matriachale Urgeschichte: Hagar in Mekka

Sehen wir uns den Fortgang der Geschichte der Ka'ba bei al-Azraqī an. Dieser geht, nach dem universalistischen ‚Vorspann‘ des Baus durch Adam, zur Geschichte Abrahams über und konzentriert sich hier auf die Beziehungsgeschichte zu dessen Frau Sara: „Sara war eine schöne Frau und ihrem Manne treu; aber Iblīs (der Teufel) ging zu Pharao und sagte ihm: da ist ein Mann der eine der schönsten Frauen hat. Der Tyrann ließ Abraham rufen und fragte ihn: in welchem Verhältnis steht dieses Weib zu dir?“<sup>41</sup>

Unschwer zu erkennen erzählt al-Azraqī eine Variante des aus Gen 12 und Gen 20 bekannten Motivs der „Gefährdung der Patriarchin“ (oder „Preisgabeerzählung“),<sup>42</sup> welches in den koranischen Erzählzyklen zu Abraham und Sara fehlt und um die Figur des Teufels als Verursacher der Begierde des als Tyrannen bezeichneten Pharao ergänzt ist. Wie in der Genesis gibt Abraham Sara bei al-Azraqī als seine Schwester aus, um dem Tod zu entgehen, worauf die Aussage „du bist nach dem Wort (nach der Schrift) Gottes meine Schwester; es ist ja kein Gläubiger in diesem Lande außer mir und dir“<sup>43</sup> die Schuld Abrahams zur Notlüge gegriffen zu haben zugleich rechtfertigend kommentiert. Diese Ergänzung in Verbindung mit der besonderen Betonung der Schönheit Saras als Herausforde-

38 Peter Schäfer, „Adam II“, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 1, S. 424–427, hier S. 426.

39 Daneben referiert aṭ-Ṭabarī im zweiten Band seines Geschichtswerks allerdings auch die Überlieferungen zu Abraham als Erbauer der Ka'ba und stellt die Kontroverse um die verhinderte Opferung des Sohnes dar, von dem einige sagen, es habe sich um Isaak, andere, es habe sich um Ismail gehandelt. Siehe William Brinner (Übers.), *The History of al-Tabari*, Bd. 2 (Prophets and Patriarchs), New York 1987, S. 65ff.

40 Vgl. BG 94, 9–11 zitiert in Schenke, *Der Gott „Mensch“ in der Gnosis*, S. 8.

41 Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 4 (Ergänzung in Klammern von mir).

42 Bezeichnungen variieren. Vgl. Anke Mühling, „Preisgabeerzählung“ in: WiBiLex (03.09.2019).

43 Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 4.

nung<sup>44</sup> während der Fremdvölkerbegegnung legt die Vermutung nahe, dass rabbinische Deutungen des Genesisstoffs im Hintergrund stehen, in denen die Preisgabe der Patriarchin an den Herrscher Ägyptens als eine von zehn ‚Prüfungen Abrahams‘ figuriert.<sup>45</sup>

In al-Azraqīs Erzählung verharrt Abraham im Gebet, während Sara zum Pharaon geht, der über ihre Schönheit so hingerissen ist, dass er unwillkürlich eine Hand nach ihr ausstreckt, die daraufhin verdorrt. Die Heilung der verdorrten Hand auf Beten Saras hin erinnert ihrerseits an das von Mose erlebte Wunder der spontanen Heilung einer Aussatz-kranken Hand, welche im Koran (Q 20:22) als eines von mehreren Wundern bei der Berufung Mose zum Propheten erzählt wird; dann aber auch an die midraschischen Berichte über die weibliche Schönheit, die einen eigenen Akteursstatus hat. So etwa in einer Erzählung, nach der Abraham seine Frau in einer Kiste versteckt nach Ägypten zu transportieren versucht, woraufhin sich die Schönheit Saras nach Öffnen der Kiste wie ein Glanz über das ganze Land ausbreitet.<sup>46</sup> Die Schönheit einzelner biblischer Figuren, wie dem Patriarchen Abraham und Josef werden von Josephus Flavius besonders betont und als entscheidend gewertet.<sup>47</sup> Wenn bei Josephus auch ein anderes Konzept des prophetischen Körpers im Hintergrund steht, ist für das Verständnis der Erwähnung von Saras Schönheit bei al-Azraqī doch bemerkenswert, dass der arabische Historiker an einen spätantiken Diskurs des Heilshandelns Gottes mittels der Schönheit einzelner menschlicher Akteure anzuschließen scheint.<sup>48</sup>

Das Ergebnis der ‚Gefährdung der Patriarchin‘ in al-Azraqīs Variante ist das Geschenk der Hagar an Sara, welches diese sofort an ihren Ehemann weitergibt, nicht ohne die Hoffnung zu äußern, er möge durch sie zu Nachkommen kommen. Hier ist al-Azraqī expliziter als die Genesis, wo Hagar ohne Überleitung als „ägyptische Sklavin“ im Haushalt Saras auftaucht.

Isaak und Ismail werden dann, nachdem sie in einer an Gen 18 angelehnten Erzählung um den Besuch von Engeln verheißen worden waren, gleichzeitig geboren, sind also gleichaltrige Halbbrüder, die sich lediglich durch ihren unterschiedlichen sozialen Stand als Sohn der Patriarchin bzw. Sohn der Magd unterscheiden.<sup>49</sup> Der spätere Ahnherr der Araber Ismail ist dabei das aufgewecktere Kind der beiden. Dass er der Sohn ist, den Abraham auf seinen Schoß nimmt, während Isaak zur Seite des Vaters steht, führt schließlich zu dem Konflikt, der die Verstoßung von Hagar und Ismail aus dem Haus Abrahams und damit zur

44 Belege in Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels. Feministisch-theologische Studien zu Gen 11–36*, Berlin/New York 1994, S. 249.

45 Ebd.

46 Midrasch Bereschit Rabba (XL, V14), Hinweis in Fischer, *Erzeltern*, S. 249.

47 Philo Virt §217 (Hinweis von Dr. Heidrun Mader).

48 Vgl. auch die Schönheit des koranischen Propheten Josefs in Q 12, 31 und die Vergleiche von Josefs und Muhammads Schönheit in der Sira und weiteren Überlieferungen. Für mehrere Beispiele siehe Shalom Goldman, *The Wiles of Women, The Wiles of Men, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife in Ancient Near Eastern, Jewish, and Islamic Folklore*, Albany 1995, S. 83.

49 Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 5.

Wiedererrichtung der inzwischen verschütteten und ruinösen Mauern der Adamischen Ka'ba führt. Das Vertreiben Ismails aus Abrahams Schoß gibt der islamischen Deutung des Dramas eine neue typologische Stoßrichtung. Nach jüdischer und frühchristlicher Deutung ist der Schoß Abrahams ein Ort der behüteten Ruhe, an dem die Verstorbenen das Gericht bzw. den Messias erwarten und damit wiederum ein jenseitiger Ort.<sup>50</sup> Die Verstoßung Ismails aus dem Schoß Abrahams durch dessen Ehefrau ist damit mehr als ein Familienkonflikt über die Konkurrenz um Privilegien, sondern eine Art heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis, ähnlich wie die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Der Wunsch Saras, Hagar und Ismail zu verstoßen wird sogleich mit einer Eingebung durch den Engel Gabriel bekräftigt, woraufhin Abraham Mutter und Kind in die Wüste in die Nähe von Mekka führt. Hier läuft die verzweifelte Hagar mehrmals zwischen den Hügeln Safa und Marwa hin und her, kehrt ohne Hoffnung zu ihrem nahezu verschmachteten Sohn zurück und legt dort eine göttlich gefügte Quelle frei, die dann der Ort ist, an dem der noch heute im heiligen Bezirk der Ka'ba befindliche Brunnen Zamzam steht, um den sich seinerseits eine Vielzahl von Traditionen ranken. Es ist das Verdienst der Hagar, diese Quelle entdeckt und befestigt zu haben.

Das Hin- und Herlaufen zwischen den beiden bereits vorislamischen Kultorten Safa und Marwa wird im Ritus der Ḥajj wiederholt. Graham betont, dass dieses Laufen kein ‚reenactment‘ des Laufs der Hagar darstellt, sondern lediglich eines von mehreren Deutungsangeboten des Ritus darstellt. In der Tat wird das Schicksal Hagar in einigen islamischen Deutungen, etwa der philosophischen Interpretation der Ḥajj durch al-Ghazālī, gänzlich ignoriert bzw. ausgelassen. Bereits in Q 37:101f. ist der „Lauf-Ritus“ koranisch erwähnt und steht hier im Kontext des Erwachsenwerdens des Sohnes. Der Ort der Ka'ba wird damit explizit mit dem Ort der verhinderten Opferung des Sohnes Abrahams in Verbindung gebracht, die somit ebenfalls in Mekka, statt in Jerusalem, lokalisiert wird. Die im Koran subtil eingeführten biblischen Subtexte und ihre theologische Umdeutung<sup>51</sup> sind in den historischen und literarischen Texten des 9. Jh. nicht vergessen, aber ihnen werden andere Deutungen zur Seite gestellt.

Etwa verbindet sich das verzweifelte Hin- und Herlaufen Hagar mit dem „Rennen“ durch das Tal, welches die Historiker der Gefahr durch Überflutungen zuschreiben.<sup>52</sup> Die Verbindung von Safa und Marwa mit der biblischen Hagar ist, Rubin zufolge, vielmehr einem Interesse der Anciennität der Stätten und der Zamzam-Quelle geschuldet. Mehrere Kommentatoren und Historiker<sup>53</sup> behaupteten sogar, in der Bibel selbst sei die Entdeckung der Zamzam-Quelle erwähnt

50 In der neutestamentlichen Deutung schläft der arme Lazarus im Schoß Abrahams, während der Reiche ihn aus der Hölle ruft (Lk 16).

51 Siehe z.B. Neuwirth, *Verzauberung*, S. 231ff.

52 Rubin, „Ka'aba“, S. 125.

53 Abd al-Razzāq, al-Azraqī, Khargūshī, as-Suyūti und weitere zitiert in Rubin, „Ka'aba“, S. 110, FN 86.

und zwar mit dem *Beer-Lahai-Roi*, dem „Brunnen des Lebendigen, der mich sieht“ in Gen 16,14.<sup>54</sup> Die Bindung des Sohnes, die in der koranischen Erwähnung des Lauf-Ritus im Hintergrund steht, ist mit anderen biblischen und postbiblischen Wissensbeständen vermengt worden.

Die Zamzam-Quelle ist auf der Ebene des islamischen *rewritings* des Genesisstoffs das Wasser der Hoffnung, geboren aus der selbstlosen Liebe einer sozial isolierten, aber in Gottvertrauen geretteten Mutter. Es ist auf der historiographischen Ebene die Selbsteinschreibung des islamischen Narrativs in die Geschichte Israels in Mekka vermittelt der Zentralsetzung einer biblischen Nebenfigur.

#### 4.1 Zamzam – die Quelle, die Frau

In dieser Weise figuriert Hagar auch in der *Sira*, der Prophetenbiographie Ibn Hishāms. In der ‚genealogischen Vorhalle‘ zur Geburt Muhammads ist nun überhaupt nicht mehr von Abraham, sondern allein von Ismails Mutter Hagar die Rede, die das Überleben des Propheten Ismail durch Gebete auf den Hügeln in Safa und Marwa und Befestigung des Quellwassers gesichert hatte.<sup>55</sup> Der Brunnen Zamzam wird in der *Sira* zum Bindeglied zwischen der nur noch biblisch inspirierten Urgeschichte und den genealogischen und historischen Informationen über das kulturelle Leben im vorislamischen Mekka.

Das Narrativ, welches in eine Wiederentdeckung der Zamzam-Quelle durch den Großvater Muhammads ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib führt, ist selbst im Stil einer prophetischen Berufungslegende gehalten:

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib hat erzählt: Ich schlief einst an der Mauer des Tempels, als jemand zu mir kam und sagte: Grabe aṭ-Ṭayyiba (die Gute) auf! Ich fragte, was ist Ṭayyiba? Hierauf entschwand die Erscheinung. Am folgenden Tage, als ich wieder auf meiner Lagerstätte schlief, kam die Erscheinung wieder und sagte: Grabe al-Barrāh (die Reine) auf! Ich fragte: Was ist Barrāh? Und die Erscheinung verschwand wieder. Am dritten Tage kehrte sie wieder und sagte: Grabe al-Madhnūna (die Kostbare) auf! Ich fragte: Was ist Madhnūna? Und sie entfernte sich wieder. Am vierten Tage erschien mir wieder jemand, der mir sagte: Grabe Zamzam auf! Ich fragte: Was ist Zamzam? Man antwortete mir: Die, welche nie ausgeschöpft und nie wasserarm wird, welche den geehrten Pilger trinkt, sie liegt zwischen Unrat und Blut, bei dem Gekrähe des starken Raben, bei dem Ameisennest.

Als so der Zustand der Quelle und ihr Ort näher angegeben war, und er keinen Zweifel mehr an der Wahrheit dieser Angabe hatte, nahm er am folgenden Tage sein Hackeisen und fing an zu graben, und bei ihm war sein Sohn al-Harith, der damals noch sein Einziger war. Als der Brunnen zum Vorschein kam, pries er Gott. Als aber die Qureishiten merkten, dass

<sup>54</sup> Zu der philologisch mehrdeutigen Stelle und der Frage, wer wen sieht, siehe Fischer, *Erzählen*, S. 269.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Hisham, *Sira*, Bd. 1, S. 3ff.



ihm sein Unternehmen geglückt war, kamen sie herbei und sagten: Dies ist der Brunnen unseres Stammvaters Ismail, wir haben ein Recht daran; Du musst uns einen Anteil geben. Er aber weigerte sich und sagte: Er ist mir ausschließlich geschenkt worden.<sup>56</sup>

Der Bericht erinnert an das dreimalige Rufen Samuels (1 Sam 3), der ebenfalls im Tempel schlafend, die Stimme des Engels ebensowenig zuordnen kann wie hier der Großvater des Propheten. Das Missverständnis 'Abd al-Muṭṭalibs bezieht sich auf die weiblichen Epitheta der Quelle, die als „die Gute, die Reine, die Kostbare“ geadelt zugleich nahezu göttliche Attribute verliehen bekommt. Dieses Unverständnis des angeredeten Schlafenden ist vielsagend. Die Quelle, die er freizulegen aufgefordert wird, lässt sich nicht auf einen einheitlichen Begriff bringen, sondern bringt statt der vom Schlafenden/Träumenden begehrten eindeutigen Identifizierung nur je neue poetische Bezeichnungen ihres Namens hervor. Mit dem „Entdecken“ der Quelle im Traum scheint eine Infragestellung des Zugriffs der Ratio verbunden zu sein und eine Einführung der Tugend der Intuition bzw. des Glaubens, welche die weibliche Figur der Hagar mit dem Bild der Quelle und dem Phänomen der Offenbarung verbindet. Die Freilegung der Zamzam-Quelle kann insofern als eine notwendige Vorbedingung für die dann einsetzende Prophetenberufung Muhammads, des Enkels des im Tempel schlafenden und die Quelle neu aufgrabenden Protagonisten dieser kurzen „Offenbarungslegende“ gelesen werden.

Der spontane Versuch der Quraish, die Quelle über die genealogische Berufung auf den Patriarchen Ismail als eigenen Besitz zu beanspruchen, steht hier nicht im Zeichen einer „universalistischen“ versus „abrahamitischen“ Kontroverse, sondern einer Abgrenzung der islamischen Frömmigkeit gegenüber einer ethnischen, auf das Recht der Genealogie gründenden, arabischen Stammesidentität.

Es ist vor dem Hintergrund einer solchen (losen) Analogie der Quelle mit der Frau umso interessanter zu bemerken, dass Hagar selbst im Bericht al-Azraqīs nicht in den Haushalt Abrahams und Saras zurückkehrt, sondern eine partnerlose Frau in der Wildnis bleibt. Als Geschenk des Pharaos und Mutter Ismails hat sie eine ebenso komplexe wie schillernde Biographie. Die „einzige Frau, die Gott einen Namen gegeben hat“<sup>57</sup> wird im heiligen Bezirk in Mekka beerdigt und bleibt im kulturellen Gedächtnis des Islam verankert als weibliche Asketin bzw. als Frau, deren Kraft auf ihrem Mut zur Entsagung des Patriarchats zu beruhen scheint. Auf der Ebene der Narration der Geschichte Mekkas selbst kehrt Hagar, indem sie nicht in eine Konkurrenz um den Platz an der Seite Abrahams eintritt, den Eifersuchtskampf zwischen Engeln und Menschen um, der zu dem ursprüng-

56 Gustav Weil (Übers.), *Das Leben Mohammed's nach Mohammed ibn Ishaq*, bearb. von Abd al-Malik ibn Hisham, 2 Bde., Stuttgart 1864, S. 69f. (Transkriptionen der arabischen Begriffe angeglichen.)

57 Vgl. Benslama, *Psychoanalyse*, S. 132.

lichen Bau des Heiligtums in Mekka geführt hatte und ebnet damit den Boden für die Restauration der Ka'ba durch ihren Sohn:

### 5 Die patriarchale Urgeschichte: Abraham und Ismail bauen die Ka'ba

Der gemeinsame Bau der Ka'ba durch Abraham und Ismail ist der einzige Teil des Narrativs bei al-Azraqī, der eindeutig ‚koranisch‘ ist. Wir folgen weiter der Geschichte Mekkas: Nach dem Tod Hagars, dem Ansiedeln von Amalekiterstämmen und zwei weiteren Stämmen, Jurhum und Katura, im Gebiet von Mekka, in welche Ismail einheiratet, sucht Abraham seinen Sohn mehrfach auf.<sup>58</sup> Gemeinsam errichten Vater und Sohn unter Aufsicht eines Engels das kubusförmige Gebäude, integrieren einen vom Engel selbst beigebrachten Stein und vollziehen dann gemeinsam den ersten vollständigen Ḥajj-Ritus, der mit der Umrundung der Ka'ba beginnt, über den Gang zwischen Safa und Marwa zum Gedenken an Ismails Mutter führt und eine Begegnung mit dem Teufel einschließt. Auf dem Weg nach Mina kommt Abraham Iblis entgegen und dieser wird von jenem gesteinigt. Nach der Benennung des Ortes Arafat erhält Abraham den Sendungsbefehl an alle Menschen der Erde:

Abraham stellte sich nun auf den großen Stein, welcher sich alsbald erhob, so dass er alle Berge überragte, die ganze Erde und das Meer lag vor ihm ausgebreitet, er wandte sich nach den vier Himmelsgegenden und rief: „O ihr Menschen! Die Wallfahrt nach dem alten Hause ist euch vorgeschrieben, gehorchet eurem Herrn!“ Da antworteten sie aus den sieben Zonen, aus allen Ländern, die zwischen Morgen und Abend liegen: „Zu Befehl! O Gott! Zu Befehl!“ Wiewohl die Steine damals ebenso beschaffen waren wie jetzt, ließ Gott doch zum ewigen Andenken die Spuren der Füße Abrahams sich tief in diesen Stein eindrücken und er heißt noch jetzt der Stein Abrahams oder gewöhnlich nur *al-maqām*, d. h. der Standort.<sup>59</sup>

Die Vergrößerung Abrahams, dessen Ruf zur Pilgerfahrt, auf einem Stein des Heiligtums stehend, alle Völker der Erde erreicht, schlägt den Erzählbogen zurück zur Himmel und Erde vereinigenden Adamsgestalt. Auch die bestätigende Antwort der Völker: „Zu Befehl! O Gott, zu Befehl!“ legt eine Verwechslung bzw. Identifikation Abrahams mit Gott nahe, wie sie in der kosmischen Adam-Gestalt aufgerufen worden war. Diese Perspektive wird zugleich zurückgenommen, indem Gott selbst das Wunder der Einkerbung des Steins durch Abrahams Fuß und damit die „Rückstufung“ Abrahams zum Menschen, bewirkt.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Al-Azraqī, *Mekka*, S. 9f.

## 6 Die Deutung des Hauses ist die Schrift des *Oikos*

Was bedeuten nun unsere Beobachtungen biblischer, bibelexegetischer und gnostisch inspirierter Wissensbestände in den islamischen Geschichten zur Ka'ba und zur Ḥajj? Unser Befund besagt nicht primär etwas über die Vernetztheit der Wissenskulturen der Abbasidenzeit, denn es ließe sich auf einfacherem Wege darlegen, dass die Autoren über Bildung verfügten, die ihren rabbinischen und kirchenväterlichen Vorgängern nicht nachstand. Viel interessanter als der bloße Nachweis ‚vorislamischer Einflüsse‘ auf die islamische Interpretation des zentralen Heiligtums und einer der wichtigsten religiösen Riten scheint mir der Modus der Bezugnahme zu sein und noch interessanter: ihre Kombination zu einer strukturierten Geschichte, in der auf den ersten Blick disparate, widersprüchliche oder weltanschaulich getrennte Wissensbestände in eine schlüssige Erzählung überführt werden, die durch narrative Rückbezüge und literarische Deutungen eine eigene ‚Ökonomie‘ konstituieren. Noch einmal in der Zusammenfassung: Die literarische Verbindung von Abraham mit Adam in al-Azraqīs Geschichte Mekkas ist ein Indikator für die bewusste Verbindung beider Traditionen in der kontinuierlichen Erzählung der Stadtgeschichte und *gegen* die beliebige Verbindung zweier vermeintlich weltanschaulich konkurrierender Perspektiven auf den Ursprung des Heiligtums. Dass al-Azraqī diese *beiden* Varianten referiert und vermittels geschickter literarischer Aufarbeitung und historischer Deutung in ein sinnvolles und sogar notwendiges Verhältnis zueinander setzt, bricht auch dem Postulat einer bloßen ‚invention of history‘ die Pointe ab, denn gerade die Vielzahl an intertextuellen Bezügen und narrativen Umschriften biblischer und postbiblischer Zeugnisse zeigt deutlich, dass wir es in der ersten Geschichte Mekkas nicht mit einer ‚Erfindung‘ bzw. einem Postulat von Geschichte zu tun haben, sondern mit der Reflexion von Geschichte im Bewusstsein ihrer Mehrdeutigkeit. Das zweite Beispiel, Ibn Hishāms Vorgeschichte zur Prophetenberufung Muhammads durch die Wiederentdeckung des Wassers von Zamzam, ist noch deutlicher literarisch geprägt, wenn auch der Bezug zu der Berufung Samuels eine Andeutung bleibt, die nicht für das Verständnis der Erzählung zwingend ist. Sie erscheint mir aber deutlich genug, um zu argumentieren, dass die Entdeckung der Quelle Zamzam durch den Großvater Muhammads ihrerseits eine Art typologische Deutung nahelegt. Gerade da die Quelle nur lose in Verbindung mit der biblischen Hagar steht und darüber hinaus noch andere Erzählungen und Traditionen verbindet, sollten wir die Episode in Ibn Hishāms Prophetenbiographie als symbolischen, nicht positivistisch historischen Befund betrachten.

Im Modus der Andeutung, der konkreten oder unkonkreten Bezugnahme, der Umschrift und Ergänzung biblischen und postbiblischen Wissens geben die islamischen Historiker dem Haus (der Ka'ba) ihre Bedeutung und sie errichten zugleich den *oikos* eines Koran und Bibel umfassenden Schriftwissens. Anders als moderne Interpreten der Ḥajj suggerieren oder postulieren,<sup>60</sup> evozieren sie gerade keine ‚Tren-

60 Z.B. Muhammad Arkoun, s.o.

nung zweier Welten', indem sie eine symbolische und eine konkrete Bedeutung der Ḥajj und der Erzählungen von ihr klar unterscheiden würden. Die Bewegung des Pilgerns, die Reise zum ewigen Haus und seiner Umrundung konstituiert stattdessen ein Netzwerk unterschiedlicher Schriftbezüge und anderer religiöser Wissensbestände. Die Riten der Ḥajj sind keine triumphale Geschichtsaffirmation, sondern das Aufspannen eines Innenraums, dem der Erinnerung und dem der Schrift.

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# Performing Knowledge Economies: Changing and Exchanging Goods in Pre-Modern Ritual Communities\*

*Martin Gehlmann, Lennart Lehmhaus, and Falk Quenstedt*

One fundamental basis of the broader definition of the concept of *Wissensökonomie* is the neat intertwinement of different realms (social, cultural, religious, economic, media, scientific) – the *oikos* – in which knowledge and epistemic orders are negotiated, transformed and performed. The three case studies in this chapter address the transition from *oikos* to *oikonomien* from three different disciplinary angles (Korean Studies, German Medieval Literature, Jewish Studies) and with varying emphases. The authors seek to explore further in what way pre-modern knowledge circulations can be understood as ‘economies’. How do economic dimensions intermingle with other aspects within the complex processes of transfers of knowledge? Those epistemic *oikonomien of knowledge* are also situated within other, more obvious historical economies which they simultaneously transcend. Medieval courtly traditions on journeys were aware of actual systems of trade, currencies, and political allies (Quenstedt). The emergence of the Oksan academy builds on regional economic activities and the wider political or administrative system in Korea and China (Gehlmann). The knowledge exchange between rabbis and different healing experts is embedded within the ancient material and ideal “medical marketplace” (Lehmhaus).

A performative approach and a focus on ritualistic practices has proven a helpful lens for the application of the concept *Wissensökonomie* to rather diverse epistemic communities – late ancient rabbinic sages, medieval courts, premodern Korean academies. Consequently, rituals are not confined to the religious sphere or a specific institution, but are broadly understood as referring to very different ritualistic performances in varying contexts. The present chapter lets ritualistic or ritualized scenarios of trade, gift giving, exchange, and appropriation of objects and ideas take center stage. Their respective rhetorical, technical or artistic definitions, expressions and legitimizations were discursively, artistically or even bodily represented and performed.

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\* In line with most of the present volume, the following chapter is based on papers presented at the annual conference of the CRC/SFB 980 “Episteme in Motion” in 2018. The authors, together with Nora Schmidt, organized an eponymous workshop bringing together perspectives from German Medieval Literature, Korean Studies, and Jewish Studies.

This might happen through a medieval journey into foreign lands harboring wondrous things that trigger curiosity of both the protagonist and the audience. The somewhat formalized encounters with other rulers eventually bring about a ritualized exchange (Quenstedt). In Talmudic texts, the interaction with non-Jewish healing experts requires a mutual understanding of the ritualized transfer of medical knowledge and the willingness of the 'patient' to apply the cure, which embodies the exchange (Lehmhaus). In the Korean academies, we find multiple layers of rituals tied to the veneration of one specific scholar as well as a high degree of exchanges within a network of academies and with the wider sphere of influence of that institution (Gehlmann). This very moment of representation and performance is the venue where, through processes of ritual and trade, knowledge is actualized, transferred, de- and re-contextualized.

In various instances, the objects of trade possess a straightforward (monetary, prestigious) or indirect (ideal, religious, epistemic) economic function, while contributing to and shaping the circulation and exchange of knowledge associated with the ritual or performance. Such goods, at times being even marvelous species or creatures, might be characterized by their unfamiliarity, exoticness or difficulty to be acquired (*mirabilia*), as in Falk Quenstedt's study. In the case of the Oksan academy, the function of the transferred objects is manifold: they can take the form of ritualistic donations of both (sacrificial) food for the body and 'food for thought' (i.e. books) to the venerated scholar and the community at the academy. Moreover, Martin Gehlmann points to the very materiality of the printing activities of the academy that facilitated the emergence of its epistemic networks. In rabbinic texts, as Lennart Lehmhaus stresses, the exchange has a material dimension in recipes that include certain ingredients (*materia medica*), and a rather epistemic character with regard to the expertise that is transmitted.

Social and performative procedures of ritualized trade reflect a consciousness for social and epistemic order(s). Ritual practices are often understood as institutions through which a society, community or smaller group strive to (re)create or maintain their ordering regimes. Courtly practices (Quenstedt) often rely on a known and expected reciprocity within a 'gift economy' as do the donations and sacrifices in the Korean academy (Gehlmann). However, (religious) rituals, sacrifice in particular, besides its aspects of enforcing and re-enacting structures and stability, have an innate potential for transgression. Similarly, ritualized exchange of goods and knowledge often happens in a hybrid 'contact zone' that can be located in the realm of a non-Jewish healer (Lehmhaus) or in distant lands (Quenstedt). At the same time, this provides multiple possibilities for breaching norms or bending social borders. The initially suspicious interaction with non-Jewish experts appropriates outsider knowledge and in the end reinforces the superiority of the Talmudic corpus of traditions (Lehmhaus). The following studies set out to explore this dichotomy of order and transgression in pre-modern *Wissensoikonomien* that interlink performative practices, ritual(ized) transfers and epistemic communities.



### Case Study 1: Performing Recipes – trading medical knowledge in Talmudic texts (Lennart Lehmhaus)

Although rituals and the rules for rituals play an important role within rabbinic religious thought and practice, the present discussion will focus on less obvious ritual elements within the medical discourse in late antique Jewish traditions. These texts – from the early traditions (Mishnah and Tosefta; 3<sup>rd</sup> century) and the Jerusalem Talmud (approx. 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century) in Palestine to the Babylonian Talmud (6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century) in the East – form the traditional rabbinic corpus of knowledge dealing with many different realms of human life, from prayer to privy, and from the study house to the bath house.

Talmudic recipes and therapeutic instructions, often including actual healing rituals and connected to anecdotes, depict transfers of knowledge often through a somewhat ritualized and performative encounter, interaction and exchange of ideas between rabbinic sages and other non-rabbinic or even non-Jewish medical experts from different backgrounds (Roman noblewomen, Arab nomads/peasants, doctors, herbalists, midwives etc.). While traditionally seen merely as practical illustrations for the application of religious laws, I will stress the complex interplay between those medical anecdotes and other discursive elements in the Talmud and their function as “epistemic genres” and bodies of knowledge that were exchanged within or between performative *Wissensökonomien*.<sup>1</sup>

I will begin with a text that features such a medical anecdote and, fortunately, can be found in both the Western Palestinian and the Eastern Babylonian Talmudic traditions (*Shabbat/Avoda Zara*):

#### 1.1 Jerusalem Talmud; Shabbat 14, 4 (14d) [parallel in Avodah Zarah 2, 2 (40d)]<sup>2</sup>

[1] R. Abahu [said] in the name of R. Yohanan: “Therefore, *šifduna/ sofdina*-disease (צפדינה- ציפדונה) [scurvy?/ stomatitis?/ gum-disease?] is a danger [to life].”

[2] [Once] R. Yohanan suffered from this [illness] and he went to Timtinis/ the daughter of Dadmitinus in Tiberias to be healed by her. On the eve [before Shabbat], he went up to her and asked: “Will I need anything [for my cure] for tomorrow?”

(2.A) She said to him: “You do not need anything except for the **stones of dates**, half of them roasted. And some say: **Nicolaus [dates]** and the **husk of barley**, and **dried excrements of a small child**. Pulverize and anoint, but do not say anything before anyone!”

1 My current work will contribute to an annotated edition of medical passages from rabbinic literature in a new *Sourcebook Series on Ancient Sciences* (Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen), which forms part of a larger book project tentatively titled “Talmudic Bodies of Knowledge – Jewish Medical Episteme and Expertise in Late Antiquity”.

2 The translation is based on the manuscript of the Palestinian Talmud, MS Leiden Scaliger 3 (Ms. Or. 4720) based on the version of the *Ma'agarim* project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem. The text is available at <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il> (16.06.2019).

(2.B) [However,] the next day he came and taught it in public. Some say: she strangled herself. And some say: she became a proselyte.

[3] You learn from this three [things/ lessons].

(3.A) You learn from this that [the illness of] *šifduna/ šofdina*-disease is dangerous [to life].

(3.B) And you learn from this that one heals everything from the lips inwards [on Shabbat because of possible life-threatening effects].

(3.C) And you learn from it what R. Ya'aqov bar Acha said in the name of R. Yochanan: "If the [Non-Jewish practitioner] is a skilled doctor/ expert physician (*rofe uman/ רופא אומן*), [the healing] is permitted".

This section depicts Rabbi Yochanan, a famous rabbinic sage, who suffers from *šifduna/šofdina* disease, probably an inflammation in the mouth or the throat. He seeks treatment from a named female expert in the Galilee – *Timtinis* or *Bat Dadmitinus* ('daughter of Dadmitian').<sup>3</sup> In order to be on the safe side for Shabbat, when certain restrictions regarding the preparation of medicine and healing apply, Rabbi Yochanan asks her for a just-in-case remedy. The healer shares the recipe for a paste but sears the rabbi to secrecy. However, ignoring the woman's request for confidentiality, R. Yochanan transfers the cure directly to his colleagues in the study house. This causes the woman to react in two possible ways as proposed in the text. The first consequence, namely "conversion out of admiration for the superiority of the Jews, their Torah, and their God" is a stock motif in depictions of interactions between Jews and non-Jews in rabbinic texts. However, the purported suicide, which might reflect, in fact, the "social death" of the female expert due to the loss of her expert knowledge and source of income, seems more likely, as discussed in the following.

This brief episode, however, is also a rich source for studying some interrelated aspects of healing, knowledge transfer and religion in late antique *Wissens-oikonomien*.

First, we can mention the material aspects encapsulated. Trading medical knowledge is in many instances strongly connected to trading material knowledge and to the actual trade of specific *materia medica*, as mentioned in the text. A cautious comparison of the ailment and the recipe and its ingredients reveals astonishing similarities with pharmaceutical approaches shared across ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Graeco-Roman (Dioscorides, Pliny, the Elder, Galen, Pseudo-Apuleius, *Medicina Plinii*) medical traditions.<sup>4</sup>

3 Cf. the reading in y.Shabbat vs. the Palestinian Talmud in y.Avoda Zara 2,2 (40d) referring to her as *Timtinis*. For the name and cultural background of this female pharmaceutical expert, see Tal Ilan, "'Stolen Water is Sweet': Women and their Stories between Bavli and Yerushalmi," in: *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture III*, ed. Peter Schäfer, Tübingen 2002, pp. 185–224, esp. pp. 191–195.

4 For a more comprehensive discussion, see Lennart Lehmann, "Beyond *Dreckapotheke*, between facts and feces: Talmudic recipes and therapies in context", in: *Collecting Recipes. Byzantine*

Second, we may identify two performances of an exchange of knowledge. The first is realized in the first part of the anecdote as the transfer of the actual recipe from the female expert to her patient, i.e. R. Yohanan. The second transfer is performed by R. Yohanan in an unexpected context, when he reveals the cure to his colleagues in the study house or even to the broader public.

Third, one may discern a performed knowledge transfer regarding rabbinic religious law (Halakhah) that is not to be found within the anecdote. Rather the (anonymous) redactors emphasized the educational value by presenting three final lessons. First, the anecdote stresses the danger of this specific disease. Second, it substantiates the concept of “healing everything from the lips inward” and connects it to the principle that life-endangering medical situations rule out Sabbath-laws. Finally, this refers to broader halakhic discussions about the trustworthiness of healing experts, especially of non-Jewish healers.

Finally, the occurrence of the same traditions in two related tractates of the Palestinian Talmud, and of a close parallel in the Babylonian Talmud, indicates already an internal transfer – namely within the rabbinic *Wissensökonomie* spanning several centuries and localities in the West and in the East. Especially in the version of the Babylonian Talmud, one might see that the historical and discursive contexts make a huge difference regarding form and content.<sup>5</sup> The discussion is embedded within a broader discourse on non-rabbinic/Jewish healing and the anecdote supports the principle that “one should heal everything from the lips inwards” because of possible threats to life:

I Rabbi Yoḥanan suffered from *šifduna/šofdina-disease*.<sup>6</sup>

I.A) He went to a certain *matronita*.<sup>7</sup> She prepared [a remedy for him on] Thursday and Friday. [Rabbi Yoḥanan] said to her: “What [shall I do] tomorrow [on Shabbat, when he cannot attend the healer]?” She said to him: “You will not need [it]”. [Rabbi Yoḥanan asked her]: “If I do need [something], what [shall I take]”? She said to him: “Take an oath to me that you will not reveal [the remedy/recipe]!”. [Rabbi Yoḥanan] took an oath to her: “By the God of the Jews, I will not reveal it”. She revealed [the remedy/recipe] to him.

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and *Jewish Pharmacology in Dialogue*, ed. by Matteo Martelli and Lennart Lehmhaus, Berlin/Boston 2017, pp. 221–254.

5 On the transfer and transformation of rabbinic traditions between Palestine and Babylonia, see Christine Hayes, *Between the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud. Accounting for Halakhic Difference in Selected Sugyot from Tractate Avodah Zarah*, New York/Oxford 1997; Alyssa M. Gray, *A Talmud in Exile. The Influence of Yerushalmi Avodah Zarah on the Formation of Bavli Avodah Zarah*, Providence 2005.

6 For a parallel in a different tractate, see Yoma 84a. For my translations of the Babylonian Talmud, I have consulted the manuscript versions and printed editions in the Sol and Evelyn Henkind Talmud Text Databank of the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research (<http://www.lieberman-institute.com>).

7 Usually *matronita* designates a non-Jewish (Roman) woman. But it might refer at times also to a (non-Jewish or Jewish) woman of that name.

I.B) The following day, [Rabbi Yoḥanan] went out and taught it in public (a public lecture?). [...]⁸  
 [After this a discussion about the specific disease continues]

There are some striking differences in form and content in the variants of this narrative. The Palestinian Talmud (*Yerushalmi*), due to the original context of permitted and forbidden (healing) actions on Shabbat, clearly focuses on the question of medical emergency (i. e., is this a dangerous, possibly life-threatening condition) as well as on the recipe and the sorts of preparations involved that might be forbidden on Shabbat. The Babylonian Talmud in *Avoda Zara* (*Foreign Worship*) 28a does not provide a detailed recipe for reasons I will explain in a moment. Instead, the passage deals on the overarching level with the permissibility of interaction with non-Jewish healers, which could involve idolatrous or other forbidden practices. Moreover, it discusses the legitimacy of the tricking of the healer that made her reveal her (esoteric?) knowledge to R. Yohanan.

However, one cannot avail oneself of the impression that the medical information as well as the description of the social interaction must have been of interest beyond the confinements of the local, religious or juridical discussion. In a manner characteristic of the Babylonian Talmud, the authors used this anecdote as a steppingstone to add a host of medical information – about symptoms, etiologies and cures for *ṣofđinal/ṣifđuna* and numerous other ailments – running over two additional folio pages in the standard printed edition. This part starts as follows:

R. Nahman b. Isaac said: *ṣifđunah*-disease is different, because though starting in the mouth it extends to the intestines.

- A) What are its symptoms? If he places anything between his teeth, blood comes from the gums.
- B) What brings it on? The chill of cold wheat-food and the heat of hot barley-food; also the remnant of fish-hash and flour.
- C) What did she [i. e., the female healer in the preceding narrative] apply to it?
  - C.1) Said R. Aha the son of Raba: leaven-water with olive oil and salt.
  - C.2) Mar son of R. Ashi said: Goose-fat smeared with a goose-quill.
  - C.3) Said Abaye: I did all this but was not healed until a certain Arab (*Taya'a*) told me to get seeds of an olive not one third ripe and burn them on a new spade and spread [the ashes] on the gums; which I did and was cured.

Building on a complex *oikonomie of knowledge*, the compilers provided here a structured disease taxonomy modelled after common patterns of Talmudic legal discourse. Their discussion covers the actual symptoms, possible aetiologies of this disease, and different therapeutic approaches that draw possibly on local knowledge.

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8 Here follows a discussion about the morality of cheating the healer with an oath that refers to God.

Abbaye's final opinion not only introduces another cure, but also, by deploying a multi-layered strategy of experiential proof, this rabbinic scholar performs a knowledge transfer that should qualify as most compelling. First, in a manner common to ancient competitive science, he refers to the uselessness of the remedies proposed by the two other rabbis.<sup>9</sup> Second, Abbaye privileges his expertise via the source of "his" recipe functioning as a strong marker of local knowledge and authenticity. It stems from a personal encounter with a *Taya'a*, an Arabic nomad, merchant or peasant who, as a stock-character, is depicted in rabbinic texts as having exclusive access to knowledge of human bodies and nature.<sup>10</sup> Third, Abbaye finally proves the recipe's efficacy by referring to his own experience of full convalescence through his readiness to prove the benefit of the recipe.

One may discern here the performance of knowledge transfer on two intertwined levels. On the level of the medical narrative itself, it is Abbaye who applies the recommended cure to his own body – a rather perilous way of testing in ancient times. However, his empirical curiosity fends off his fellow rabbis' advice as mere abstract, second-hand knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Ancient medical texts make frequent use of similar strategies of self-assertion and legitimation by deploying first-person statements about experience and empirical proofs as well as efficacy labels or phrases in order to foster their claims to expertise.<sup>12</sup> In Greek medicine, especially

9 Ancient scientific or medical authors often did not shy away even from defamation of competing colleagues or rivaling groups and schools. Cf. Laurence Totelin, "And to End on a Poetic Note: Galen's Authorial Strategies in the Pharmacological Books", in: *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 43 (2012), pp. 307–315, esp. p. 311.

10 On the *Tayaya* or *Tayaye* in rabbinic texts, see Carol Bakhos, *Ishmael on the Border: Rabbinic Portrayals of the First Arab*, Albany 2006, p. 159, n. 70; and Reuven Firestone, *An Introduction to Islam for Jews*, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 5–9. Sara Ronis, in her paper "Taming the Other: The Magical Arab in Rabbinic Literature" (presented at the SBL Annual Meeting in San Antonio, Texas, 20 November 2016), has drawn some thought provoking parallels between the rabbinic discursive deployment of the *Tayaya* and the film trope of the "magical negro" in American cinema. For the reference to the reputation of certain experts or ancient authorities as sources for a recipe, see Ulrike Steinert, "'Tested' Remedies in Mesopotamian Medical Texts: A Label for Efficacy Based on Empirical Observation?", in: *In the Wake of the Compendia: Infrastructural Contexts and the Licensing of Empiricism in Ancient and Medieval Mesopotamia*, ed. J. Cale Johnson, Berlin/Boston 2015, pp. 103–145, esp. pp. 125–132.

11 The deployment of such strategies of personal case stories about cures and tested remedies figures prominently also in other Talmudic medical clusters. In the same tractate (*Avoda Zara*), we find a description of a disease, its cure, different other applications and diverse modes of preparation. It concludes with a knowledge transfer of a recipe between a *Taya'a* and R. Papa who empirically proves its effectiveness.

12 In Mesopotamian medicine, one finds a range of 'tested remedies' and efficacy labels or phrases, which imply "that knowledge of effective drugs and remedies had been acquired through practical experience and repeated trials and formed an important part of medical knowledge." Cf. Steinert, "'Tested' Remedies", p. 104. For the strategic use of "I" and first-person claims in ancient scientific texts, see Totelin, "And to end on a poetic note", pp. 308–310; Thorsten Fögen, *Wissen, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung: Zur Struktur und Charakteristik römischer Fachtexte der frühen Kaiserzeit*, München 2009, esp. pp. 106–289; the contributions in Aude Doody and Liba Taub (eds.), *Authorial Voices in Greco-Roman Technical Writing*, Trier 2009; and Jason König, "Self-Assertion and Its Alternatives in Ancient Scientific and Technical

in Galen and the authors of later medical compilations, “qualified experience” (*di-orismene peira*), is crucial for acquiring and authorizing pharmacological knowledge.<sup>13</sup> Such Statements in which the rabbi figures not only as a discussant of medical topics but also as recommender and even recipient of cures serve often as “final proofs”. The personal knowledge and involvement of the rabbis safeguards the validity and appropriateness of therapeutic knowledge and paves the way for a smooth integration into the Talmudic corpus.<sup>14</sup>

This takes us to the level of the broader transfer performed by the (anonymous) redactors of the Talmud and throughout its further history of reception. Through Abbaye’s authoritative statement the specific recipe stemming from a source of exclusive, non-rabbinic knowledge is disclosed, incorporated in the Talmud’s textual universe, and made available to future recipients. Moreover, this move of disclosure and the *Taya’a’s* recipe serve as an intertextual connector between the Palestinian and Mesopotamian *Wissensoikonomien*. Abbaye’s case resembles the stories in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud about R. Yochanan seeking advice from the female healer and disclosing her pharmaceutical knowledge. This trope connects two great rabbis suffering from the same disease who were cured because of their willingness to empirically interact with non-rabbinic informants and to adopt their expertise.<sup>15</sup>

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Writing”, in: *Authority and Expertise in Ancient Scientific Culture*, ed. by Jason König and Greg Woolf, Cambridge 2017, pp. 1–26.

- 13 Totelin, “And to end on a poetic note”, p. 310. For the concept of “qualified experience” in Galen, see Philip van der Eijk, “Galen’s Use of the Concept of “Qualified Experience” in his Dietetic and Pharmacological Works”, in: *Galen on Pharmacology: Philosophy, History and Medicine*, ed. Armelle Debru, Leiden 1997, pp. 35–57.
- 14 Moreover, as we can see in other passages, there exists a tendency to attribute those observations and teachings to particular sages (Mar Samuel/Abbaye/R. Chisda/R. Papa etc.) who figure prominently in Talmudic tradition as experts of secular knowledge (medicine, astronomy, biology, etc.). This connection is even stronger and more authoritative when these “experts” are also renowned halakhic luminaries. Samuel and Abbaye, for example, were traditionally regarded as important heads of the rabbinic academies in Babylonia. However, instead of simply imagining all those rabbis as expert physicians, one should analyze these attributions as a deliberate discursive strategy of the editors or redactors. On the rabbinic academies as places of general learning and scientific or medical training in the context of the Sassanian Empire and Syriac Christianity, see Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Philadelphia 2006, p. 94f.; and Peter Bruns, “Von Bischöfen, Ärzten und Asketen – Schnittpunkte von Christentum und Medizin im spätantiken Sassanidenreich”, in: *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphono. Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, ed. by George A. Kiraz, Piscataway, NJ 2008, pp. 29–42.
- 15 Strikingly, the actual recipe, its ingredients and the form of application resemble very closely the cure prescribed by the female healer as it is described in the Palestinian Talmud’s parallel of this passage. Her recipe includes as the main substance the ashes of (half) burnt date stones, mixed with barley husk and excrements of a young child. For an in-depth inquiry into the *materia medica* in the Palestinian Talmud, see Lehmhaus, “Between fact and Feces”.

### 1.2 Rabbinic and late antique *oikonomies* of knowledge

If we consider the actor-network dimension of these ancient *oikonomies* of knowledge, both passages illustrate the rather diverse and complex nature of ancient healing expertise. Medical knowledge was neither neatly defined nor confined to one particular group of professionals. Rather, healing was shared and contested among different experts and lay people with access to relevant knowledge. R. Yochanan's and Abbaye's socio-medical encounters dovetail with the model of the intellectually and economically highly competitive "medical marketplace".<sup>16</sup> In light of recent studies such as Heidi Wendt's *At the Temple Gate*, one may understand these dense networks of knowledge as a collaboration and competition between various medical "freelance experts" who blurred modern disciplinary distinctions. Those practitioners seldom fit dichotomous categories such as popular vs. learned knowledge, religion vs. science, or magic vs. rationalism.<sup>17</sup>

On the level of the *oikos*, as a system that permanently negotiates the dynamics of social or religious order, the interactions between the rabbis and the female healers and the 'native' character of the Arab shed light on dimensions of otherness and identity entangled in ancient discourses about healing experts. Foreignness was not always a disadvantage and many practitioners utilized this label to promote their special expertise. Still, the social, ethnic or religious background of a healer was always prone to suspicion and (false) accusation. This evokes not only the complex discussion about gentile healing in rabbinic texts but invites discussions about strategies to delineate social boundaries, while concurrently transgressing them in many ways.

Maybe all too hastily, the non-Jewish background of the female experts named *Timtinis* and *Matronita*<sup>18</sup> has been taken for granted. Even if we would understand *Timtinis* and *Matronita* as Jewish healing experts, they still belong to another category of rabbinic otherness, namely women. Gender biases accompanied ancient healing traditions and the transfer of knowledge therein. Ancient societies and especially male elites or competing practitioners constructed neat connections between female medical knowledge and the spheres of illicit magic and witchcraft. R. Yochanan's exploitation of the female healer with some life-changing, if not life-ending, consequences may corroborate this pattern. In similar instances, rabbis deploy a common strategy labelled aptly by Charlotte Fonrobert as "displacement

16 For the pluralism of healing experts and medicine as a public art, see Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London/New York 2013, pp. 254–278. Besides the (un)named female experts and the indigenous Arab/*Taya'a*, rabbinic texts feature a variety of other healing experts, such as a few named doctors (Thodos/Theodoros, the 'mother' of Abbaye/*Em shel Abayye*) still to be studied in detail.

17 Cf. Heidi Wendt, *At the Temple Gates. The Religion of Freelance Experts in the Roman Empire*, New York/Oxford 2016, esp. pp. 6–36, and 114–145.

18 On this woman see Tal Ilan, "Matrona and Rabbi Jose: An Alternative Interpretation", in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 25 (1994), pp. 18–51. On *matronita* as one of the ten most popular names, see Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity Part 2: Palestine 200–650*, Tübingen 2012, p. 47.

of the native speakers" and by Tal Ilan as "silencing". According to this pattern, rabbis first adopt, then gradually conceal or even replace first-hand experience or expert knowledge (e.g., menstruating women, female healers, dream interpreters etc.) and the names of the transmitters within their discussions of the matter.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.3 Talmudic medical discourse in the context of late antique *Wissensoikonomien*

Let me conclude, with some more general observations regarding Talmudic medical knowledge as *oikonomies of knowledge*. Its discursive layout might be best described as a complex intertwining of rules, observations, case-stories or anecdotes, as well as diagnostic, prognostic and taxonomic approaches. As non-medical texts, they compare more closely to the open and less technical discussions in some late antique encyclopaedias, compilations, and handbooks or Christian traditions, than they do with Galen's structured and theoretical treatises. In Talmudic medical discourse, the dimensions of religious rules (Halakha), ethics and epistemology are deeply entangled.

In both sample texts, medical information and case-stories function as explanatory tools for a general or abstract rule (e.g., "healing in cases of emergency overrules Shabbat restrictions" or "gentile healing is only permitted from skilled medical practitioners"). This would conform to the still common view of medical and other scientific discourses as subjugated to the Halakhic superstructure – functioning as casuistic illustrations within a preexisting system of rules ('the law'). While this is certainly one aspect, I submit that these Talmudic medical discussions also attest to the rabbis' distinct scientific interest. We should rather examine medical anecdotes, in the present discussion, or other formats (lists, recipes, taxonomies) as "epistemic genres" in which the core-features of Talmudic discourse merge: commentary, dialectics and knowledge making. Based on the work of Gianna Pomata, I understand those Talmudic devices not only as formal containers but as "vehicles of a cognitive project" that are "appropriated and constantly transformed" by their users.<sup>20</sup> Many passages feature, in fact, an epistemic added value. In order to fulfill their halakhic, explanatory function, the editors were not compelled to incorporate a large number of additional technical information (diagnosis, therapies, aetiologies etc.) that transcends the immediate discussion.

However, the epistemic "thinking in cases" and the frequent use of questions as structural markers (e.g. "what are the symptoms?"; "where does it come from?"; "what is the remedy?") tie in well with general discursive tendencies in rabbinic

<sup>19</sup> For general tendencies, see *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, ed. by Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayna S. Kalleres, New York/Oxford 2014. For female expertise in Talmudic sources, see Tal Ilan, *Silencing the Queen. The Literary Histories of Shelamzion and Other Jewish Women*, Tübingen 2006, esp. pp. 167–172; and Charlotte Fonrobert, *Menstrual Purity. Rabbinic and Christian Reconstructions of Biblical Gender*, Stanford 2000, esp. pp. 128–159, and here: p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Gianna Pomata, "The Medical Case Narrative: Distant Reading of an Epistemic Genre", in: *Literature and Medicine* 32/1 (2014), pp. 1–23.



traditions. Intriguingly, these typical features of ancient and premodern “epistemic genres” do not appear to be out of place in the Talmudic medical discussion. On the contrary, medical knowledge drawing here on familiar rabbinic forms like the precedent, the anecdote or Talmudic dialectics and terminology becomes neatly interlaced with its wider discursive context.

We may explore the Talmudic epistemic projects through their diverse cultural embeddedness in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world. The study of the rabbis’ epistemologies enters into a dialogue with recent scholarship that shifted its focus from small elites of experts, ancient ‘scientists’ so to speak, who authored a confined corpus of technical literatures to include broader networks of knowledge making.<sup>21</sup> The observation that ancient sciences were “profoundly responsive to philosophical and religious ideas and to social and cultural conditions”<sup>22</sup> is in accordance with Talmudic modes of accumulating, appropriating and producing knowledge. Not fitting into a distinct genre of technical expert literature, medical discussions and information are represented within a vast body of Talmudic literature that might be described as *encyclopaedic* or *paideia*-like *oikonomies of knowledge* that link approaches to understanding bodies and the natural world with religious law, theology, ethics and ritual. In this regard, rabbinic medical discourse corresponds with a similar tendency in early Christian traditions.<sup>23</sup>

To frame rabbinic strategies of interaction with and appropriation of what has often been called in earlier research ‘foreign knowledge’ – mostly referring to Graeco-Roman science – as a *Wissensoikonomie* defies earlier notions of passive reception. Accordingly, one should rather address simultaneously the participation of Jewish traditions in wider exchanges of ancient (scientific) knowledge but also varying and specifically Jewish attitudes towards different types and practices of knowledge making (e.g. empirical/ revealed/ exegetical embodied etc.). Such a combined approach may reveal distinct Talmudic ways of knowing and sets of epistemic criteria that created and appropriated medical knowledge of the body, which ultimately became incorporated into dynamic Talmudic *oikonomies of knowledge*.

21 Cf. Daryn Lehoux, *What Did the Romans Know? An Inquiry into Science and Worldmaking*, Chicago 2012; Francesca Rochberg, “The History of Science and Ancient Mesopotamia”, in: *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 1/1 (2014), pp. 37–60; Ead., *Before Nature. Cuneiform Knowledge and the History of Science*, Chicago 2016; Jürgen Renn, “From the History of Science to the History of Knowledge – and Back”, in: *Centaurus* 57 (2015), pp. 37–53.

22 Nancy Siraisi, “Early Anatomy in Comparative Perspective: Introduction”, in: *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50 (1995), pp. 3–10, here: p. 3. Cf. Philip van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity. Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease*, Cambridge 2005; Liba Taub, *Science Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge 2017.

23 Cf. Heidi Marx-Wolf, “Medicine”, in: *Late Ancient Knowing: Explorations in Intellectual History*, ed. by C. Mike Chin and Moulie Vidas, Berkeley 2015, pp. 80–98; Heidi Marx-Wolf, Jared Secord, Christoph Marksches (eds.), *Health, Medicine, and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, (Studia Patristica Vol. LXXX), 2017; Kristi Upson-Saia and Heidi Marx-Wolf (eds.), *Religion, Medicine, Disability and Health in Late Antiquity*, A special issue of the *Journal of Late Antiquity* 8/2 (2015).

### Case Study 2: The Rituals of Oksan Academy (Martin Gehlmann)

To choose a Confucian academy for a case study on *Wissenoikonomie* seems like a rather straight-forward affair. Conventionally, Confucian academies are understood as educational institutions that codified the transfer of knowledge between teacher and pupil – or in more period-appropriate terms, master and disciple – within a regulated space that in all its relationships can easily be viewed as a self-contained *oikos* of knowledge. However, academies were not isolated institutions away from Korean society, even if their members preferred to describe them as such. In reality, the Confucian academies of Korea were not only products of the political, intellectual, and economic discourses of their time and region but actively participated in, and sometimes even dominated, them. Therefore, employing the concept of *Wissenoikonomie* as a hermeneutic tool to trace how the external relations shaped the internal understanding of the academy and vice versa might prove useful to understanding how knowledge about the role of the academies changed and evolved. In the following, I would like to use the example of Oksan Academy<sup>24</sup> during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1897) in Korea to show how the term *Wissenoikonomie*, with a focus on rituals, can help to visualize the multidirectional interconnectedness of an institution.

Confucian academies originated in China during the Tang dynasty (618–907), but flourished in the Song dynasty (960–1279) as institutions that were mostly, but not exclusively, located in the countryside. Due to their connection to the emergence of a reformed interpretation of the Confucian canon, often subsumed under the term Neo-Confucianism, Confucian academies are often understood as the educational institutions of this new intellectual current. The most famous academy was the White Deer Grotto Academy, which as a school had existed since Tang times but under the guidance of the famous scholar Zhu Xi (1130–1200) was molded into becoming the model for many of the later academies. This holds especially true for Chosŏn Korea, where Zhu Xi's interpretation of Confucianism became orthodoxy and unlike China was never overtly challenged. Academies only appeared on the Korean peninsula from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but then spread at an explosive rate so that already around one hundred such institutions existed at the end of the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1568–1608), about fifty years after the first academy was founded.<sup>25</sup>

Oksan Academy was founded in 1572 by disciples and family members of the Korean scholar Yi Ŏnjŏk (1491–1553) at his former place of residence in the south-

24 The name translates to Jade Mountain Academy. Many academies were named with toponyms according to geographical locations in their vicinity, but some were also named after historical figures or events. Chaok Mountain (lit. Purple Jade Mountain) is located across from the academy and well visible from its main hall. All following general information on the history of Oksan Academy, if not indicated otherwise, is taken from Lee Soo-hwan, Yi Gwang-woo, et al., *Oksan Sŏwŏn* (Oksan Academy), Sŏngnam 2018.

25 See Eun-Jeung Lee, Sŏwŏn, *Konfuzianische Privatakademien in Korea Wissensinstitutionen der Vormoderne*, Frankfurt a. M. 2016, p. 88.

eastern part of the Korean peninsula, not far from the ancient capital Kyōngju which then served as the regional administrative center. Yi Ŏnjök was worshipped in the shrine of the academy and its members periodically contributed funds to publish his collected writings through the book printing facilities of the academy. The academy was acknowledged by the royal court, in modern-day Seoul, in the form of an official charter handed down in 1573 and afterwards on several occasions it received royal bestowals of the books from the Confucian canon. Escaping destruction during the Japanese invasion at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Oksan Academy went on to become one of the most important and well-known academies of Korea.

Today the Confucian academies of Korea are often understood as having originated as educational institutions located in remote locations that, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, transformed into purely religious institutions which often were operated by descent groups that worshipped a focal ancestor.<sup>26</sup> More recently, studies have emerged that focus on the role of the academies as regional economic powers in their community. However, studies of the academies are still fairly often reduced to one of these aspects, and thus the interplay between their different functions and their role within the social environment is missed.<sup>27</sup> Although here I will also focus on the rituals of Oksan Academy, I do so in order to show how the sacrificial offerings in the academy shrine actually integrated the different functions and relations of the academy's internal and external world.

Rituals were an intrinsic part of education in the premodern Confucian world. Since ancient times the highest school in the capital and the smaller schools in the countryside included a shrine to Confucius. The distinguishing feature of academies in Korea was that most were founded to worship local Korean scholars instead of the orthodox Confucian pantheon.<sup>28</sup> Like many other academies, Oksan Academy was founded at a place that was closely connected to the life of its enshrined figure. Yi Ŏnjök was not only born close to the academy's location, but also spent some time there in reclusion after he was expelled from his government post in 1532 for criticizing the advancement of a powerful minister. After returning to official duty in 1537 he was exiled from high office at the court during the purge of 1545 and sent into exile to the northern border town of Kanggye, where he died six years later. In 1572 the local magistrate in the city of Kyōngju Yi Chemin (1528–1608) accepted the request by several of Yi Ŏnjök's disciples to build an

26 For a thorough overview of this development see Martina Deuchler, *Under the Ancestor's Eyes. Kinship, Status, and Locality in Premodern Korea*, Cambridge Mass. 2015, pp. 358–363.

27 One study that recently has attempted to promote a more socially involved study of Confucian Academies in China is Xiao Yongming, *Ruxue, shuyuan, shehui: shehui wenhua shi shiye zhong de shuyuan* [Confucianism, academies, and society: a sociocultural historical perspective on academies], Beijing 2012.

28 This practice was later widely abused and led to the massive number of academies on the Korean peninsula, as people started enshrining family members. See Ch'oe Yōnggho, "The Private Academies (Sōwōn) and Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosōn Korea", in: *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21, no. 2 (December 2008), 176–177.

academy in their master's honor and provided finances, land, and slaves for the project. The establishment of the academy was further supported by members of Yi Ŏnjök's family, who later also offered lands to provide funds for the upkeep of the academy.<sup>29</sup> All of these groups had personal interest in the institutional worship of Yi: Patronage for the academy by the magistrate satisfied the scholars and the powerful descent group of Yi Ŏnjök, which made it easier to uphold order in the region and in turn ensured the magistrates further advancement in government service. The scholars gained not only a place to continue their studies, but also the infrastructure to maintain their school in perpetuity. Similarly, the descent group of Yi Ŏnjök looked to the academy as an investment because academy lands were relieved from taxation and also, like the scholars, as an elevation of their own status through the continued worship of their ancestor/master in the academy.

The rites within the academy, at least theoretically, followed the standard *sökch'ae* rites that were first mentioned in the Confucian classic the *Record of Rites*. The term can loosely be translated as vegetable rites, but it was standard practice in the academies to use sacrificial animals as offerings. In fact, due to its close location to the eastern sea of Korea the offerings of Oksan Academy besides a slaughtered pig, chestnuts, millet, rice, more vegetables, and silks also included dried seafood.<sup>30</sup>

This reflects the wide range of economic enterprises the academy was engaged in. Already in 1694 Oksan Academy controlled a large number of fields and rice paddies in the surrounding regions, which were either leased to tenant farmers or worked by the academy's slaves. The property of the academy as well as purchases and sales were carefully recorded in a ledger of several pages, which shows that besides its land holdings the academy also owned fishing ventures and boats and was involved in the lucrative salt trade.<sup>31</sup> In the first one hundred years of its existence, the academy had further acquired a large number of slaves. Originally given twelve slaves by the Kyöngju magistrate in 1578 this number had grown to 58 slaves already by 1629 and about sixty years later in 1694, a total of 130 are recorded as property of the academy even though twelve of them had run away.<sup>32</sup> The academy mostly received its slaves from bestowals from the local or central government or from private donations but in some cases also as the result of debt as this document of Yongsan Academy, like Oksan Academy located in the Kyöngju area, shows.

29 See Lee Soo-hwan, "Oksan Söwön kwa Yöju Yi ssi [Oksan Academy and the Yöju Yi Clan]", in: *Han'guk kyebo yön'gu* [Korean Genealogical Studies] 5 (2014), p. 25.

30 See *Oksan Söwön chi* [Records of Oksan Academy], Kyöngsan, 1993, pp. 147–158.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 354–358

32 The number of slaves would reach its highest amount in 1723 for which the record shows nearly two hundred slaves as property of the academy. However, only a part of them would be put to work directly for the academy, as many were too old, but were still cared for by academy resources. Others, even though technically property of the academy, were tending fields in other prefectures or even provinces and only had to send fixed amounts of their income to the academy. This is a special characteristic of the Korean slavery system. *Ibid.*, p. 53–59.

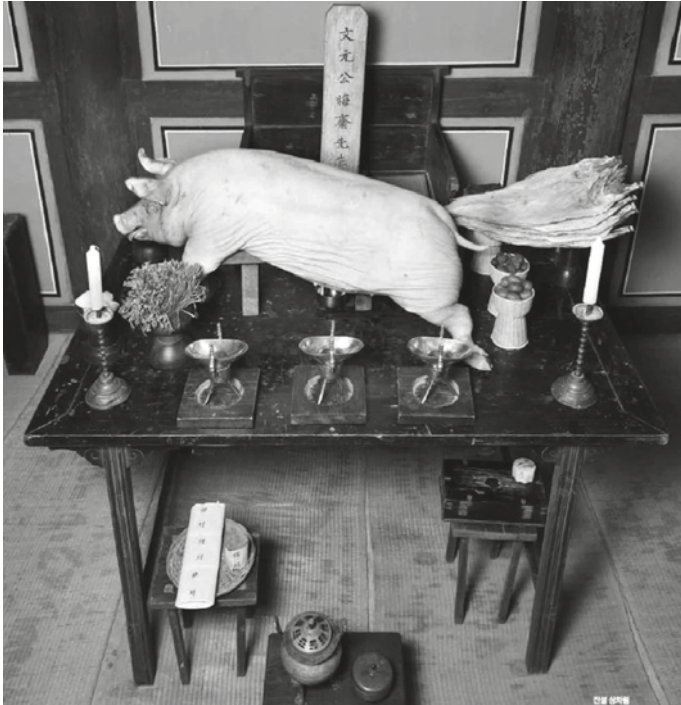


Fig. 1: A picture of the offerings and ritual instruments presented during the main rituals for Yi Ŏnjök in Oksan Academy. Note the spirit tablet with Yi's honorific name and his status as a member of the state cult at the back of the table.  
(Picture courtesy of Lee Byoung-Hoon).

The sixth year of Jiaqing (1801), second month, second day. A document to Ugae, the slave-in-chief of the Yongsan Academy. As to what this document pertains, the reason [for the transaction] is that I have many debts to the academy and yet I have no means to repay them. Therefore, I cannot help but set the value of my ten-year-old daughter Geonlijin and my seven-year-old second daughter Geonlideok, two persons in total. I take seventeen strings of cash for them and the sale to the academy is permanent. Should there be dispute at a later date, take this document and report to the authorities for justice to this matter.

[Seller] Father Amwi [Signed with fingerjoint]

Witness, Yongbong, Storage Keeper

Scribe, Kim Mangu<sup>33</sup>

33 This document was translated as part of the Jangseogak Archives Hanmun translation workshop in 2017. With an introduction by Park Youngsuk, "Yongsan söwön suno u pal chamae myöngmun (Document of Self-selling to head slave U of Yongsan Academy)," See [http://dh.aks.ac.kr/jsg/index.php/2017\\_JSG\\_Summer\\_Hanmun\\_Workshop](http://dh.aks.ac.kr/jsg/index.php/2017_JSG_Summer_Hanmun_Workshop) (31.10.2019).

While the Korean slavery system was already in decline when this document was drafted, it nevertheless highlights not only the economic dominance that academies held within their locales, but more importantly that female slaves were used in the academies. While women were institutionally excluded from attending the academies or participating in their rituals, there is no doubt that daily chores especially related to meal preparation were done by female slaves or serfs.<sup>34</sup> Knowledge about the special preparation of the sacrificial offerings used during the rituals is not recorded in any official documents of the academy and is still today predominantly taken care of by women, while the offerings are later consumed by the members of the academy.<sup>35</sup>

Rituals were held twice a year, once in spring and once in autumn, although smaller rites were held before classes and lectures. The rituals of the academies were understood as part of the curriculum and accordingly attendance was documented. Their tightly organized procedure was meant to support the moral growth of the students as well as give them model scholars to identify with. Students would assemble and recite chants connected to academy education before class and welcome the headmaster or other lecturers. The spirit of Yi Ŏnjök was represented by a wooden spirit tablet (*sinwi*), bearing his honorary posthumous title and his pen-name Hoejae, stored in the academy shrine and in front of which the several offerings were presented during larger rituals.<sup>36</sup> However, rites to Yi were not only meant to honor his achievements in life or to provide students with the model of an exemplary scholar, but were thought to imbue the academy, its members, and its surroundings with his spirit that would help guide able scholars in self-cultivation and scholarship. One reason of the strong factionalism in late Chosön politics stemmed from the strong affiliation that scholars, as potential officials, formed with certain traditions of regional scholarship of a focal “ancestor”, such as Yi Ŏnjök. Thus, when in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century discussions arose over whether to include Yi Ŏnjök into the state Confucius cult, Oksan Academy could rely on a strong basis of officials to support Yi’s introduction and even oppose the will of the king.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time rituals were meant to take effect beyond the academy and transform the customs of the locality towards a more Confucian society. This was often connected to the belief that the geographical formation of an area, i.e. the position of mountain and rivers, induced but also represented the particular schol-

34 The slave registers of Oksan academy show that in 1684 of the 111 slaves the owned by academy 39 were female. See *Oksan Söwön chi*, p. 55.

35 See Kungnip munhwajae yön’guso [National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage], *Söwön hyangsa. Pyöngsan Söwön-Oksan Söwön* [Academy Rituals. Pyöngsan Academy-Oksan Academy], Taejön 2012, p. 197–201.

36 See the illustration above.

37 However, Yi was only included in 1610 after a new ruler took the throne. See *Chosön wangjo sillok* [Veritable Records of the Chosön], King Sönjo, Volume 127, 37<sup>th</sup> Year, 3rd Month, 22<sup>nd</sup> day. Also see Lee, “Oksan Söwön kwa Yöju Yi ssi”, p. 5.

arship of that area.<sup>38</sup> The scholars of the academy were, however, quite realistic that the civilizing influence of such physical manifestations was insufficient by itself to transform the local customs, and sought to include the local population in the activities of the academy through so-called community compacts (*hyangyak*). Compacts functioned somewhat like modern associations with several functionaries, which were elected from its members. Its meetings were structured around the rituals of the academy and included village libation ceremonies and public evaluations of individual moral behavior, complete with loud praise for good behavior and silent judgement of misconduct. The stipulations of the compacts were also read out loudly during the meetings so illiterate members could know and follow them as well.<sup>39</sup> Although no such community compact for Oksan Academy is extant, the academy was nevertheless closely involved with the affairs of the surrounding village, which was dominated by members of Yi Ŏnjök's descent group.<sup>40</sup>

After Yi Ŏnjök was included in the official state cult, scholars in Kanggye, his place of exile, in 1610 established Kyŏnggyŏn Academy in which they also worshipped Yi. In 1729 they wrote a letter to Oksan Academy in the south requesting a set of Yi Ŏnjök's collected writings, which was granted to them. They further received books from Oksan Academy and, while there is no record of payment, evidence exists that books were circulated between the two academies.<sup>41</sup> The academy records further show that between 1572 and 1622 three scholars from P'yŏngan province, in which Kanggye was located, visited Oksan Academy. Visitors would bow in front of the shrine or participate in the official rites and then receive gifts of books. The bulk of visitors came from the capital which further underscores the importance of the academy.<sup>42</sup> Many arrived to access the academy's extensive library holdings, which contained the books needed to prepare for the highly competitive civil service examinations. Demand became so overwhelming that the academy had to impose rules prohibiting the removal of books from its premises. Oksan Academy on several occasions printed the collected writings of Yi Ŏnjök. The circulation of Yi's writings preserved his relevance as a scholar and thus was an important, but expensive, undertaking for members of the academy and Yi's descent group. For the production of the wooden printing matrices and the actual printing process the academy relied on the knowledge and craftsmanship of the Buddhist monks from the nearby Chŏnggyesa monastery.<sup>43</sup>

38 Such geomantic considerations are often known under the Chinese term fengshui in the west. Linda Walton calls such constructions of the landscape "sacred or intellectual geographies". See Linda Walton, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China*. Honolulu 1999, p. 91.

39 See Vladimir Glomb, "Shrines, Sceneries, and Granary: The Constitutive Elements of the Confucian Academy in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Korea", in: *Confucian Academies in East Asia*, ed. Vladimir Glomb, Eun-Jeung Lee et al., Leiden 2020.

40 This is still famous as a single surname village. See Deuchler, *Under the Ancestor's Eyes*, p. 295.

41 See Lee Byoung-hoon, "Books and Book Culture of Oksan Academy", in: *Confucian Academies in East Asia*.

42 See Oksan Sŏwŏn chi, p. 91.

43 See Lee Byoung-hoon, "Books and Book Culture of Oksan Academy".

As becomes visible in this brief survey of the activities of Oksan Academy several geographic, political, economic, social, and spiritual matters were connected to the academy's worship of Yi Ŏnjök. Ultimately, the rituals of the academy were a way to hold and exercise power over the community through the propagation of proper behavior. However, the authority of the rituals was created and constantly reaffirmed through the above described dynamics. Because of this reciprocity looking at the rituals as the center of the *Wissenoikonomie* in and around Oksan Academy a quite entangled picture of the academy emerges. Considering the importance of the rituals for defining the academy's relations, it is therefore no wonder that many of the later academies functioned as pure shrines but still aspired or even demanded the reputation and social status of an academy.

Yet, the rites for Yi Ŏnjök themselves were also not an immovable constant among changing internal and external circumstances. When in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the political situation at the court shifted to the disadvantage of Oksan Academy, visits to participate in the rituals by royal dignitaries, high officials, and even the local magistrate decreased.<sup>44</sup> Internal conflicts further fractioned the membership of the academy and several descent groups set out to establish their own academies and removed their ancestors from co-enshrinement with Yi Ŏnjök. And thus, despite claims of strict adherence to old ritual protocol, the offerings at Oksan Academy due to local or regional influences over time developed distinct characteristics, such as, for example the above-mentioned use of fish or a midnight snack offered to the participants of the rituals.<sup>45</sup>

### Case Study 3: Gift Economies and Knowledge Transfer in Medieval German Travel Narratives (Falk Quenstedt)

In 1172 Henry the Lion of the House of Whelf, the powerful Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, took a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the chronicler Arnold of Lübeck describes in his *Chronica Slavorum*, Henry met the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm, Kilij Arslan II, near the Taurus Mountains on his return journey.<sup>46</sup> According to Arnold, the Sultan greeted the German duke as a blood cousin, because one of his female ancestors was German. Arnold also gives an account of the gifts that Henry received from Kilij: a mantle and a tunic of silk, thirty horses with silver bridles and saddles of precious fabrics and ivory, six tents of felt, six camels to transport them, and finally, two leopards trained for hunting.<sup>47</sup>

44 See Oksan Söwön chi, p. 91.

45 See Kungnip munhwajae yön'guso, *Söwön hyangsa*, p.268. For a discussion of long-term change through iteration in institutions See Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Anita Traninger, "Institution – Iteration – Transfer: Zur Einführung", in: *Wissen in Bewegung: Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, ed. by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, Wiesbaden 2015.

46 Georg Heinrich Pertz and Johann Martin Lappenberg (eds.), *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum (Repr. Hannover 1868)* Hannover 1978, p. 24.

47 Pertz and Lappenberg, p. 24–25.



The High Middle Ages are rife with such enumerations of gifts exchanged between medieval rulers. Such gifts frequently traversed boundaries between realms of power that are normally considered discrete, like Byzantium, the Fatimid Caliphate or the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>48</sup> As the account of Henry the Lion shows, even German dukes participated in this economy of gift exchange.

In recent years, art historians have identified a range of artefacts that appear to have been specifically made for exchange in such networks or for representational purposes in what has been termed a “shared culture of objects” or Mediterranean “medieval culture of Empire”.<sup>49</sup> As the presents of Kilij Arslan show, such exchanges were not limited to artefacts. Many other ‘goods’ were in circulation, including people (slaves) and animals considered exotic.<sup>50</sup>

What unifies all of these goods is their capacity to engender astonishment. All of them – be it through their rarity, preciousness, strangeness, or even fearsomeness – can be considered as elements of the marvelous. Due to political developments of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, such as the German engagement in the second crusade, the formation of the Teutonic order, or the passing of the Norman crown of Sicily to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, German elites were increasingly intertwined in Mediterranean networks of gift exchange – and thereby also constitutive to this transcultural *oikos*. Regardless of the historical truth-value of Arnold’s account of the gifts Henry received from Kilij, its very inclusion in the chronicle points to this historical situation.

Many passages in courtly narratives in the German vernacular reflect this historical economy of gift exchange. In doing so, they transfer knowledge about such practices, about the exotic goods being exchanged, their realms of origin and their procurement. In the following, I want to discuss how the economics of gift giving and the poetical ‘economics’ of the marvelous are linked to each other, forming part of an overarching *Wissensoikonomie*, in which tales in the vernacular play an important role.

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48 See Cecily J. Hilsdale, “Gift”, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 171–82; Sharon Kinoshita, “Animals and the Medieval Culture of Empire,” in *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral. Ethics and Objects*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, Washington DC 2012, pp. 37–65.

49 Oleg Grabar, “The Shared Culture of Objects,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire, Washington D.C. 1997, pp. 115–29; Kinoshita, “Animals and the Medieval Culture of Empire,” 43. Such exchanged goods were for example rock crystal vessels, like the so called “Eleanor Vase” (see Hilsdale, “Gift,” p. 174; Anna Contadini, “Sharing a Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity around the Mediterranean, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century,” in: *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini, London 2013, p. 32), musical instruments like ivory hunting horns known as *olifants* (see Avinoam Shalem, *The Oliphant Islamic Objects in Historical Context*, Leiden/Boston 2004), or special garments like the coronation mantle of Roger II (see Isabelle Dolezalek, *Arabic Script on Christian Kings. Textile Inscriptions on Royal Garments from Norman Sicily*, Berlin/Boston 2017).

50 See Grabar, “The Shared Culture of Objects”; Anthony Cutler, “Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), p. 247–78; Kinoshita, “Animals and the Medieval Culture of Empire.”

I have chosen two passages from two different texts: The first passage – forming part of *Herzog Ernst*, a verse narrative from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century – tells of extraordinary presents, given in the context of the reconciliation between the protagonist, a Bavarian duke named Ernst, and the emperor, Otto. That a reconciliation between the two is possible at all is remarkable, since earlier in the narrative Ernst attempted to kill the emperor in an ambush attack. The second passage forms part of the so-called *Straßburger Alexander*, the earliest complete German version of the Greek Alexander Romance. It describes an exchange of gifts between Alexander the Great and Candacis, the magnificent queen of the far eastern land of Meroves.

Despite differences in genre, textual history and the historic significance of their protagonists, the two texts have a great deal in common: Both originated in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Both are characterized by an eminent transcultural intertextuality, exhibiting similarities to Arabic texts. Both are connected to learned traditions – especially those of the so-called ‘marvels of the East’.<sup>51</sup> And in both, the knightly, well-educated protagonists travel through the far eastern region of the world, where they interact with many different peoples and creatures.

In order to analyze the connections between gift economy and literary texts, I want to call to mind some basic theoretical assumptions about gift giving.<sup>52</sup>

One basic assumption is that of reciprocity and appropriateness: gifts always demand a gift in return, which is of comparable (or even higher) value than the first one. The second gift, which is not seen as a sort of repayment but, rather demands recognition as a voluntarily given gift of its own, demands again another gift, which demands again a gift in return – and so on. The gift binds the gift-giver and the recipient, giving tangible form to the relationship and perpetuating it in ever new acts of gift giving. Here the paradoxical structure of the gift becomes manifest, as it is simultaneously voluntary *and* obligatory. To veil the “obligatory reciprocity”<sup>53</sup> of the gift, Pierre Bourdieu argued, it is necessary to conceal the obligation by delaying the reply.<sup>54</sup> It is precisely this temporal aspect of the delayed reply that extends the duration of the bond.

Another basic assumption is that practices of gift giving can become competitive and can therefore be used to negotiate power relations. The more one is capable of giving, the greater his power. Between parties that are considered equal, this logic may lead to processes of mutual outbidding. In the context of stratified societies, however, the quantity and quality of gifts are constrained by and therefore signal social hierarchies. Consequently, it may not appear opportune for some actors to

51 Rudolf Wittkower, “Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), p. 159–97.

52 See Hilsdale, “Gift”, p. 171–73. The foundation for this theory is the famous study by Marcel Mauss, “Essai Sur Le Don. Forme et Raison de l’échange Dans Les Sociétés Archaïques,” *L’Année Sociologique* 1 (1925), pp. 30–186.

53 Hilsdale, “Gift”, p. 171.

54 “[...] [I]n practically all societies, it is tacitly admitted that one does not immediately reciprocate for a gift received, since it would amount to a refusal.” Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason. On the Theory of Action*, Stanford, California 1998, p. 94.

give certain quantities or kinds of gifts. At the same time, having certain kinds of prestigious goods at one's disposal, like those marvelous objects exchanged in the courtly 'shared culture', and offering them as gifts, may transgress social norms, either successfully promoting the giver, or leading to sanctions. Special knowledge about goods that are capable of eliciting wonder, such as knowledge about their properties, origin and history, but also knowledge about former significant exchanges, would therefore be of particular interest to courtly actors. The appropriate medium to impart such knowledge to German courtly recipients are stories in the vernacular (the majority of the recipients were most likely illiterate).<sup>55</sup>

The *Herzog Ernst* (*HE*, I'm referring to its B version) consists of two parts that connect two settings with each other.<sup>56</sup> The first is located in the Holy Roman Empire or 'Reich'; the second in a geographically vague Far East. Both realms are mediated by a third domain, which is formed by the Eastern Mediterranean, incorporating Hungary and South Italy, Byzantium, the region around Jerusalem, Egypt and Nubia. The protagonist travels to all of these places, coming to fame in each. In Nubia and Egypt, he receives gifts, camels laden with precious goods (*HE*, V. 5656–5659).

The 'Reich'-part tells of Ernst's rise and fall as Duke of Bavaria: as the only child of a widowed duchess (*HE*, V. 67), he enjoys an education in foreign courts, including Byzantium (*HE*, V. 70–75). When his mother marries emperor Otto, Ernst occupies a place in very close proximity to the emperor (*HE*, 580 f.). Because of a conspiracy, Otto wages war against him and his lands. Ernst manages – in an ambush attack – to kill the conspirator. But at the same time, he also attempts to kill the emperor himself, who can only escape by fleeing into a nearby chapel (*HE*, 1268–1287). Thus, Ernst somewhat proves right the accusations, and has no other option than to flee the 'Reich', going on a crusade to Jerusalem. Implicitly, the narrative poses the question whether there is a possibility for Ernst to return and repossess his lands, or perhaps even to reconcile with emperor Otto. Seen from the perspective of the reciprocal logic of gift giving: What kind of gift could make up for what Ernst has done?

Close to Syria, Ernst and his men are caught in a storm, lose orientation for months and reach a place in the Far East. Only after a series of adventures and a six-year stay among the courtly one-eyed people of Arimaspi, Ernst reaches Jerusalem. Besides the gifts Ernst receives in Nubia and Egypt, he brings with him

55 Negotiations of gift exchange and its underlying logics can be found literally everywhere in German medieval literature, in many different genres and connected to many different themes: gifts constitute and perpetuate relations between political actors, between lovers, or between god and the believer. See Marion Oswald, *Gabe und Gewalt. Studien zur Logik und Poetik der Gabe in der frühhöfischen Erzählliteratur*, Göttingen 2004.

56 *Herzog Ernst. Ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch*. In der Mittelhochdeutschen Fassung B nach der Ausgabe von Karl Bartsch mit den Bruchstücken der Fassung A, ed. by Bernhard Sowinski, Stuttgart 1970.

representatives of the monstrous races, and a precious stone, a glowing carbuncle called ‘the orphan’, which he gathers in his journey on an underground river.<sup>57</sup>

On his way back, the monsters cause such amazement in Jerusalem and at other Mediterranean courts Ernst visits, that word of his conquests reaches Germany. It is only after the emperor hears about Ernst’s wonders, that he wants him to return to the Reich (*HE*, 5712–5756).

When, at the end of the narrative, Ernst and Otto are reconciled, the monsters play, again, an important role.<sup>58</sup> Otto asks Ernst “wa sîn wunderlîch gesinde wære” (*HE*, 5971; “where his (Ernst’s) marvelous entourage would be”). When Ernst tells Otto that his “wunder” are still in Bavaria, the emperor sends messengers immediately, traveling day and night (*HE*, 5974–75), to bring them back to his court. When the monsters arrive, everyone is astonished at the sight of them (*HE*, V. 5978–81). Here, the emperor asks Ernst explicitly for a favor:

dô bat im [Ernst] der keiser hêre  
 ein teil sîner wunder geben. (*HE*, 5982–83)  
 (“Then the noble emperor asked him [Ernst] / to give him a share of his  
 wonders [...].”)

But Ernst only reluctantly attends to the emperor’s wishes:

dô begunde er [Ernst] widerstreben,  
 wan er tet ez ungerne.  
 doch liez er im den Einsterne  
 und dem diu oren wâren sô lanc  
 und der selbe vil wol sanc  
 und einz der kleinen liutelîn. (*HE*, 5984–89)  
 (“[Ernst] began to resist this / because he did it unwillingly. / However, he  
 gave him the one-eyed / and the one whose ears were so long, / himself a  
 very good singer, / and one of the small folks (dwarfs).”)

Still not satisfied, Otto, furthermore, asks Ernst to tell him of his adventures. Ernst relates his story in such a captivating manner that the emperor forgets about his duties for entire twelve days (*HE*, 5994–6002). In the end, Otto orders that the account of Ernst be written down. This account yields a story, as the narrator states, that will move their recipients to tears (*HE*, 6003–609) – the implication being, that it is identical with the story that the recipients just heard or read.

A close connection comes to the fore between the procurement of exotic ‘goods’ from far-away lands, a culture of representation with a transcultural scope and

57 For the transcultural Mediterranean background of the ‘orphan stone’ see Avinoam Shalem, “Jewels and Journeys. The Case of the Medieval Gemstone Called Al-Yatima”, in: *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), pp. 42–56.

58 The reconciliation is a rather lengthy process that is not without resistance from both parties. It is only made possible by a deception of the emperor, arranged by Ernst’s mother and an intervention of the other princes of the Empire.

the transfer of knowledge by storytelling, all of them grounded in the dynamics of wonder. This fabric of connections is linked to practices of gift giving, which the text presents as rather precarious acts. Thus, the text not only imparts knowledge about the objects and their origin, a knowledge that even the figures share among themselves, but also about the practices of gift giving and their intricacies and potential conflicts themselves.

In the *Straßburger Alexander* (*StAlex*) the protagonist – after he encounters a range of strange, sometimes horrific, sometimes delightful natural phenomena, monstrous creatures and hybrid peoples – arrives at the city of Meroves (*StAlex*, 5513).<sup>59</sup> Alexander sets up camp nearby and offers, in the manner of a courtly knight, his service to queen Candacis. Furthermore, he sends her a picture of his God, Amon (*StAlex*, 5529–5533). Both gestures can be seen as gifts, though symbolic ones, signaling, on the one hand, the status of Alexander as a superior, god-like king and, on the other hand, suggesting a possible relationship between him and the Far Eastern queen. Alexander seems to have in mind a gallant courtly interaction between lady and knight (if his offer is to be understood as one of courtly love-service or *minnedienst*), not a political relation between (equal) rulers.

This is a significant remodeling on the part of the German version. In earlier Greek and Latin versions, the offering of Amon is always connected to sacrificial practices, that Alexander and Candacis share, because they make use of the same cult.<sup>60</sup>

In the German version, the scene is deliberately put into the context of the trans-cultural courtly culture of gift giving. The picture of Amon is given without any connection to sacrificial practices. Candacis ignores Alexander's proposal of service. Instead she asks him if he is exceptional as a human being, and if the world would be dominated by him. Furthermore, she sends him a number of "hêrlîche gâben" (*StAlex*, 5535, "royal gifts"), that the text lists in detail. While the earlier versions also feature such a list of gifts, the German text shows many alterations.

In the earlier versions the initial gift of this set of goods is a crown for Amon. In the German version, this crown is transposed to the end of the list. Then, the earlier versions mention one hundred gold 'bars'.<sup>61</sup> The German text changes this into one hundred golden 'idols' (*StAlex*, 5543). The alteration marks Candacis' gifts as a direct reply to Alexander's, outdoing it many times over, challenging his claim of superiority. This corresponds with the movement of the crown to a position

59 Lamprecht, *Alexanderroman*. *Mittelhochdeutsch/neuhochdeutsch*, ed. by Elisabeth Lienert, Stuttgart 2007.

60 For the Candace episode in the earliest Greek version see: Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek Alexander Romance*. *Translated with and Introduction and Notes*, ed. Richard Stoneman, Harmondsworth 1991, pp. 144–53. (the gift exchange: *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, pp. 144–45.) For the Latin version of Leo of Naples, see Leo von Neapel, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, ed. Pfister Friedrich, Heidelberg 1913, pp. 112–19 (the gifts: *Leo von Neapel*, p. 113). In the Latin version, Candacis is depicted as an unknown ruler in the Far East, who has no ties whatsoever to Amon, but the theme of sacrifice is still present.

61 Leo von Neapel, *Alexanderroman*, p. 113.

at the end of the list (*StAlex*, 5566–5577), giving the impression that Candacis is not so much passively accepting his position of king or even emperor, but rather conferring it actively on him, thereby positioning herself higher in the hierarchy. Furthermore, Candacis' superiority is signaled by the sheer abundance and the rich variety of marvelous objects she sends Alexander.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, some of the individual gifts are slightly changed, moving them into the realm of the marvelous. For example, Ethiopian children in the earlier versions, probably denoting dark skinned slaves, become 'Moors' with long ears (*StAlex*, 5544–5549). Thus, human beings are transformed into the monstrous people of the long-eared *Panotti*. Furthermore, the *Straßburger Alexander* adds explanatory remarks on many of the individual gifts, stating, for example, that leopards run fast (*StAlex*, 5556), that parrots speak and sing (*StAlex*, 5560), and that a special kind of wood does not burn down in fire (*StAlex*, 5564–65). As narrated gifts can only elicit wonder if their astonishing qualities are described, such additions are necessary. As a result, the text confers knowledge about exotic goods to the courtly audience, and, in doing so, participates in and cultivates further the courtly economy of transcultural gift exchange.

As in *Herzog Ernst*, it is the importance of such practices that renders knowledge about the Far East so desirable. Knowledge of the marvelous becomes 'symbolic capital'.<sup>63</sup>

To conclude: Both texts, in negotiating highly prestigious transcultural practices of gift giving in connection with the marvelous, impart not only knowledge about such practices and claim their significance, but also position them in connection to political contexts. Both texts impart learned knowledge about exotic lands, connected to individual goods of exchange to a courtly audience, thereby incorporating such knowledge into courtly practices. Knowledge transfer and practices of exchange are mutually dependent. Knowledge of the marvelous, which tales in the vernacular transfer, becomes symbolic capital in the economy of courtly representation. The gift with its social binding power of veiled reciprocity and the marvelous with its attention binding powers, feeding on effects of novelty and rarity, both show – each with their own 'economic' logics – a tendency to outbidding. In presenting historical exchanges of gifts, courtly narratives form part of a common *Wissensoikonomie* that would need further investigation.

#### 4 Final Remarks

Despite the obvious variety regarding their historical, cultural, and epistemic contexts and contents, the three case studies form an interesting group to explore the theoretical considerations guiding this chapter from different angles and with a specific disciplinary focus. The three case studies above by no means form a co-

<sup>62</sup> See Oswald, *Gabe und Gewalt*, p. 112.

<sup>63</sup> Shayne Aaron Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel*, Chicago/London 2017, p. 22 calls this an "prestige economy of long-distance knowledge".

herent universal picture of the role of ritual, but rather are combined to show the heuristic value of the concept *Wissensoikonomie*. By adjusting the focus to the entanglements of ritualistic performances, new connections and dynamics become visible, that otherwise might be lost in cause-and-effect focused descriptions of institutional structures, courtly behavior, or medical consultations. A multidirectional view allows one to cast the net of inquiry wider and more tailored to the specific topic. The flexible approach facilitates the understanding, and eventually the comparison, of the intertwinement of medical expertise and rabbinic law, the knowledge transfer within and about rituals of gift giving and educational institutions that base their external and internal transactions around localized worship rituals.

*Wissensoikonomien*, with its focus on various sources, multiple actors and trans-cultural interactions covers the epistemic, economic and ritual dimensions of these complex exchanges in and between various religious, political and cultural communities.

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IV  
Antagonismen, Negation, Transgression



# Explorations on Infra-Economy: Transgressing Bureaucratic Order in Premodern Popular Cultures

*Germano Maifreda*

This paper aims to find out if, from the examination of a particularly appropriate group of historical sources, general indications can emerge on the economic practices and cultures of the popular classes in the premodern age. The documentation I propose consists of trials conducted between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries by the 'Magistrate of the Extraordinary Income' in the State of Milan, Italy. Starting from it, I will try to provide a brief description perhaps definable of 'retrospective ethnography of the exchange', in homage to Marc Bloch and his identification of the relationship between interpersonal relationship fields and normative systems as a central problem of historical research. The transcription and interpretation of documentary materials seems to me to return a voice to some of the inhabitants of that vast zone of opacity that, throughout the global history of humanity, has unfolded below the market economy. Fernand Braudel, with a term that did not meet great success among historians, proposed to call it *infra-economy*: "the informal other half of economic activity", he wrote in *Civilization and Capitalism*; "the world of self-sufficiency, and barter of goods and services within a very small radius".<sup>1</sup>

Not a few difficulties await the historian who intends to probe the economic experience of the deepest layers of premodern societies and cultures: a poorly literate multitude that, for a long time, has been relatively impermeable to the operational logic which was typical of organized agricultural production, craft workshops, laboratories, stock exchanges, as well as banks, fairs and markets. Carlo Ginzburg has identified the most serious obstacle to the study of cultural expressions of the lower classes in the orality that has characterized them for centuries: unfortunately, historians cannot begin to talk to the peasants of the sixteenth century, Ginzburg observed in *The Cheese and the Worms*, and besides, it is not certain that they would understand them.<sup>2</sup> The near totality of the sources that can capture at

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1 Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century*, vol.1 *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1992, p. 24. The definition of retrospective ethnography recalls Charles Tilly, "Anthropology, History, and the *Annales*", in: *Review*, 1/3-4 (1978), pp. 207-213.

2 See the *Preface to the Italian edition* now published in *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, Baltimore 2013.

least some fragments of the patrimony of practices, beliefs, symbols, imagination and rationality of the numerically more consistent layer of the societies of *ancient regime* are, in fact, doubly indirect: firstly because they are written, secondly because they are written by a cultivated elite.<sup>3</sup>

A partial exception to this rule are the files of judicial processes. Testimonies that are recorded in them are usually of direct immediacy: although the popular language is here often slightly stiffened in a bureaucratic standard, the voices of peasants, shepherds, workers, and very small artisans recorded by the interviews are among the few written testimonies of the past who were not directly expressed nor deeply influenced by the culture of the educated classes. For this reason, the procedural documents have been compared to first-hand documentation told by an anthropologist in his field work, and left as a legacy to future historians.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of these assumptions, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie – just to remember, along with Ginzburg, another unreachable model – was able to say with pride that his reopening of the registers of a fourteenth century inquisitor had “given the floor to the villagers, indeed to a whole village as such”: the medieval Montaignou.<sup>5</sup>

The judicial sources effectively report behaviors and categories of interpretation that are widespread, but almost always implicit in the rest of the archival documentation. This makes them particularly useful for the purpose of an ethnographic reconstruction of very localized social and cultural practices. Moreover, like any registration of a procedure for the construction of an evidentiary truth, the questioning report of a judicial court renders both the boundaries of this same truth and the techniques through which it was produced. In the judicial investigation as a form of search for “truth”—a practice that has its roots in the Western Middle Ages and on which Michel Foucault wrote unforgettable pages<sup>6</sup>—statements are formulated that have the status of “real” discourses. Observing the modalities through which the evidence was collected, the interviewed subjects were selected, judgments of truth or falsity were issued, is therefore an important occasion for the historian: not only in order to identify what is considered “true” within these, socially crucial, devices for controlled and organized discourse

3 For brevity, amongst the recent books on popular culture in the premodern era I only mention *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, eds Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn, Farnham 2014. For a general overview see also *A Companion to Popular Culture*, ed. by Gary Burns, Malden MA/Chichester 2016.

4 “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist”, in Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, Baltimore 2013, pp. 156–164.

5 See the introduction (significantly entitled *From the Inquisition to Ethnography*) to the Italian edition (*Storia di un paese: Montaignou. Un villaggio occitanico durante l’Inquisizione (1294–1324)*, Milan, 1991<sup>2</sup>/orig. ed. Paris 1975), p. 7: “I was intrigued by the idea of deepening the inquiry and looking for documents [...] even more precise and introspective, on the peasants in flash and blood”. The *Introduction* to the English edition has been abbreviated and does not include this part.

6 On Foucault’s thought on the interrogation technique see initially *Les anormaux. Course au Collège de France, 1974–1975*, Paris 1999.

production; but also to understand what are the logical elements and processes through which that same discourse is organized to become “truth”.

### 1 Bureaucratic order, and beyond

The documentation used in this essay is constituted, as I mentioned, by the papers produced between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries by the Magistrate of the Extraordinary Income of the State of Milan. The Magistrate was an office that – like its symmetrical equivalent, the Magistrate of the Ordinary Income – had its roots in the administrative organization of the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> In fact, those two offices reflected the late medieval bipartition between ‘ordinary’ and ‘extraordinary’ state revenues. According to what was established by the *Novae Constitutiones* of emperor Charles V in 1541, the Extraordinary Magistrate saw among its main attributions the confiscations of property following convictions imposed in the State of Milan.

The documentation on which my research is based was produced by this magistracy precisely for the purpose of confiscation. If a crime had been committed in the territory of its jurisdiction, the Magistrate was required to carry out all the investigations necessary for the detailed description of the assets owned by the suspect or suspects, even if not yet officially convicted. After being evaluated, those substances were entrusted to the custody of the authorities who governed a town or village. The eventually confiscated goods were sold at auction; their revenue flowed, at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century, into the general Treasury of the State.

The transcriptions of the interrogations carried out in order to identify, delimit and describe the properties to be subjected to confiscation are, therefore, a judicial source in all respects, originating from investigations aimed at acquiring probative evidence that led to the issuance of a sentence of confiscation. This paper examines and interprets those sources through a perspective that does not seem too obvious to me, although the objects of my observation are one of the most self-evident aspects of the human condition of all times and places: the exchange of goods and services.

One of the founding fathers of the *Annales*, Lucien Febvre, when reviewing in 1947 the *Introduction à l’Histoire* of his old medievalist friend Louis Halphen, drafted in fact a short and fierce manifesto of the new History, whose maximum expression would have been the “economic history of humanity.” “An earthquake broke the mosaic”, wrote Febvre on that occasion, “[and] the tiles have sunk into the ground: let’s recover them and, above all, let’s try not to forget even one.”<sup>8</sup>

7 On the bureaucratic structure of the State of Milan, see the essays edited in *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan. The Distinctive Features of an Italian State*, ed. by Andrea Gamberini, Leiden/Boston 2014.

8 See “Sur une forme d’histoire qui n’est pas la nôtre: l’histoire historisante”, in: *Annales Esc*, 1 (1947), now in Lucien Febvre, *Problemi di metodo storico*, Turin 1992<sup>2</sup>, pp. 163–167, pp. 163 and 165; translation mine.

Much time has passed since these words were written, and since then scholars of different backgrounds have formulated explanatory theories of modern economic development which, while recognizing the importance of systemic interaction between the forces that have changed the appearance of the world over the past three hundred years, have privileged explanatory factors from time to time demographic, technological, environmental, military and economic in the strict sense. When they include culture, these efforts almost always relegate it to a residual role, using the term 'culture' as a generic term that vaguely designates aspects not explicitly treated in a proposed model. As Jack Goody has convincingly argued in *Capitalism and Modernity*, even in the explanatory theories of modern economic development that include it among endogenous variables, "culture" often assume the traits of a totally generic factor, referred to only to designate, by exclusion, all the non-economic aspects of social life.<sup>9</sup>

Goody himself offered a systematic critique, on a comparative basis and through empirical evidence, of the debate on the local advantage as a premise for the early advent of industrial capitalism in Europe. His proposal is to explain the European primacy by renouncing to identify one or more elements that the West would have owned, processed or accumulated over time in greater quantities or for better quality. The anthropologist did this in order to emphasize the global historical assertion of distinctive "mercantile cultures" within specific identifiable communities in a rising urban bourgeoisie, in different parts of the world, throughout the second millennium CE. The term "merchant" is used here in a very broad sense, overcoming the boundaries of large-scale trade professionals to identify those predominantly urban cultures of operators of the market for the production of goods and services at medium or wide range: the same humus in which Braudel rooted the historical subversion of traditional exchange mechanisms. It is a community, that of the urban bourgeoisie à la Goody, which already before the Industrial Revolution – in Europe as in Asia – overcame the courtesan and ecclesiastical cultures by emerging as a social entity, endowed with a distinctive lifestyle and of a supremacy. Not only therefore entrepreneurs, merchants and bankers but also lawyers, doctors, notaries, artisans, skilled workers and other professionals involved in the functioning of the urban production and distribution system as a whole were promoters of the "mercantile culture" depicted here.

The advent of industrial capitalism can therefore be read – as in the recent, extensive work of Deirdre McCloskey<sup>10</sup> – as a process of transformation and cultural

9 "If culture is exogenous", Goody claims, "what constitutes the endogenous system? [...] One can perfectly well understand that a group of specialists may want to place limits on the variables they wish to consider in any situation or situations, but such a decision is either pragmatic or formalistic; to set aside all other variables as social or cultural is therefore without much meaning and represents an avoidance of rather than an approach to the process of analysis" (*Capitalism and Modernity: the Great Debate*, Cambridge 2004, p. 56).

10 *The Bourgeois Virtues. Ethics for an Age of Commerce*, Chicago 2006; *Bourgeois Dignity. Why Economics can't Explain the World*, Chicago 2010; *Bourgeois Equality. How Ideas, not Capital or Institutions, Enriched the World*, Chicago 2016.



exchange that involved different parts of the world, which reached a temporary hegemony in Europe due to specific cultural transformations in this area. The resulting research agenda will necessarily have to include an aspect that was extensively investigated in the past (albeit with different objectives) and that is now out of fashion: that of forms, specificities and boundaries of popular cultures, as knowledge and practices of layers of the population that have long remained on the margins of the historical space of the affirmation of modern capitalism. I am convinced that only through a precise analysis of material and cultural exchanges and overlaps between the “merchant communities” and the “infra-economy” will it be possible to grasp the full extent of the rise of capitalism.

A concrete example may perhaps serve to clarify the issue. A long intellectual tradition that dates back at least to the German economic sociology of the early twentieth century and in particular to Max Weber, identifies the freedom of bargaining as an indispensable prerequisite to the birth of the capitalist order. According to this tradition, freedom of bargaining allows individuals to freely regulate their economic relations through formally autonomous legal transactions. The growing importance of private legal bargaining – Weber observed – is a reflection of the market orientation of our society. The Weberian distinction, which has become classical, between status contracts and purposive contracts, illustrates the evolution that this institution has undergone in the transition from the pre-industrial to the capitalist economy. In fact, status contracts (for example marriage, alliance, vassalage, subjection) modified the overall legal quality and the social habitus of the people, mainly serving to make the person qualitatively different from what he or she was. Purposive contracts, on the other hand, do not imply a change in social status but aims at some specific, often economic, performance or result. Their purely instrumental character reflects the impersonal nature of market transactions, and the decisive social role played by a progressively and inevitably bureaucratic administration. We live today – Weber says – in a “contractual society”, where the purposive contract has more or less eliminated the status contract.<sup>11</sup> Thus the pure instrumentalism and the impersonality of market exchanges and monetary contracts improve bureaucratic action, forging the anonymous execution of official practices that corresponds to the formal equality of persons facing the modern juridical order. Bureaucracy, concludes Weber, develops in a more perfect way the more it “dehumanizes” itself, i.e. achieving its own structure and excluding the irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation.<sup>12</sup>

An early expression of Weberian bureaucratic impersonality is the figure of the notary, for many centuries the sole guarantor of the formalization, authen-

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11 Richard Swedberg, *Max Weber and the Idea of Economic Sociology*, Princeton, 2000, p. 101.

12 Nico Stehr, “Experts, Counsellors and Advisers”, in *The Culture and Power of Knowledge. Inquiries into Contemporary Societies*, ed. by Nico Stehr and Richard V. Ericson, Berlin/New York 1992, pp. 107–156, in particular at pp. 120–21.

tication and transmission of property rights in the Western world.<sup>13</sup> In the Middle Ages the nascent Italian communal civilization drew strength and credibility from notaries, using them to legitimize itself through a written documentation of unprecedented breadth and meticulousness. Through the notarial certification the mobility of the factors of production could prosper much before the advent of the industrial revolution, based on the impartial guarantee of property rights and the free initiative as indispensable prerequisites for the affirmation of the mercantile exchanges. The rigor exhibited in the 1557 in the State of Milan by the notary Domenico Vibono, through an oral statement released in the context of a confiscation process, well expressed the full awareness of the importance and prestige of this professional inheritance:

My job is to do *instrumenti* [contracts], because I am a notary. [...] My technique is that I write the first draft and with that I write a summary redaction, and I keep it for *imbreviatura*; and then, if the parties want it, I write the instrument and deliver it in this way. And sometimes I give the parties *per reperitur* the documents as they are, *ad litteram* from the first note, changing nothing whatsoever, and when I make a complete copy, I do it more widely, and I give it to the parties as it is ours style in this country. I usually notarize my *instrumenti* in double sheets, otherwise in simple sheets. I have been doing these *instrumenti* recently, and it has only been since 1549, and I was created a notary here in Domodossola, in the house of *messer* Desiderio Comona, and this was by a great man whom I do not know, who said he had his authority from the Emperor, and my official title as a notary is deposited at *messer* Bernardo di Villa's, who died.

I usually write most of my *instrumenti* with my own hands, if the parties want it, and if I have them made by other people I have them made by a *messer* Giovan de Merio [...] to whom I ask to come to my house. I don't usually give the *imbreviature* out of my house if I am not there in person, and I am always there until the documents are completed. When I give documents to the parties *for reperitur* I have them written first and then I authenticate them [...] I make them compare with the *imbreviatura* word by word, and when I have them done outside the house *for reperitur* I do not authenticate them.

I know how to make every sort of *instrumenti* like sales, investitures, confessions, wills, codicils, currency exchanges, and others of different types, and I do them all with the due solemnities that are required, and most of the time I usually create the *imbreviature* of my own hand, although sometimes it happens that another notary writes and I will be the official notary.

13 Andreas Meyer, "Hereditary Laws and City Topography: on the Development of the Italian Notarial Archives in the Late Middle Ages", in: *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Albrecht Classen, Berlin/New York 2009, pp. 226–244; Laurie Nussdorfer, *Brokers of Public Trust. Notaries in Early Modern Rome*, Baltimore 2009.

All the *strumenti* that I have drawn up in the year you request are in this binder of the year 1552; they have been described by *imbreviatura* in n. 16 complete sheets and in three other half sheets.<sup>14</sup>

Let's now contrast this testimony with an oral narration carried out in 1623 by a shepherd, Pietro Pressa, who (like the notary Vibono) lived in the district of Domodossola, State of Milan. The deposition of Pressa in the presence of the magistracy reports an episode of notarization of double deed, which happened the year before. The shepherd had participated as a witness.

I found myself present only once in the house of Giovanni Baceno, while living at the Boschetto, when the notary, Dr. Antonio Bellino, notarized two instruments. I believe that in one of these *strumenti* was the wife of said Baceno in favor of Antonio Gibelino, innkeeper here in Domodossola under the sign of Santo Giorgio, and for sure there was his son, the barber. The other *strumento* that was notarized at the same time was on certain guarantees they had made for the said Baceno [...]. There was also present to these *strumenti*, besides me and the son of the said Gibelino, a fellow called the Sochetto as nickname, who lives at the Boschetto.

I do not believe that the aforementioned Baceno did not participate in the *strumento* made in favor of Gibelino, but only that his wife participated, and this *strumento* of which she consented I know was a hundred, and I do not know how many lira, but I do not know now what cause— and I also believe that they were almost two hundred liras. In that other document Antonio Offrino was named, and an Antonio Franzino, and also a Iacomo Della Veia, nor were others mentioned in the said *strumento*. [...]

And those *strumenti* were notarized in the past September, after the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. I know very well that it was at that time, because then I found myself present on the occasion that I brought to Giovanni Della Costa in the cage of Villa I do not know which sheep I had kept in custody all that summer, and in passing by I was brought in the house by the said son of Gibelino to be present to those *strumenti*, and I know well that it was at that time also because the said son of Gibelino, as a barber [and therefore also surgeon] went to visit the son of Messer Jacomo Filippino, who was ill.<sup>15</sup>

This seventeenth century shepherd, when invited (in the context of an interrogation by a public magistracy) to relive the episode of the signing of two contracts that took place the beginning of the previous autumn, recalled with great difficulty both the contents of the clauses and the amount of money involved. However,

14 *Archivio di Stato di Milano* (hereafter Asm), *Finanza confische* (hereafter Fc), box (b.) 293, file (f.) 16, August 26, 1557, pp. 1v–3r.

15 Asm, Fc, b. 293, f. 16/D, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1623, unnumbered pages.

he clearly outlined a chronological framework linked to the archaic agricultural time of the daily experience of work, illnesses and holidays. He had also kept a precise memory of the concrete human figures mentioned in the contract, even if not physically present at his signature. "Nor were others mentioned in the said *instrumento*," Pressa told the questioner with certainty: and the continuation of the investigation proved him to be right.<sup>16</sup> Even the Sochetto, when questioned by the Magistrate two months later, distinctly remembered (but it could be the result of successive dialogues with Pressa) that the *instrumento* had been drawn up "in favor of Antonio Franzino and Giacomo Della Vera, and I think in it was also named Antonio Offrino". The Sochetto also recalled that the first contract involved the wife of Baceno and the innkeeper of Domodossola, represented by his son; while he too had forgotten the amount of money exchange: he speaks generically of a "certain sum of money that I do not have by heart now". "I do not remember the precise time that the said *instromenti* were notarized," the peasant concluded, "but I know it was on the waning moon".<sup>17</sup> Not too different dating criteria were used by Filippo Filippini<sup>18</sup> father of the young man medicated by the son of Gibelino who later died. Since the son of Gibelino had in vain cured the son of Filippini precisely in the days when the deeds were drawn up, Filippo was questioned to confirm a suspicion (later found to be well founded) of the investigator: i.e. that the official date of the proceedings had subsequently been falsified. Also in this case the questioned, in order to chronologically place the event, recalled religious festivities – while the death of his son, which occurred less than a year earlier, had not settled in his mind through a specific date. "I had a son named Antonio", said Filippini on that occasion, "who came next August from Rome, and he was ill, and the illness increased on the day of Saint Bartholomew, and I had him medicated the day of the Assumption and that of Santa Croce, which was in September, and he later died. And he was treated by Antonio Gibellino, the son of the innkeeper under the sign of Santo Giorgio di Domodossola, and he underwent bloodletting in one arm, and there was certainly the doctor, *messer* Melario, who is from Domodossola".<sup>19</sup> Only by resorting to doctor Gerolamo Mellerio—he too, like the notary Domenico Vibono, a member of a "mercantile community" self-identified by bureaucratic registration procedures—the Magistrate finally succeeded in reconstructing the Gregorian calendar extremes within which the notarial deeds had been perfected. "I began to medicate the son of Filippino del Boschetto on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August and medicated him until September 14<sup>th</sup> of the year 1622," Mellerio said with certainty. "He then died, and in those fifteen days he took medicine, bloodletting, and syrups, which I remembered because I wrote it down."<sup>20</sup> It is significant that, at the end of the investigation, the magistrate accepted the argument of the

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16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1623, unnumbered pages.

18 Pietro Pressa, in the aforementioned declaration, reports correctly only his surname.

19 Ibid., August 8, 1623, unnumbered pages.

20 Ibid., August 2, 1623, unnumbered pages.

defenders of Offrino, who accused Gibellino of falsifying the date of the deed that involved him (“*cum mutatione dicti mensis septembris in mensem junii*”),<sup>21</sup> in order to have his right included among those of Baceno’s creditors. The latter’s few assets – a small house and some land fields, for a total value of 603 lire – had been confiscated by the treasury after Baceno had been sentenced *in absentia* to death. All the protagonists of popular extraction involved in this sort of chronological embezzlement – unlike the exponents of the “mercantile community” – would appear to show off indifference to the bureaucratic conception of time. An indifference that the forger took to the extreme consequences, by modifying a certified date without apparently fearing the denial of so many witnesses.

Another historical example of sociocultural asymmetry concerning the phenomena of registration is the narration of the drafting of a private credit agreement, which was carried out, before the magistrate, on April 14, 1580 by a small shopkeeper from Lecco, Pietro Tibetti.

It will be two years this coming August that I went to the home of *messer* Francesco Ajroldo where I have practiced and where I practice for he being my procurator in several of my litigations that I have somewhere, and his house is on the site of Santo Giovanni territory of Lecco. I found there (being there *messer* Fabio Anzaro, brother-in-law of the said *messer* Francesco, and many others who were present there in the house of the said *messer* Francesco, and amongst them Antonio Monetta of others I don’t remember) I found the said *messer* Francesco who was counting money to the said *messer* Fabio. And while he was there, I asked him what money was that which was counted from the said *messer* Francesco to the said *messer* Fabio. I was told that they were counting money the said *messer* Francesco Ajroldo to the said *messer* Fabio his brother-in-law, on loan. [...]

The aforesaid money were counted in the kitchen of the said *messer* Francesco in the presence of many, in gold and silver, and the said *messer* Fabio signed a document to the said *messer* Francesco Ajroldo his brother-in-law for receipt of such money, and if I will see it I think I will recognize it because of the practice I have of writings by the hand of the said *messer* Fabio. [...] I saw the money over the table, partly in gold and partly in silver, and I saw that they made the calculations and said that they were 100 Venetian ducats. [...] I know that many witnesses were present at this counting, that now I did not remember, and among others, Antonio [Monetta] and other witnesses; nor I do know if there were witnesses who could write except me, witness, and they did not submit the written contract to us, because they were not asked.<sup>22</sup>

21 “With the replacement of September with the month of June”: *ibid.*, defence presented November 20, 1623.

22 Asm, Fc, f. “Gazaro”, subf. “Sentenze a favore di Angelica Gazzeri”, April 14, 1580, unnumbered pages.

Although he was, to his knowledge, the only literate witness (and he proved it to the magistrate, when he later recognized the above mentioned receipt as soon as it was submitted to him), Pietro Tibetti did not ask, nor was offered, to see the contract to which he had been called to attend as a witness. The direct observation of the materiality of the loan—which in Tibetti’s narrative takes on the features of a ritual—constituted (both for the parties and for the witnesses) the substantial demonstration of its truthfulness, almost totally overriding its written formalization. Not too differently, however, the signing of marriage agreements took place in a socially elevated setting of Piacenza. The rich landowner Teodoro Landi had invited in 1610 as witnesses (among others) Giulio Dall’Acqua and Cristoforo Monelli. The first, to the magistrate’s question “in case he saw these chapters that were established for the said marriage, if he would know them” replied: “No Sir, because I was far away, and I only listened that they read them, and I saw that the witnesses went to sign one at a time”.<sup>23</sup> The second witness, to the same question, replied similarly: “I remember a few words [but] I do not remember the tenor of these agreements—I remember well that all those who signed them, whose names you have told me, were present, because I know them very well”.<sup>24</sup>

Naturally, much more attention was given by the shopkeeper Marco Antonio Pavano, when on October 11, 1564, he saw the servant of a Giovan Paolo Panza enter his shop. Pavano was invited to “go up to the house of *messer* Giovan Paulo” in order to testify to the drawing up of a private contract, immediately assuming a professional attitude. “And so, when I arrived there, I found the Panzi brothers and *messer* Antonio Augello, and later also *messer* Antonio Passanto also arrived there. And at my arrival I was asked by the same *messer* Giovan Paulo and by *messer* Ludovico brothers Panzi to subscribe by faith such a contract [...] and I first wanted to read it, and after reading it, I asked him what they wanted me to do. The said brothers asked me to sign it by my own hand, to attest to the certainty what was contained in that [document]”.<sup>25</sup>

## 2 Topographies of visuality

In late medieval and early modern times, the rise of communes and nation states and a fast-growing legal system and economy induced a rapid increase in the need for written documents. This, in turn, produced the emergence of modern bureaucratic functions responsible for producing original legal documents and their copies. Despite this, at a profound and widespread cultural level the primacy of oral certification, popularly considered probatively superior to the written one, was apparently corroded only very slowly.

In 1681, at the time of assessing the consistency of the assets of the Mangola brothers who lived in the small town of Campertogno, in the alpine Valsesia, the

23 Asm, Fc, b. 1601, manuscript entitled “Teodoro Landi”, September 24, 1610, p. 70r.

24 Ibid., September 25, 1610, p. 81v.

25 Asm, Fc, b. 2170, f. 2, underf. “Lodovico Panza”, transcript of interrogations opened January 22, 1566, p. 12v.

investigator first summoned their not particularly knowledgeable fellow countryman, Pietro Badarello. Asked about the consistency of the Mangolas local properties, he replied: "I believe they consist of little meadows, but I have no knowledge of their qualities, and quantities, and you will need to look at the tax registers, because there you will find the account of everything, since those who possess assets must pay taxes". The questioner urged Badarello, asking him "if he knows, or has known, that these Mangola brothers possess other assets in other places, besides those he says they have in the present territory of Campertogno, and that they are noted in the tax registers". "I don't think so," he was replied, "and if Mr. Pietro Giacobino, a notary from Campertogno, did not know it, I would never know which other person could have been informed, considering that he is also consul of Campertogno [...] and he knows all the people of these surroundings". Only in the face of the inadequacy of the information provided by Badarello – and by the notary Giacobino, who in turn recommended the magistrate to "settle on the basis of the land registry, where everything will be recorded" – the investigator turned to a certain Giovanni Seto, who Badarello had indicated as the holder of the local book of the *estimi* (although, as Badarello had suggested, "it may also be that [the book] is at Ludovico's, his brother"). It was Seto who finally produced a documentary extract on the properties of the Mangolas, which was attached to the trial file.<sup>26</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, therefore, prominent representatives of the public administration of the State of Milan (then subjected to the crown of the Habsburgs of Spain) used primarily oral testimony in order to evaluate an asset consistency – also when it came to acquiring information that was easily obtainable from official written sources. Partly, perhaps, due to skepticism towards estimative recordings, whose cumbersome and slow updating was known.<sup>27</sup> But in part – and the two reasons are evidently interconnected – because of a widespread culture that was inclined to attribute the status of truth primarily to oral testimony, as an immediate expression of the objectivity of visual perception. Although historical analyses of visual culture usually focus on aspects of reality such as images, other graphic and material representations and their possible reception by people,<sup>28</sup> in the past as in the present visuality permeates culture at a deeper level: that of visual perception and construction (no vision is neutral) of what and is commonly considered "true".

The wide range of documents I examined – mainly composed of a bureaucratic production whose purpose was to establish unequivocally the existence or disappearance of a person, his social and working identity, the number and quality of his family ties, and the consistency of its properties – has only rarely brought to

26 Asm, Fc, b. 1788, f. "Mangola Francesco, e Giacomo fratelli", May 23, 1681, pp. 2v–3v and 5r.

27 Germano Maifreda, "Culture popolari e culture dello scambio in età preindustriale. Idee per una ricerca", in: *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni* 2006 (56), pp. 295–332, where I presented the unpublished documents discussed here.

28 See for example Tara Hamling, "Visual Culture", in: *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture*, pp. 75–102.

light such cases as that of the investigator who in 1646, when fulfilling the order of the *Referendario* of Cremona “to get information about who really is the home of” a Virginia Filippi (a woman whose property was disputed between members of her family) simply produced two written certificates: one from which it emerged that Virginia’s parents had owned the house since at least 1622, and an attestation of baptism which showed Virginia to be their daughter.<sup>29</sup> But for those who carried on, or who underwent, almost all the interrogations I studied, asserting the truth of a fact meant, essentially, claiming to have seen it first-hand – or verifying the credentials of those who claimed such a thing. “I testify that I saw him dead, and I have dressed him as a dead man,” said for example in 1580 a Battista Maugeri of a Pasquino Liberati, both living in Pozzo Baronzio, near Cremona, responding to the investigator interested in verifying a death.<sup>30</sup> And in 1601 a peasant from Rosnasco, in the Pavia area, said similarly of a fellow countryman: “I saw him dead in the lower room of the said place of the Torrone, in the room entering in left hand to said place, in which he lived, and was owner. And I also accompanied him to the burial, with others who at present have no memory of who they were, for having been a long time ago, and I say that this was at Castel Santo Giovanni in the Piacenza area, in the church of Santo Giovanni”.<sup>31</sup>

In premodern times, visual certification increases (or decreases) its effectiveness through the change of some fundamental characteristics, the main one being the number of observing subjects. In our documents, the formula that served to prove the status of one or more persons (so widespread in the documentation as to have been bureaucratically stereotyped) was: *because they are considered and reputed such by all their acquaintances*. This phrase alludes to the importance which, in societies little inclined to written elaboration, the publicity of an event assumed in order to give certainty to both personal status and social ties. The greater the number of the observers, the greater was the credibility than an event, a link, a status were statutorily, institutionally and collectively considered true. During a deposition aimed at certifying, in 1589, a marriage bond, an acquaintance of the spouses for example stated: “I do not remember the precise time that the marriage between the said Giò Angelo Mangiarino and *madonna* Orsola de Moranti was contracted, but I am well informed that they are legitimate and true husband [and wife] for having seen them, for many years here, living together in the form of marriage with Pietro and Angela, brothers and sister, their legitimate and natural children, whom everyone knows very well. [...] It is true that I was not present at

29 Asm, Fc, b. 2166, f. 1, underf. 2, documentary booklet closed March 15, 1646; quotations taken from p. 3r and from the attached documentation. The obligation of parish priests to keep separate registers for baptisms and marriages dates back to the XXIV session of the Council of Trent and was generally applied in Italy starting from 1563; for burials, the application of the obligation generally dates back to 1614 (see Adriano Prosperi, *Il concilio di Trento. Una introduzione storica*, Turin, 2001, pp. 114 ff.).

30 Asm, Fc, b. 2423, f. “Liberale”, underf. “Sentenze a favore di Marta Bavasia [...]”, August 17, 1580, p. 14r.

31 Asm, Fc, b. 2423, f. “Gabriele Ligozzo”, May 24, 1601, pp. 131.



the wedding, but they are considered and reputed as such by all their acquaintances, and I saw that they raised these children by giving them the food due and teaching them as we usually do".<sup>32</sup>

Another declaration issued in 1576 by Giovanni Cinizello, a small landowner from Pasturago – near Milan – in order to certify a marriage bond, fully expresses the collective power of the premodern popular strata to include a cultural object in the (Foucauldian) 'regime of truth':

I have known Francesco Pando and Domenighina Grugna (named in the document I now read) for more than twenty years as husband and wife, and attending for the same time the house of the said husband and wife in the said place de Pasturagho (since I am their *compare*), I have heard so many and many times that they mention each other, treat each other and consider themselves as husband and wife, and so they were and are for all their acquaintances considered and treated and reputed. From that marriage, Isabella Panda, their legitimate and natural daughter, came to light and was born, and I say that I know this because I have for the same time attended the house of the spouses and their daughter, [and I] have heard them many and many times to appeal each other and treat each other and consider themselves legitimate father, mother and child, both verbally and by all their acquaintances and servants.<sup>33</sup>

In premodern societies, where the boundaries between public and private were blurred, the most credible form of direct knowledge was therefore based on the neighbourhood relationship. "As a native of this vicinity of Santa Lucia," said the Cremonese Roberto Della Manna in 1629, "and near the house that in the past was owned by Nicolò Navarolo, I say that I knew the said Nicolò always until his death, and that he had and kept [that house] in the vicinity of Saint Bartholomew, but not far from mine".<sup>34</sup> "I say that Giacomo had given some money or stuff to Mr. Siro as a down payment of a debt. I knew this because most of the festivities I am together with the said Giacomo et we went to chat with the said Mr. Siro sometimes about one thing, sometimes about another", says in 1584 Giovan Maria Sermoncini of Pavia.<sup>35</sup> And it is this physical and, therefore, visual closeness that makes claims about the reputation of an individual credible before a magistrate. "I know the aforementioned Giacomo being a good man," said the small landowner Vincenzo Cani of Pavia in 1584, referring to a labourer sentenced to 25 *scudi* and corporal punishment for possession of prohibited firearms. "And he is not usual to do anything badly done, and he is about fifty-six years old or so, and I have never heard that he did anything bad, and for this reason he is of good repute and name by all other people

32 Asm, Fc, b. 1788, f. 14, transcript of interrogations opened February 19, 1589, unnumbered pages.

33 Asm, Fc, b. 2166, f. 4, December 14, 1576, unnumbered pages.

34 Asm, Fc, b. 2045, f. "Navarolo", transcript of interrogations opened November 27, 1629, p. 213.

35 Asm, Fc, b. 293, f. 13, transcript of interrogations opened October 10, 1584, p. 5v.

who know him and who attend him and his house *et hoc est*".<sup>36</sup> Even the professional, or even the clerical status of an individual could be subjected to this type of certification: when in 1636 the Milanese magistracy found it necessary to prove that a son of the marquis Andrea Mulazzano of Lodi was indeed a priest, an employee of his – the agricultural labourer Battista Arpino – was called to testify. "I have always seen him go into the habit of a priest and a cleric", he said, "as he also does now, in the same manner and form of the other clerics from our parts of Vinzasca and Castiglione; and as a cleric is considered, treated and reputed by all."<sup>37</sup>

### 3 Conclusions

Thoroughly exploring the cultural dynamics of a premodern local microcosm can help overcome the distinctions between high and low culture, and between centres and peripheries: demonstrating how boundaries, norms, contents, values owned by different social strata remained mutually dependent for a very long time – perhaps even beyond the grafting of the 'bureaucratic order'<sup>38</sup> into the heart of Western modernity. What we have heard in these pages is a chorus of voices that insist on the same register: the personifying power of a premodern society that "does not allow us to exist except in – and thanks to – the eyes of others".<sup>39</sup>

Paul Zumthor, investigating the representations of space in the medieval West, identified deep connections between some of the phenomena we have highlighted: the unified perception of the social body, the flexibility of the boundaries between the public and private spheres (both of affectivity and of action), and the topographical-cultural displacement of social space, which is the result of the distribution of men and groups within the geographical extension but also presents a sort of moral extension: "product of history, in which feelings of belonging or dependence unfold, exchanges and interactions are produced, hierarchies are formed".<sup>40</sup>

When, already in 1702, the mayor of Sala, on Lake Como, was asked by the magistrate to declare "if he is familiar with the lands situated in this territory", he replied: "No Sir, because you know, my profession is to be a tailor, so I do not go to the countryside".<sup>41</sup> The professional and (in this sense) 'topographic' location establishes cultural self-perception in the premodern society more than the institutional – of mayor – held by the subject. A whole system of institutions, or formal and informal constraints, heavily regulates social interaction over time and space. Bonds not expressly codified, but nevertheless pervasive, link most social categories to specific places. Connectedness, friendship, profession are weaved and

36 Ibid., p. 5v.

37 Asm, Fc, b. 2029, f. "Mulazzano marchese Alessandro", transcript of interrogations opened June 27, 1636, p. 6v.

38 See Jannis Kallinikos, "The Social Foundations of the Bureaucratic Order", in: *Organization* 1/11 (2004), pp. 13–36.

39 Paul Zumthor, *La mesure du monde. Représentation de l'espace au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2014<sup>2</sup>, p. 39 of the Italian edn (Bologna, 1995).

40 Ibid.

41 Asm, Fc, b. 1522, f. "Greppi Matteo", transcript of interrogations opened January 10, 1708, p. 7v.

maintained within a neighbourhood; the political power overlaps, without breaking them. Everyone finds themselves spatialized, and every space tends to become the signifier of a social meaning. "A whole culture is inscribed on the ground".<sup>42</sup>

This 'ground' is, at the same time, a geographical datum, a topographical organization, a social construction, and a cultural attribution: a complex scenario within which interests and affectivity emerge, merge, transform themselves. On May 9, 1609, the magistrate officers in charge of confiscating the property of Giovan Maria Mangesi—a farmer and domestic textile worker—went to Casadigo, in the countryside between Milan and Pavia, escorted by guards. They took all his belongings, including "small and large cauldrons and basins for cotton [probably silk]", and loaded a horse to take them to Milan. "And as they came out of the house of the said Mangesi," reads a report drawn up by the executors themselves, "the frightened horse hit a corner of the house, so that it threw all these things to the ground, for which some cauldrons remained marked. Which, seeing the Mangesi and displeasing him in such an act, moved with anger and said: 'I do not want this stuff to be taken away, and I will not know a person to dare and take them'".<sup>43</sup>

The executors returned to the city empty-handed, witnesses certainly not unaware of that "habitus of strong emotional participation, which is easily upset by sudden passions"<sup>44</sup>. A habitus activated by the damage inflicted on work items that legally no longer belonged to their owner, but were to be taken to another space. In the urban space of the armed guards, of the ducal bureaucracy, of the merchant-entrepreneur who most likely animated the *putting out system* of which Mangesi was only a small tessera, as in a mosaic. In this episode of expressed emotionality, the city is staged as the public sphere and the countryside as the private sphere of action: the first conceived as the reflection of a higher order, the second as that of the human condition.

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42 Zumthor, *La mesure du monde*, pp. 39–40.

43 Asm, Fc, b. 1788, f. "Mangesi Gio' Maria", memory by Francesco Fontana and Giovan Giacomo Stopino, June 26, 1609, p. 1r-v.

44 Zumthor, *La mesure du monde*, p. 39.

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# Temple Economies in Late Antiquity From the Jerusalem Temple to al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and the Meccan Kaʿba

Angelika Neuwirth

The Qurʾān, Islam's scripture and foundational document, has not yet become part of the Western canon of knowledge. This is all the more deplorable since no small number of studies have clearly exposed the dense entanglement of early Islam with the Jewish and Christian neighboring cultures, both of which are undisputed foundations of 'Jewish-Christian Europe'.<sup>1</sup> To address the gap, to pinpoint the Qurʾān's epistemic significance, a new, 'political' approach to the Qurʾān is required. We should no longer view the Qurʾān immediately as a religious document, a textual *fait accompli*, but first examine it as a communication process, the transcript of a politically relevant event in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is time to associate this event with other 'neuralgic points', 'ruptures', in the history of monotheism that caused the emergence of new 'economies', new constellations of religious knowledge. This paper will proceed from such a point: not from the Islamic conquests that are usually considered to mark the 'original divide' between the cultures of the Near East, but rather from a much earlier collision between a local and a superior foreign power, between 'cult' and 'empire'. It will start with the Roman military victory over the province Judaea and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, the central monotheist sanctuary of Antiquity, which occurred in the year 70. This event was in no way limited to a local national disaster, but eventually effected a radical transformation of the ancient religious world, spurring the emergence of Judaism and Christianity. Moreover, something like a 'destruction memory' survived as an ideological undercurrent through Late Antiquity. It is in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the century of "a world crisis",<sup>2</sup> the Qurʾān's century, in particular, that this memory was revived to promote powerful apocalyptic ideologies in both Judaism

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- 1 See the essays in Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai and Michael Marx (eds.), *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, Leiden 2010; and Nora Schmidt, Nora K. Schmid and Angelika Neuwirth (eds.), *Denkraum Spätantike. Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran*, Wiesbaden 2016; and Glen W. Bowersock, *The Crucible of Islam*, Cambridge/London 2017; and Guy G. Stroumsa, "Athens, Jerusalem and Mecca. The Patristic Crucible of the Abrahamic Religions", in *Studia Patristica LXII* (2013), pp. 153–168; and Angelika Neuwirth, *The Qurʾān and Late Antiquity. A Shared Heritage*, Oxford 2019.
  - 2 The term was coined by James Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford 2011. – I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Zishan Ghaffar, Corpus Coranicum Project, for a deeper insight into this field of tension.

and Christianity. How did the Quranic community respond to this challenge? The article will focus on the *longue durée* of the 'destruction memory' and its eventual role in the process of the emergence of the Qur'ānic community.

## 1 Worldly order versus Sacred order

The scandalous event of the Temple's destruction is an integral part of the European collective memory: One of the most impressive buildings of Ancient Rome, the Arch of Triumph erected in honor of Titus, celebrates the Roman victory over the province Judaea of the year 70, which climaxed in the destruction of Jerusalem and its monumental Temple. One panel relief in particular has attracted worldwide attention – perhaps exactly because it unmasks the pretentious claim of the Roman project so visibly.

It exhibits the spoils taken from the Temple being carried off in the triumphal procession: the golden candelabrum or Menorah and other sacred objects such as the gilded Trumpets, the fire pans for removing the ashes from the altar, and the Table of Showbread – so as if the Roman military victory had defeated not only the Jewish rebels but the Jewish cult as well.

What the Roman profanation of the Temple actually did usher in was not the end of the cult, however, but rather the end of the Roman-made 'secular order' in the Southern Mediterranean world. Or – to use a term introduced by Guy Stroumsa – the end of the "civic religion".<sup>3</sup> The cultic objects that together with the human hostages are carried off into captivity were not to disappear. They soon reemerged as basic elements of the religious symbolics of Judaism and Christianity, the two 'communitarian (or faith-oriented) religions', that were eventually to spread over the erstwhile Roman dominion. – Again, a few centuries later the 'sacred order' will assert itself anew against a militarily superior secular power, first local pagans, then the Roman army, and thereby clear the way for the prophet Muhammad's establishment of a theocratic polity. One might ascribe – following Jan Assmann's assessment of other major events in ancient history like the Exodus<sup>4</sup> – a paradigmatic dimension to the destruction of the Temple: The cast-off stones of the Jerusalem Temple, so to speak, became building blocks of new sanctuaries, 'western' and 'eastern' alike: not only in the Heavenly Jerusalem and on Golgotha, but also in Mecca and finally on the *Haram al-Sharīf*, the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem.

## 2 A leap in time: the present

Today, to establish a genealogical relation between the Jerusalem Temple and the Islamic Dome of the Rock, which I am attempting here, amounts to the breach of a taboo.

3 Guy Stroumsa, *Das Ende des Opferkults, Die religiösen Mutationen der Spätantike*, Berlin 2011. Here he differentiates between 'civic religion' and 'communitarian religion'. The transition from the first to the second is regarded as one of the major 'religious mutations' of Late Antiquity.

4 See his monograph: Jan Assmann, *Exodus. Die Revolution der Alten Welt*, Munich 2015.

At a time when archaeologists internationally are obsessed with recovering the Solomonic Temple, which has become a *politicum* in modern Israel, there is meanwhile complete silence in Muslim circles over the historical Temple, even occasionally amounting to the questioning of its historical existence. In October 2016, on request of the Palestinian authority, a UNESCO resolution demanding the reintroduction of the Muslim names for the edifices on the Temple Mount was passed. A brochure (undated, probably from 2016), edited by the *Ḥaram* administration endeavors to supplant the view predominant among Western archeologists that the site of the Dome of the Rock covers the relicts of the Temple by explaining the significance of the site in cosmic rather than historical terms.<sup>5</sup> It contends that the Temple Mount is not the site of the ancient Temple but rather – in accordance with an old local tradition – the *axis mundi*, the erstwhile stage of the beginning of creation and someday the stage of its end.<sup>6</sup> This attempt to universalize the site,<sup>7</sup> which sidelines the Jewish bonds with Jerusalem, was vehemently rejected by the Western public. The politi-



Fig. 1: The triumphal procession



Fig. 2: The Mount of Sanctuaries: Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf

cal attempt to universalize the site,<sup>7</sup> which sidelines the Jewish bonds with Jerusalem, was vehemently rejected by the Western public. The politi-

5 See Anonymous, *Clarifications of Misconceptions: Al-Aqsa Mosque*, Jerusalem 2017.

6 Phillip Alexander, "Jerusalem as the Omphalos of the World. On the History of a Geographical Concept", in: *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 104–116.

7 This notion of the *omphalus mundi* in Islam can be traced back to Umayyad times, when a *hadith* scholar of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century declared: "The most holy spot (*quds*) on earth is Syria; the most holy spot in Syria is Palestine; the most holy spot in Palestine is Jerusalem, the most holy spot in Jerusalem is the place of worship (*al-masjd*). And the most holy place on the place of worship is the rock." This reflects contemporary Jewish tradition, see *Midrash Tanhuma*, qedoshim ch. 10: "The Land of Israel is situated in the middle of the world, Jerusalem in the middle of the land of Israel, the Sanctuary (*bet ha-miqdash*) in the middle of Jerusalem, the Holy of Holies (*ha-hekhal*) in the middle of the Sanctuary, the Ark of the Covenant in the middle of the Holy of Holies, and the foundation rock from which the world was founded in front of the Holy of Holies", see Josef van Ess, "Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock. An analysis of some texts", in: *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. by Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, Oxford 1992, p. 89.

cal coloring of the present antagonism<sup>8</sup> should not however distract from a more intrinsic hermeneutical divide that is effective here.

The somewhat marginal position, or more precisely, the non-theological reception of biblical antiquity in mainstream Islam is not due to an ideological bias but has to be explained historically. Islam, with the Qurʾān, is a 'late-comer' in religious history. It enters the scene only in Late Antiquity. I use the term Late Antiquity not to designate a dynastically determined epoch, but in the sense of an 'epistemic space'<sup>9</sup> – where learned individuals of diverse provenance pursued a shared project: to re-read their 'antique', canonical texts, primarily the Hebrew Bible, under a new 'late antique' perspective. One might argue that their perspective was governed by the *Word*, the Logos. It is no longer primarily God's acting in history but rather his speech, his Word that matters.<sup>10</sup> Due to this 'hermeneutical turn', factual events of history ceded their significance to their spiritual meaning. Thus, when the Qurʾān enters the stage in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, both traumatic events that had spurred the emergence of the older religions, Jesus' crucifixion and the destruction of the Temple, had been redressed and spiritualized: The crucifixion had been outshone by Christ's resurrection, the destruction of the Temple had redirected the vision to a celestial Temple in the transcendent 'upper Jerusalem'. The stone building of the Temple in both religions had been sidelined in favor of an exalted image of the Temple as the object of veneration.<sup>11</sup>

It was not exclusively so, however. Since Justinian's renewal of the Anastasis Church (later: "Church of the Holy Sepulchre") at the latest, Golgotha, the place of the crucifixion, was celebrated as a substitute for the Temple, the site where the final, redemptive sacrifice had been offered which – in typological terms – was the 'fulfilment' (and thus also marked the supersession) of the biblical sacrificial cult. Yet, neither Jews nor Christians were to renounce the notion of sacrifice as such, they had rather turned it into a spiritual sacrifice. The Christian liturgy, which commemorates the 'real sacrifice', in Judaism is matched by the practice of continuous learning, in the 'four cubits' of the synagogue.<sup>12</sup> In this discursive context the Temple memory and the imagination of its re-establishment occupied an import-

8 This antagonism is not old; its flaring up today is widely due to the recently spreading threat emerging from groups of Jewish extremists who intend to rebuild the Temple on the site of the Islamic sanctuary.

9 See the introduction in *Denkraum Spätantike. Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran*, ed. by Nora Schmidt, Nora K. Schmid and Angelika Neuwirth, Wiesbaden 2016, pp. 1–35.

10 A telling example is the targumic re-interpretation of the creation account in *Targum Neofiti* ad Gen 1,3, where the Logos, the Memra of the Lord is involved in the process of creation. See Daniel Boyarin, "The Gospel of the Memra: Jewish Binitarism and the Prologue to John", in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 94 (2001), pp. 243–284, here: p. 256.

11 See Lorenzo Perrone, "The Mystery of Judaea (Jerome, Ep. 46). The Holy City of Jerusalem between History and Symbol in Early Christian Thought", in: *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 221–239. – Muslim voices are then not the first to dispense with the reality of the physical Temple.

12 See the expression in the Talmud: "From the day that the Temple was destroyed, the Holy One, blessed is He, has nothing in His world, except for the *four cubits of halacha*." (b Berachot 8a).



ant position. The Temple thus – though in different terms – never ceased to mark the beginning of the monotheist genealogy of the two older religions.

Contrarily, to the early Muslim community, the Temple as the cradle of monotheism was virtually unknown. Its foundation by Solomon is never mentioned in the Qurʾān, although Solomon is credited with extensive building activities in the Suras *Ṣād* (38), *Al-Anbiyāʾ* (21) and *Al-Naml* (27).<sup>13</sup> In view of the ubiquitous references to Solomon's luxurious Temple in late antique Christian and Jewish tradition, the silence in the Qurʾān about his building the Temple should be read as intended. The reasons are dogmatic: Solomon's story is told in those narrative Suras that belong to the middle Meccan period, where stone-built sanctuaries are being shunned and replaced by the notion of a spiritual Temple, a *masjid*. Even if some later exegetes in the *Israʾīliyat* tradition<sup>14</sup> do dwell on the building of a Temple ascribed to Solomon, they present the incident as an 'episode', not a paramount event, let alone a turn in religious history.<sup>15</sup> The destruction of the Temple, though mentioned in the Qurʾān (*Al-Isrāʾ*, Q 17:4–8) is not deemed theologically significant either, but serves as a historical memory fit to teach a typological lesson. Although the Temple's fate has occupied the exegetes,<sup>16</sup> some of whom even claimed that the Dome of the Rock should be regarded as its reconstruction,<sup>17</sup> their information are historical-episodic rather than theologically committed. The Temple – as the prior central sanctuary of monotheism – simply does not figure prominently in the historical memory of traditional Islam, perhaps since it did not play a role in the formation of the early community. What the early community of the 7<sup>th</sup> century encountered were no more than 'traces' of the Temple that had survived its destruction. These traces were not physical relicts but powerful ideas, expectations and hopes to retrieve a lost past, that in Christian and Jewish circles had crystallized into forms of messianism and apocalypticism.

The Qurʾān's entanglement with this ideological milieu had long gone unnoticed. It has only recently been discovered thanks to new historical studies in the 7<sup>th</sup> century as a time of "world crisis",<sup>18</sup> which has induced a turn in Quranic studies. Meanwhile the relationship between the Qurʾān and the apocalyptic ideology

13 See Zishan Ghaffar, *Der Koran in seinem religions- und weltgeschichtlichen Kontext*, Berlin 2019; and the commentary in Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Spätmittelmekkanische Suren* (forthcoming).

14 This exegetical genre is keen to adduce all pertinent information available in Biblical tradition to illuminate the allegedly gapped Quranic text. This often results in a complete reversal of the theological intention of the Qurʾānic text which critically revisits and often rejects the transmitted earlier interpretations.

15 See e.g. Al-Thaʿlabi (died 1053), *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. A German translation and commentary has been provided by Heribert Busse, *Islamische Erzählungen von Propheten und Gottesmännern*, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 388–392.

16 See the references in Heribert Busse, "The Destruction of the Temple and its reconstruction in the light of Muslim exegesis of sura 17:2–8", in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), pp. 1–17.

17 Busse, "Destruction", p. 17.

18 See Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*.

of its milieu has become a major point of contention: Some attempts – put forward by Late Antiquity scholars, specializing in the Christian (Byzantine and Syriac) apocalyptic literature of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup> – to classify the Qurʾān itself as such as an apocalyptic text still call for a more thorough discussion.

This paper pursues a contrary approach. It proceeds not from a universal apocalyptic ideology as a given that should have affected all the religious thinking of the wider milieu – it instead proceeds from the Qurʾān itself, whose extended communication process points in a different direction. Already the earliest suras – which in the view of the claimants of apocalypticism rank as their most telling testimonies – attest, on closer view, to an intent to ward off that ideology.<sup>20</sup> The Qurʾān as a whole shows familiarity with apocalyptic speculations, it does not, however, absorb them, but rather offers an ever more sharp critique of apocalypticism.

### 3 Back to history: A peripheral community and its discovery of Jerusalem as its center

How can the encounter of a peripheral Arab community with those ‘global’ ideological movements be imagined? Since historical documents are missing, the developments need to be deduced from the Qurʾānic texts themselves.<sup>21</sup> One possible explanation may be a discontent of the community. The community around Muhammad originated from an urban settlement – Mecca – centered around a sacred precinct, a *Haram*, with a Temple, *bayt*, of its own, the Kaʿba. But although Mecca enjoyed considerable prestige as a center of trade and pilgrimage in the wider Peninsula, it could not claim to be a religious or learned center that would radiate into its wider milieu. It rather constituted – as Christian Robin has put it – an enclave, indeed “a pocket” of paganism on the Peninsula, whose south and north had already become monotheist.<sup>22</sup> The community who had come to reject the local cult<sup>23</sup> had to look for a center elsewhere.

19 This is upheld by scholars such as Stephen Shoemaker, *The Apocalypse of Empire. Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Philadelphia 2018; Tommaso Tesei, “The Romans Will Win! Q 30:2–7 in Light of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Political Eschatology”, in: *Der Islam* 95 (2018), pp. 1–29 and Kevin Van Bladel, “The Alexander Legend in the Qurʾān 18:83–102”, in: *The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context*, ed. by Gabriel S. Reynolds, New York 2008, pp. 175–203. See the critique presented by Ghaffar, *Weltgeschichtlicher Kontext*.

20 See Angelika Neuwirth, “Von Apokalypse zu Exodus. Die Koranische Umkehrung der biblischen Diskursfolge” in *SERAPHIM* 10. Göttingen 2020, pp. 146–163.

21 It is hard to ignore that the community’s notion of space and thus of center and periphery changed dramatically during the stages of the ministry of the Prophet. The (relative) chronology on which the following assumptions are based has been established in the Corpus Coranicum project, see: [www.corpuscoranicum.de](http://www.corpuscoranicum.de).

22 Christian Julian Robin, oral communication during a discussion held at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, December 2016.

23 For a strictly historical perspective see Patricia Crone, “The Religion of the Qurʾānic Pagans: God and the Lesser Deities”, in: *The Qurʾānic Pagans and Related Matters. Collected Studies in Three volumes*, ed. by Hanna Siurua, Leiden 2016, vol. 1, pp. 52–101.

Thinking of a center, there was no rival to Jerusalem, the birth place of monotheism and the “cradle of prophethood”, to use a honorific introduced by Uri Rubin,<sup>24</sup> which in addition, thanks to the monumental churches built by the emperors Constantine and Justinian (exhibited on the Madaba map from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century), had come to enjoy the status of the uncontested hub of Christian pilgrimage.<sup>25</sup> The Christian city had widely retained its Roman urban features,

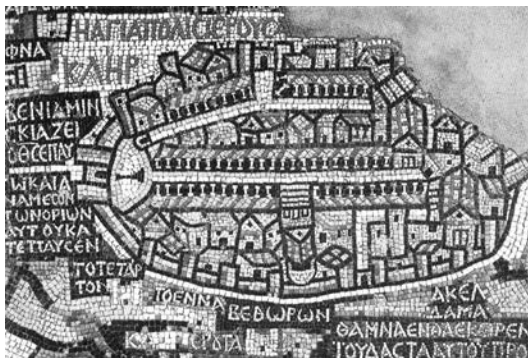


Fig. 3: The Madaba map with the Anastasis Church in its center and no space for the Temple site

which had been established in Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina,<sup>26</sup> not only in terms of its road system – with a city gate adorned by a statue, two *cardines*, a *decumanus*, and a *forum* – it also reflected the Roman anti-Jewish bias: as in the Roman city, so in the Christian Jerusalem there was no space left for the Temple site. It goes without saying that Jewish settlement was limited if not also forbidden. This distribution of urban units was to leave an area of approximately an eighth of the city void. It is no wonder then that this aesthetically offensive and theologically highly ambiguous void triggered the genesis of ‘imagined Temples’.

To turn to the early Christians first: An indicator of an imagined substitute of the Temple is found in the traces left on the south-eastern verge of the area of a monumental Church of the virgin Mary, the ‘Nea’.<sup>27</sup> This architectural ‘almost-supersession’ of the Temple leads us to one of the most powerful imaginations of the Temple in Christian Tradition which is still alive in liturgy: The Virgin Mary – imagined as the spiritual, animated Temple, *empsychos naos*.

#### 4 The Christian imagination: Mary – the animated Temple

The particular dedication of the Church closest to the Temple Mount is no accident but part of a political statement that is relevant for the Quranic message. One has to keep in mind that in the 7<sup>th</sup> century two great religions each relying on a great empire – Christianity protected by the Byzantines, under the leadership of the

24 Uri Rubin, “Muhammad’s Night Journey (*isrā’*) to al-Masjid al-Aqsa: Aspects of the Earliest Origins of the Islamic Sanctity of Jerusalem”, in: *al-Qantara* 29 (2008), pp. 147–65.

25 Phillip Alexander, “Jerusalem as the Omphalos of the World. On the History of a Geographical Concept”, in: *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 104–116.

26 Yoram Tsafir, “The Holy City of Jerusalem in the Madaba Map”, in: *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997*, ed. by Michele Picirillo and Antonio Aliata, Jerusalem 1999, pp. 158–163.

27 Tsafir, “Jerusalem”, p. 162.

emperor Heracleios, and Judaism militarily supported by the Persian Sasanians – were fighting over predominance in the Southern Mediterranean. Jerusalem with its holy sites and relics was for both sides symbolically highly significant. Thus, from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, a further, new – ideological – role had accrued to the city: the apocalyptic. Jerusalem in Byzantine imperial eschatology had become the stage of apocalyptic events where the last Roman emperor would render his crown to Christ<sup>28</sup> – a most powerful imagination, that exerted a strong impact at least on the long-time reigning Heracleios. On the other hand the turmoils enhanced the never given-up expectation of a Jewish renewal of the Temple – a desire that had been expressed in the daily prayer since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, where it says:

To Jerusalem your city may Thou return in compassion and may Thou dwell in it as You promised. May You rebuild it rapidly in our days as an everlasting structure and install in it the throne of David. Blessed are You, Lord, who rebuilds Jerusalem.

Thus, each of the two empires and their allies had lined up behind a great symbol – the Jerusalem Temple waiting to be rebuilt, and the Virgin Mary who had through the synod of Ephesus in 431 been honored with the title of Theotokos, “she who bore God”. In this faculty she could be celebrated as the spiritual, the “animated Temple”: as the Temple had “contained the *shekhina*, she had contained the *logos*. This theology is most suggestively expressed in a famous Byzantine hymn, the Akathistos Hymn,<sup>29</sup> dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which had gained new effectiveness in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century during the wars of Heracleios: Its last stanza says about the Virgin Mary:

*As we sing in honor of your giving birth, we all praise you, a living temple, Theotokos. The Lord who holds all in his hands dwelt in your womb – made you holy, made you glorious, and taught us all to cry to you:*

*Hail Mary, tabernacle of God and the Word  
Hail, Mary, greater than the Holy of Holies  
Hail, Mary, ark gilded by the Spirit . . .  
Hail, Mary, precious diadem of pious kings,  
Hail, Mary, holy exaltation of pious priests,  
Hail, Mary, immovable tower of the Church,  
Hail, Mary, impregnable wall of the kingdom,  
Hail Mary, through whom trophies are raised up  
Hail, Mary, through whom enemies fall*

28 Lorenzo Perrone, “The Mystery of Judaea (Jerome, Ep. 46). The Holy City of Jerusalem between History and Symbol in Early Christian Thought”, in: *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 221–239.

29 A presentation of the hymn and a theological analysis is offered by Mari leena Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden 2004.

*Hail, Mary, healing of my body*  
*Hail, Mary, protection of my soul*  
*Hail, bride, unwedded.*

Thus, the void of the deserted Temple Mount in the 7<sup>th</sup> century had not only been super-structured by the Jewish national messianic vision of the Temple to be restored in the rebuilt Jerusalem such as is expressed in the daily prayer, but also by the equally messianic temple allegory of the Virgin Mary's body closely tied to the idea of incarnation.

### 5 Temple imaginations reflected in the Qur'ān I: responses to Christianity

The Qur'ānic communication refers to both of them. It rejects them both. A Meccan sura on Mary, Q 19,<sup>30</sup> that equally contextualizes Mary with the Temple, recalls the last stanza of the Akathistos hymn, being unusually poetic in sound and structure. Though generically presenting a narrative, the sura equally displays distinct hymnal traits:<sup>31</sup>

- 16 *And mention in the Scripture Mary*  
*when she withdrew from her people to an eastern place,*  
 17 *and she took a veil apart from them; then We sent unto her Our Spirit*  
*that presented himself to her a man without fault.*  
 18 *She said, 'I take refuge in the All-merciful from thee! If thou fearest God .*  
 19 *He said, 'I am but a messenger come from thy Lord, to give thee a boy most*  
*pure.'*  
 20 *She said, 'How shall I have a son*  
*I whom no mortal has touched, and neither have I been unchaste?'*  
 21 *He said, 'Even so thy Lord has said: "Easy is that for Me;*  
*and that We may appoint him a sign unto men and a mercy from Us;*  
*it is a thing decreed.'"*

Mary's status reflects that of a nun or a recluse in Late Antiquity. A mythical scenario without clear space and time coordinates is established: Mary has approached *an eastern place* (*makānan sharqīyyā*, Q 19:16). That location, which has no recognisable narrative function, can best be explained in exegetical terms. It seems to entail a reminiscence of a messianic Christian tradition that allegorically equates the body of the Virgin Mary with the Temple, whose closed (eastern) gate – according to the prophecy of Ezechiel 44:1 – will only be opened by „the Prince“. Mary's womb in the exegesis of the early Church fathers such as Hieronymos, Ambrosius and others has become the gate of the Temple through which the redeemer

<sup>30</sup> See Ghaffar, *Weltgeschichtlicher Kontext*.

<sup>31</sup> See for Surat Maryam Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Frühmittelmeckkanische Suren*, Bd. 2/1, Berlin 2017, pp. 586–658.

will come forth.<sup>32</sup> This allegorical codation of the „eastern place“ with its strong Christological implications is, however, dissolved in the Qurʾān. Viewed within the Quranic context, the location presents itself rather as a station on Mary’s way to the “remote space” where she will give birth. A weighty allegory has thus been downgraded to a marginal narrative detail. – There are still further de-allegorizations found in the text, all of which presuppose acquaintance with patristic theology.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand there is no word of a divine election of Mary in this story, nor, what is most important, at this stage, a prediction of the particular rank the child will occupy – the Gospel’s promise of a messianic succession of David has been suppressed. Luke 1:28f: “He will be great and will be called the son of the Most High God. The Lord will give him the throne of David and he will reign over the descendants of Jacob forever”. Instead, the child – insofar as born by a virgin – will be a sign, *āya*, in accordance with Isaia 7:14: “Behold the young woman (Greek version: *parthenos*) is with child and she will bear a son...”, which – taken as a messianic prophecy – is adduced in the Gospel (Matthew 1:23), to highlight Jesus’ messianic status. In the Qurʾān his rank as a “sign” is devoid of messianic associations; he will be a manifestation of mercy, *raḥma*, and thus prefigure the core virtue of the Christian faith. This promise of *raḥma* seems to be due to the image of the child’s mother, the Virgin Mary, the only female figure bearing a name in the Qurʾān. She enters the Quranic discourse not as an ordinary person but as a woman uniquely graced by God. In the Gospel (Luke 1:30) she is addressed as Mary full of grace, *Maria plena gratia, kecharitomene*, an aura that her son in the Quranic version will share with her. Although in the Qurʾān Mary’s honorific is not explicit, her story seems to epitomize the narrative behind one of the most prominent Byzantine icons – the image that is canonically found on the left side of the door to the altar space which portrays the Virgin Mary holding her child in her lap.

The story is continued with Mary’s birthgiving showing her surprisingly devoid of maternal sentiments; without consideration of the child she rather deplores her own destiny. Should this attitude reflect the Jewish tradition reported in the Talmud Yerushalmi and other sources about the Mother of the Messiah (Menahem)<sup>34</sup> who cannot cope with the fact that the birth of her son coincided with the destruction of the Temple (or: who guesses that he will bring disaster over her people)<sup>35</sup> and who therefore wished his death? The child indeed disappears in an

32 This imagination goes back to the early Church Fathers, see Kenneth Stevenson and Michael Glerup, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament XIII. Ezekiel, Daniel*, Illinois 2007, pp. 141f. Cf. Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Frühmittelmeckkanische Suren*, Berlin 2017, pp. 611–14.

33 Michael Marx, “Glimpses of a Mariology in the Qurʾān. From Hagiography to Theology via Religious Debates”, in: *The Qurʾān in Context*, pp. 533–564. For translations of pertinent Syriac texts from the hymns of Ephrem, see Sebastian Brock, *Bride of Light: Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches*, Kerala 1994.

34 Martha Himmelfarb, “The Mother of the Messiah in the Talmud Yerushalmi and Sefer Zerubbabel”, in: *The Talmud Yerushalmi in Graeco-Roman Culture*, Bd 3., ed. by Peter Schäfer, Tübingen 2003, pp. 379–389.

35 See Peter Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus. How Judaism and Christianity shaped each other*, Princeton 2012,

enigmatic way. In the Sura, the mother of the new-born is equally desperate, but it is her own death, not her child's, that she yearns for. Whatever its relation to the Jewish story may be, the Sura does not follow the story line of the Talmudic story but has the child play an active role pointing out sources for survival and later defending his mother verbally, and thus comes close to the apocryphal stories told about the child Jesus' miracles. Although the conclusion of the sura looks like a plain narrative, the allegation put forward by Mary's relatives in verse 27 could be understood as an echo of the Jewish calumny that attributes Mary's pregnancy to the intercourse with a (Roman) stranger. A hidden Temple reference is to be found in verse 28, where Mary is addressed as the "sister of Aaron" a clear indication of the acknowledgement of the Christian religion stemming from the monotheist cult of the Temple:

- 22     *So she conceived him, and withdrew with him to a distant place.*  
 23     *And the birthpangs surprised her by the trunk of the palm-tree.*  
        *She said, 'Would I had died ere this, and become a thing forgotten!'*  
 24     *But the one that was below her called to her, 'Nay, do not sorrow;*  
        *see, thy Lord has set below thee a rivulet.*  
 25     *Shake also to thee the palm-trunk,*  
        *and there shall come tumbling upon thee dates fresh and ripe.*  
 26     *Eat therefore, and drink, and be comforted;*  
        *and if thou shouldst see any mortal, say,*  
        *"I have vowed to the All-merciful a fast,*  
        *and today I will not speak to any man."'*  
 27     *Then she brought the child to her folk carrying him; and they said,*  
        *'Mary, thou hast surely committed a monstrous thing!*  
 28     *Sister of Aaron, thy father was not a wicked man,*  
        *nor was thy mother a woman unchaste.'*  
 29     *Mary pointed to the child then; but they said, 'How shall we speak to one*  
        *who is still in the cradle, a little child?'*  
 30     *He said, 'Lo, I am God's servant; God has given me the Scripture,*  
        *and made me a Prophet.*  
 31     *Blessed He has made me, wherever I may be;*  
        *and He has enjoined me to pray, and to give the alms, so long as I live,*  
 32     *and likewise to cherish my mother;*  
        *He has not made me arrogant, unprosperous.*  
 33     *Peace be upon me, the day I was born, and the day I die,*  
        *and the day I am raised up alive!'*

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pp. 214–228. This reading "from a bird's eye perspective", conscious of the story's peculiar vantage point of a Messiah already born presents the story as a satirical re-reading of the Christian birth narratives. The otherwise unknown detail of Mary's despair in the Quranic story may entail an allusion to the ambiguity immanent in the circumstances of Mary's birthgiving.

This address at first glance, appears to be an identification of Mary with the Old Testament Miriam, the sister of Moses, mirroring a typological interpretation, such as was cherished by the early church fathers, which sought to connect the events around Moses with those around the Virgin Mary and Jesus. But the reference points to Aaron, not Moses, thus evoking other Biblical memories. Thus, the Protevangelium ascribes the choice of Joseph among acceptable suitors for Mary's hand to a sign connected to Aaron: 'like Aaron whose rod alone bloomed among those of the Egyptian magicians, so Joseph's rod produced a dove, and this marked him for his destiny'.<sup>36</sup> The reference to Aaron points to a further dimension of significance, that is, to the Virgin Mary's theological rank as a metaphorical prototype of the church, and thus implicitly of the Jerusalem Temple (whose sacrificial cult goes back to Aaron). Following this argument, Mary may be called a "Sister of Aaron" insofar as she symbolises the heritage of the Temple: the Christian church. Though this symbolic dimension has no theological bearing on the Qur'anic story, it will be maintained throughout the Qur'an and be reflected in Medina in the designation of Mary's family as the "House of Amram" (*Āl 'Imrān*).<sup>37</sup> Again, an ecclesiastical reference has been stripped of its allegorical function; it has been turned into a honorific of Mary, who in the Qur'an it is found closely related to the cultic tradition established by Aaron rather than being herself physically involved in the emergence of a new soteriological paradigm.

## 6 Temple Imaginations reflected in the Qur'an II:

### The Persian occupation of Jerusalem of 614 and its repercussions: the community's spiritual sanctuary (*masjid*)

Let us turn to another Temple reflection in the Qur'an: the imagination of the earliest community of a spiritual sanctuary. We have to assume that the decisive step of the Quranic community's self-affiliation to Jerusalem as its center occurred at no random time. It is closely related to the crucial contemporary war event: the Persian assault on Jerusalem in 614, one of the most devastating defeats suffered by the emperor Heracleios (r. 610–641).<sup>38</sup> The Byzantines' loss of Jerusalem in the eyes of many contemporaries in that year seemed to announce a catastrophic turn. Contemporary reports mention the mass murder of Christian inhabitants, the burning down of churches and the capture of the relic of the Holy Cross. Since the Sasanians favored the Jews over the Christians this development seemed to contemporaries to reverse the religious-political status quo, thus arousing apocalyptic associations. To quote Guy Stroumsa: "At least from the conquest of Jerusalem by the Sasanians in 614 and the capture of the holy Cross, the Christian world was rife with expectations of the *Endzeit*, with its traditional imagery of cosmic war be-

36 Protevangelium 9, 1. Ronald F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, [= Scholars Bible], Rome 1995.

37 See Angelika Neuwirth, "The House of Abraham and the House of Amram. Genealogy, Patriarchal Authority, and Exegetical Professionalism", in: *The Qur'an in Context*, pp. 499–532.

38 See the historical reports in Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*.



tween the forces of light and darkness."<sup>39</sup> In Jewish circles messianic hopes flared up, amply documented in writings of various literary genres, apocalyptic reports and liturgical poems, *piyyutim*, alike.<sup>40</sup> – Reflections of these apocalyptic waves are clearly apparent in the Qurʾān as well. Muhammad himself seems to have been affected by the dynamics unleashed by the event.

The chief protagonist in the continuous warfare, who has left numerous traces in the Qurʾān, is the Byzantine emperor Heracleios. Early in his long reign he had stylized himself as a messianic ruler, striving to re-embody the Jerusalemite kings David and Solomon who had been promised a non-ending reign. "Heracleios might very well have thought he was opening the last phase of the millennium as *praeparatio* for the Second Coming."<sup>41</sup> The claim already raised for Constantine is documented in the hymns sung at the Patrocinium of the Jerusalem Anastasis Church, on May 21<sup>st</sup>, which establish him as a worthy successor of David and Solomon. It re-appears in Heracleios' self-apprehension as the successor of the two kings, his military activity was thus charged with eschatological significance.

His typological relation to David and Solomon is – as recent scholarship has discovered<sup>42</sup> – reflected in the Qurʾān as well. The ideological point is however reversed. In the middle Meccan Suras, a number of biblical stories are related, which focus on the issue of the just ruler, and in which the biblical kings David and Solomon figure prominently. They are however presented in a surprisingly non-historical guise as pious and introspective, remorseful, figures, *awwabun* – completely devoid of any messianic dimension: their rule will not be "forever" as the Bible (2 Sam 7:16) says; nor are they pre-figurations of Christ, but instead blessed with wisdom and introspection. Recent scholarship – by Zishan Ghaffar<sup>43</sup> – has shown that these figures do not reference ancient tradition but were topical at the time as prefigurations of the ruling emperor, who – to enhance his transhistorical significance – had himself celebrated as the "new David" and the "new Solomon". The Qurʾān reverses this exegetical bias: here the Biblical rulers are re-styled into wise and self-restrained figures, devoid of eschatological functions. Not only is Heracleios' hubris thus 'corrected' and the scriptural figures are restored to their Biblical dignity, but their stories could even be used to refute the apocalyptic discourse of the time.

We can only speculate about the trajectory of the transmission of the apocalyptic ideology, but it appears as if the prophet Muhammad himself was affected

39 Guy G. Stroumsa, "False Prophet, False Messiah and the Religious Scene in Seventh-Century Jerusalem", in: *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. by Markus Bockmuehl and James C. Paget, London/New York 2007, pp. 285–296, here: p. 289.

40 See Günter Stemberger, "Jerusalem in the early seventh century: Hopes and Aspirations of Christians and Jews", in: *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 260–272.

41 Irfan Shahid, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), p. 308 (quoted by Ghaffar, *Weltgeschichtlicher Kontext*.)

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

by the event of 614. Heracleios' claim to David's and Solomon's Jerusalem on the one hand, and the Jewish hopes to re-establish the throne of David in Jerusalem on the other – had both gained momentum with the Persian assault on Jerusalem. Muhammad's famous "visionary journey to Jerusalem" can be understood as an intervention into the post 614–debate about Jerusalem's status, see Q 17:1:

*subhāna lladhī asrā bi-‘abdihi laylan  
mina l-masjidi l-ḥarāmi ilā l-masjidi l-aqṣā  
lladhi bāraknā ḥawlahu  
li-nuriyahu min āyātīnā  
innahu huwa l-samī‘u l-‘alīm.*

Glory be to him who led his servant out by night (*isrā'*)  
from the sacred place of prayer (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*, i.e. the Ka'ba)  
to the farther place of prayer (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*)  
of which we have blessed the precincts<sup>44</sup>  
so that we may show him some of our signs,  
He is the hearing, the seeing.

The target of his journey, referred to as *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, "the farther (or farthest) sanctuary", could be a non-terrestrial site. Yet it is associated loosely with the earthly "Blessed Land", "whose precincts we have blessed", an ambiguity which is in tune with Jerusalem's widespread recognition as the *axis mundi*, a site oscillating between heaven and earth.

The verse contains several novelties: it presents a new notion of sanctuary, termed *masjid*, not synonymous to the earlier notion of a *bayt*, a stone-built Temple. A *masjid*<sup>45</sup> serves spiritual needs, it is a simple place of prostration, irrespective of its being roofed, integrated into a building or existing under the open sky or even in the transcendent realm. The concept reflects the polemics of biblical prophets against the image of God as being 'housed' in a *bayt*, in a stone built Temple. The initial doxology of the verse echoes the Biblical *locus classicus* for the perception of God's presence in a non-spatial but rather cosmic sanctuary. It is the equally doxological exclamation *Barukh kevod YHWH mimqomo*. "Praised be the glory of the Lord from his place!" (Ez 3:12) which the prophet Ezechiel hears during his vision of the throne chariot (Ez 3:12–15). In recent scholarship *mimqomo* is taken to indicate the absence of the real Temple, God having taken "his place", *meqomo*, outside

<sup>44</sup> See for a more detailed discussion of the verse Uri Rubin, "Muhammad's Night Journey", pp. 147–65, and Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Spätmittelmekkanische Suren*, (forthcoming).

<sup>45</sup> The lexeme is probably a neologism coined to avoid the use of the conventional designation *bayt*. It may well be a new derivative of the root *s-j-d*. The *nomen loci* 'masjid' is however found in a South Arabian Jewish inscription to denote a house of prayer, see Christian J. Robin, "L'Arabie dans le Coran. Reexamen de quelques termes à la lumière des inscriptions pre-islamiques", in: *Les origines du Coran, le Coran des origines*, ed. by Francois Déroche, Christian J. Robin and Michel Zink, Paris 2015, pp. 27–74.

the Temple, in the cosmos as such<sup>46</sup>. In later exegesis the exclamation has been ascribed to the angels who celebrate their worship in the upper space. Muhammad's visionary journey – not essentially different from Ezechiel's vision – marks an important turn in his prophetic experience, affording him the intuition of a no-longer spatially determined, a no-longer terrestrial Temple. *Al-Masjid al-Aqsā*, at once an abbreviation for Jerusalem and the designation of a transcendent place, for the community henceforth becomes their spiritual sanctuary, worthy to be their *qibla*, the destination of their daily prayers.<sup>47</sup> This early Jerusalem *qibla*, though not attested in the Qur'an, can be deduced with some plausibility from multiple references to prayer in Sura *al-Isrā'*.

### 7 Temple imaginations reflected in the Qur'an III: Dealing with the Jewish Temple heritage

The adoption of Jerusalem, the earthly reflection of the spiritual Temple, as a center is, however, no mere liturgical issue. Jerusalem is the stage of a paradigmatic event in antiquity which in many contemporaries' perception was refigured with the occupation of 614. It was received as a fatal blow which impacted monotheist believers universally. What has happened in Jerusalem, appears as a restaging of the earlier catastrophic assault on Jerusalem in history: the destruction of the Temple. Q 17:4–8 says:

- 4     We decreed to the Israelites in the Scripture:  
      You shall corrupt the earth twice  
      And shall soar to a great height.
- 5     When the time came for the first of two promises  
      We sent against you servants of ours of great might  
      And they marched against your habitations, shedding blood –  
      A promise fulfilled. (...)
- 7     When the second promise arrived,  
      We sent against you servants of ours  
      To abase your faces  
      To break into the Temple (*al-masjid*) as they did once before  
      And to destroy utterly whatever they laid their hands upon.
- 8     Perhaps your lord will show you mercy;  
      But if you begin again, we shall begin again (...).

46 The scenario has been explained lucidly by Peter Schäfer, *Die Ursprünge der jüdischen Mystik*, Berlin 2011, pp. 58–82, see also: Carla Sulzbach, "Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven and In-Between", in: *The changing faces of Judaism, Christianity and other Graeco-Roman religions in Antiquity*, ed. by Ian H. Henderson and Gerbern S. Oegema, Gütersloh 2006, pp. 47–62.

47 See Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike. Ein europäischer Zugang*, Berlin 2010, pp. 365–357. English version: *The Qur'an and Late Antiquity. A shared heritage*. Oxford 2019, pp. 282–290 see also the commentary on Surat *al-Isrā'*, in: Neuwirth, *Der Koran 2/2 Spätmitelmeckkanische Suren* (forthcoming).

This Temple destruction report comes as a surprise. Qur'ānic narratives rarely dwell on post-biblical historical events. Here, both the Babylonian destruction of the Temple from 586 B.C. and the Roman destruction from 70 C.E. are remembered. Their combination to form one divine predicament follows Jewish models<sup>48</sup>. The report is not an unbiased historical flashback, but typologically reflects the contemporaneous event of 614 whose association with the earlier destruction(s) had become a commonplace in Byzantine historiography of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Strategios, a major Byzantine chronicler of the event,<sup>49</sup> equally contextualized the events only to blame both on the victims themselves. The objective of the Qur'ānic synopsis is, however, different. It is a transparent critique of ideology: There is ample attention paid to divine promises (*wa'd* appears four times) – but what promises? Looked upon closely, the report presents a truncated story: What in Jewish imagination was an inseparable chain of events: the destruction of the Temple and the promise of the eventual advent of the Messiah – according to one Jewish tradition he was born on the day of the Temple destruction<sup>50</sup> –, in the Qur'ānic rendering is disrupted. There are only two Temple-related promises, *al-wa'd al-awwal* and *wa'd al-ākhir* (the first and the last promise, both being promises of destruction) The future – once the second promise has come true -- is left to the Israelites themselves who are invited to repent. To highlight the divine control over both history and its eschatological outcome, excluding any reference to a messianic figure, the warrant of divine promises in Judaism, serves as a means to ward off the powerful ideology. It is through silence, through 'negative intertextuality', that the messianic ideology current in the Qur'ān's milieu is addressed.

Whereas the Jews remain unnamed in the Meccan suras, the other party, the Byzantines, are explicitly named, they are referred to as the (East-)Romans, *al-Rūm*, obviously an objective, non-polemic designation. It has even been noted that the Meccan Suras display a surprising empathy for the cause of the later-on adversary Heracleios, in spite of the emperor's apocalyptic leanings. This seems to transpire from the famous *ghulibat al-Rūm* verses, Surat *al-Rūm*, Q 30:2–5:

*Ghulibati l-Rūm/  
fī adnā l-arḍ  
wa-hum min ba'di ghalbihim sa-yaghlabūn/  
bi-bid'i l-sinīn  
li-llāhi l-amru min qablu wa-min ba'du  
wa-yatoma'idhīn yafrāḥu l-mu'minūn/  
bi-naṣri llāhi , yanṣuru man yashā'u  
wa-huwa l-azīzu l-ḥakīm.*

48 See for individual Jewish intertexts Ghaffar, *Weltgeschichtlicher Kontext*.

49 See Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*, pp. 163–167, and Stemberger, "Jerusalem in the early seventh century", pp. 260–272.

50 See Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus*, pp. 214–228.

The Byzantines have been defeated in the nearest land.  
 They will reverse their defeat with a victory  
 in a few years time ...  
 To God belong the affairs, those of the past and those ahead.  
 On that day the believers will rejoice at God's help (*bi-naṣri llāhi*).  
 He helps whoever he pleases (...).

The verses have been considered enigmatic:<sup>51</sup> What kind of prediction is made here? When were the verses communicated? The short Quranic section with its political statement allows for an approximate dating: It should have been communicated around 616 since it refers, as Zishan Ghaffar has discovered,<sup>52</sup> to a propagandistic measure taken by Heracleios who in 616, two years after his defeat, had silver coins struck bearing the inscription *Deus adiuta Romanis*, "God help the Romans", a slogan that seems to be echoed in the expression *bi-naṣri llāhi*. There have been numerous speculations to explain the Qur'ānic empathy and moreover the exact meaning of the prediction taken as a prophecy. Again, less a historical statement than the de-mythification of one of the war parties seems to be at stake: not only have the Temple destruction stories been emptied of their eschatological significance which they bore in Jewish and Christian exegesis. Equally, the Byzantine victory, which the coin inscription was evoking, will be without eschatological relevance. The defeat and the destruction of the city had been a catastrophe, hence the settlement which will follow will be a reason for the monotheist pious to rejoice, but even this settlement will be to God's discretion, there will be no apocalyptic follow-up. To God is the decision on the before and the after.

## 8 The Medinan turn and the establishment of an Arabian center

In the Medinan period of the Qur'ān's communication, during the ten years following the emigration of the community from Mecca to Medina, a place that hosted a learned Jewish community, a number of changes occur. Very soon, "Temples of stone" are rehabilitated. The image of a spiritually overarched world<sup>53</sup> with a non-terrestrial "farther sanctuary", was subdued to rationalization. Medinan communications evince a politically informed pragmatic rethinking of the message. One of the first revisions of earlier held views was to hit a liturgical issue: the orientation of prayer, the *qibla* to *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*. The spiritual notion of the Jerusalem-related sanctuary as a universal site of prayer turned out incompatible with

51 It has even been transmitted in two mutually exclusive readings, the one accepted here refers to a Byzantine defeat, whereas the reading *ghalabat* presupposes a victory. See for the distribution of these variants over particular exegetical phases of development Nadia M. El Cheikh, "Sūrat Al-Rūm. A Study of the Exegetical Literature", in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1998), pp. 356–364; cf. also Nadia M. El Cheikh, "Muḥammad and Heraclius. A Study in Legitimacy", in: *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999), pp. 5–21.

52 See Ghaffar, *Weltgeschichtlicher Kontext*.

53 See Angelika Neuwirth, *Die koranische Verzauberung der Welt und ihre Entzauberung in der Geschichte*, Freiburg 2017, pp. 40–44.



Fig. 4: Floor mosaic of the synagogue Beit Alpha in Galilee

the Jewish claim to Jerusalem as their national emblem. Muslim adherence to the Jerusalem direction of prayer became questionable.<sup>54</sup> Jerusalem, already laden with biblical promises had, furthermore, in rabbinic tradition, attracted a new foundation narrative, claiming that its Temple was built on the very foundations of the altar that the progenitor of the Jewish people,

Abraham, together with Isaac, had raised for their sacrifice<sup>55</sup> – a scene sometimes reproduced in the iconography of late antique synagogues.

The underlying genealogical etiology of the Temple concept was incompatible with the community's imagination of Jerusalem as a spiritual site. The abolition of the Jerusalem *qibla* was unavoidable. It is attested in Q 2:142–5:

*The fools among the people will say,  
What has turned them from the direction they were facing in their prayers afore-  
time?*

*Say: To God belong the East and the West, He guides whomsoever He will to a  
straight path.*

*He has made you a people of the middle (umma wasaʿ)  
that ye may be witnesses in regard to mankind and that the apostle may be witness  
in regard to you. (...)*

*We have seen you turning your face about in the heaven  
Now We will surely turn you to a direction that shall satisfy you.  
Turn your face towards the Holy place of worship (al-masjid al-ḥaram)  
And wherever you are, turn your faces towards it.*

The step obviously was controversial. Yet, to adopt the Ka'ba – which had been raised to the rank of a *masjid* already in Q 17:1 – as the new center was auspicious: Like the Jewish Jerusalem, Mecca was a nationally significant site with a pristine local history. Moreover, it could be connected to the same mythical event that had afforded the Jewish Temple its genealogical significance: Abraham's preparedness to sacrifice his son.<sup>56</sup> That event, according to the Medinan Qur'an is staged not in the Holy Land, but in Mecca. Abraham received the call to sacrifice his son during

54 The development is not documented but can be deduced from Medinan additions to Meccan verses such as Q 37:102, see Neuwirth, *Frühmittelmeckkanische Suren*, pp. 190–195.

55 See Joseph Witztum, "The Foundations of the House. Q 2:127", in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies* 72 (2009), pp. 25–40.

56 See Angelika Neuwirth, "Wissenstransfer durch Typologie. Relektüren des Abrahamsopfers im Koran und im islamischen Kultus", in: *Denkraum Spätantike*, pp. 169–208.

his Meccan pilgrimage, Q 37:102.<sup>57</sup> Building the altar for the sacrifice, both he and his son laid the foundations for the Ka'ba. – This is made explicit in the Medinan Surat *al-Baqara*:

*When Abraham, and Ishmael raised up the foundations of the Temple (bayt):  
(They prayed:) Our Lord receive this (sacrifice) from us.  
You are the all-hearing, the all-knowing. (Q 2:127)*

The reversal of the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca, retrospectively, proved to have been a sort of 'declaration of independence'. Coming to possess a center of its own, the new community was finally fit to establish a sovereign polity – even to pursue the project of the ingathering of the Arabian tribes under Muslim rule with military means. What begins early in Medina is a militant phase of their communal life, with practices similar to those exerted by Heracleios,<sup>58</sup> whose warfare and war propaganda had long overshadowed the small-scale history of the Ḥijāz.

What occurs here is no longer a 'correction' of Heracleios' self-mythification as a "second Solomon" by mitigating it into the image of a benevolent ruler, but rather a step towards his 'succession', by adopting similar political stratagems Muhammad's rapprochement to Heracleios as a commander was supported, as Walid Saleh has shown, by a new biblical-Qur'ānic theology of war. While his career in Mecca had resembled the life of Moses, a leader who did not wage wars, the prophet after the emigration, with the constitution of a polity, entered a phase comparable to that of the Israelite kings 'after Moses'. In the real world of Medina, where the prophet was a king in disguise, the 'enduring prophet' of Mecca changed into a 'militant prophet'. The new models were the heroes from the biblical books of Kings who had to deal with *al-mala' min banī Isrā'īl min ba'di Mūsā*. From their history, which is related in Q 2:246–53; 246, one utterance could serve as the motto for the new ethos:<sup>59</sup>

*Why should we refuse to fight for the sake of God  
when we have been driven from our dwellings and our children?*

## 9 A final glance on Muhammad and Heracleios

It is seldom explicitly stated that Heracleios and Muhammad are related to each other as predecessor and successor. Yet not only were the Eastern Mediterranean provinces that had been recovered by Herakleios during his long wars 610–628

<sup>57</sup> Sura 37:102, see Neuwirth, *Frühmittelmekkanische Suren*, pp. 161f.

<sup>58</sup> See Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003; and Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*.

<sup>59</sup> See Walid Saleh, "End of Hope. Suras 10–15, Despair and a Way Out of Mecca", in: *Qur'ānic Studies Today*, ed. by Angelika Neuwirth and Michael Sells, London/New York 2016; and Walid Saleh, "What if you refuse, when ordered to fight? King Saul (Tālū) in the Qur'an and Post-Quranic Literature", in: *Saul in Story and Tradition*, ed. by Carl S. Ehrlich, Tübingen 2006, pp. 261–283.



Fig. 5: The Eastern Gate ("Golden Gate") of the Temple Mount

only one generation later to be captured by the Muslim armies. After the demise of the Sasanians, Muhammad himself, having won over various Arab tribes on the Peninsula, had advanced to the rank of a serious rival of Heracleios. Yet, the prophet does not step into the footsteps of the last Roman emperor. Although his newly established 'sacred order' came to prevail over the mundane order of pagan Arabia, he remained aloof from the apocalyptic ideologies of his time. The Qur'an clearly attests that Muhammad refrained from any claim to play

a role in speeding up the coming of the 'Hour'. The Quranic 'epistemic eschatology', according to which the Hour culminates in the acquisition of knowledge, the opening of the humans' eyes to self-knowledge, was essentially different from the Byzantine imperial eschatology: Not horrible dramatic events would follow the Hour, to install one privileged faith community over the others, but rather resurrection will occur unexpectedly without a mythic *interim*, and bring about the divine judgement for mankind universally.

To contrast the visions of rulership upheld by the two ruler figures, two short texts that enjoyed particular popularity at their time should be adduced. The first is a legend told about Heracleios:

The emperor upon re-entering Jerusalem in 630 – 26 years after the catastrophe of 614 – to restore the relic of Holy Cross to Golgotha initially met with an obstacle: Riding on horseback in his full imperial attire he approaches the Eastern Gate intending to enter the city via the Temple Mount,<sup>60</sup> a messianic gesture, since through the Eastern Gate the Messiah is due to enter.

"But suddenly stones fell down from the Gate and closed it, as if it had been blocked. In that moment an angel appears admonishing him to show modesty. The emperor thereupon puts off his imperial attire and approaches the Gate barefooted. At once the stones give way to let him pass."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The Eastern Gate is eschatologically coded. In Jewish tradition it is considered as the site through which God has left the city with the exiles after the first Temple destruction, see Ez 44,1–2. It is at once the gate through which the Messiah will enter the city.

<sup>61</sup> The legend is most conveniently accessible in the *Legenda aurea*. See Richard Benz, *Die Legenda Aurea des Jacobus de Voragine*. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt. Mit einem Nachwort von Walter Berschin, Gütersloh 1955, pp. 537–538. For earlier versions see Stephan Borgeham-



The scenario pre-stages that of the Syriac apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius according to which the last Roman emperor will put off the crown from his head and submit it to the crucified Christ.

The Roman empire, which in contemporary understanding ranged as the fourth among the empires established in the vision of Daniel, is deemed to be the last, the one in which the worldly power of the last ruler will be submitted to Christ, thus opening the way for the kingdom of God. To conjure its arrival – even only by a gesture – means to raise a pretentious apocalyptic claim, which Heracleios – according to his own war propaganda – had indeed long entertained.<sup>62</sup>

The other text is a Quranic verse which – unique in the Qurʾān – directly connects the Prophet to the transcendent world. It figures as the key verse among the quotations from the Qurʾān which ʿAbd al-Malik, the builder of the Dome of the Rock, in 691, had selected to prove Muhammad’s congeniality with Jesus.<sup>63</sup> It is not impossible that the verse goes back to the same year 630 when the prophet triumphantly reentered Mecca. Again angels are involved. The verse in Sura *al-Ahzāb* says:

*God and the angels say prayers over the prophet,  
so you who believe, say prayers over him and wish him peace. (Q 33:56)*

It is not – as with Heracleios – a miraculous appearance of angels in the earthly Jerusalem that comes to support Muhammad’s claim to rulership, but rather a collective of angels in their transcendent realm proclaims him the spiritual head of his community. With their affirmation of his prophetic rulership in the present time, the messianic and apocalyptic expectations, powerful reminders of the Temple destruction, for the community have been successfully eliminated.<sup>64</sup>

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mer, “Heraclius Learns Humility. Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of the Exaltatio Crucis”, in: *Millennium. Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* 6 (2009), pp. 145–201; cf. Andrea Sommerlechner, “Kaiser Herakleios und die Rückkehr des Heiligen Kreuzes nach Jerusalem. Überlegungen zu Stoff- und Motivgeschichte”, in: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), pp. 319–360.

62 Heracleios’ re-vanquishing of the provinces that had been lost to the Persians was deemed the precondition for the advent of the Endzeit, see Gerrit J. Reinink, “Heraclius, the new Alexander. Apocalyptic Prophecies during the Reign of Heraclius”, in: *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641). Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. by Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte, Leuven 2002, pp. 81–92.

63 See for the inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock, see Marcus Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock and its Umayyad Mosaic Inscriptions*, Edinburgh 2016. For the Umayyad politics expressed in architecture, see Amikam Elad, “Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period”, in: *Jerusalem, Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine, New York 1999, pp. 300–314.

64 They have not been exhausted however in the neighboring traditions and were to reappear in Shiʿite Islam and crop up occasionally in later Sunni Islam as well.

## 10 Concluding remarks

During the short time-span of less than 23 years – the duration of the ministry of Muhammad – the Temple heritage had gained new momentum. The Temple had during the centuries preceding the Qurʾān been reconfigured as the Jewish Synagogue and the Christian Church, both also related to a Heavenly Temple. What is new, indeed revolutionary with Islam, is that the Temple tradition became theologically momentous twice: It was first taken up to shape the image of a transcendent sanctuary beyond the ideological claims raised in the imperially oriented milieu of the Meccan community. It was later – under the influence of the Jewish community in Medina with their sacrificial memory – employed a second time to reconfigure Mecca with its sacrificial cult as a new Jerusalem. Thus, the Temple tradition, although perhaps not consciously realized, became instrumental for the emergence of a new religion. The *longue durée* of its destruction memory (of course in tandem with weighty exterior factors) in the 7<sup>th</sup> century had triggered an ideological crisis in the Southern Mediterranean world which the Quranic community confronted with unique vigor and which resulted in a new concept of eschatology, best regarded as ‘epistemic’ or ‘individual eschatology’. A comparison of the three religious traditions concerning their outbreaks of apocalyptic bias has not been carried out. Yet, the de-mythifying of the ‘destruction narrative’, the warding off of apocalypticism, deserves to be appraised as an essential achievement of the Qurʾānic message which kept at least the earliest Islam aloof from the contemporary practices of demonizing history.

One other essential achievement, again related to the Temple, is on par with it: the resumption of the biblical Temple critique with the adoption of a non-terrestrial Temple, which is at the same time related to Jerusalem. The enduring devoteness to the semi-transcendent *masjid* – side by-side with the re-establishment of Mecca’s *bayt*, the Ka’ba – is a unique theological achievement of the new faith. Jerusalem’s Dome of the Rock, the *masjid*, the spiritual sanctuary *par excellence*, therefore is not a “Third Temple” as contemporary scholars polemically tend to hold,<sup>65</sup> but a place-holder, an antitype, of the celestial Temple, the point of departure for a spiritual ascent<sup>66</sup> to the Temple’s antipode, the *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*. It is at the same time a proof of the effectiveness of Islam’s claim to be a “community of the middle” (raised in the context of the change of the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca, Q 2:143, see above), an *umma wasaʿat*. The void of the neglected Temple Mount,

65 See among others Andreas Kaplony, “635/638: The Mosque of Jerusalem (Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis)”, in: *Where Heaven and Earth Meet. Jerusalem’s Sacred Esplanade*, ed. by Oleg Graber and Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jerusalem/Austin 2009, pp. 100–131.

66 There is no need to refer to the haggadic story of the *miʾrāj* to point to the Prophet’s ascension (*miʾrāj*) which emerged a century after the Qurʾān as evidence of the spiritual character of the Quranic *al-masjid al-aqṣā* and its embodiment in the Dome of the Rock. See for the ascension (*miʾrāj*) of Muhammad which is a later extension of the visionary journey modelled after Moses’ ascent to Mount Sinai to receive the Tablets: Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (eds.), *The Prophet’s ascension. Cross-Cultural encounters with the Islamic Miʾrāj Tales*, Indiana 2010. See also Neuwirth’s commentary on Q 17 in: Neuwirth, *Spätmittelmekkanische Suren*, forthcoming.

left empty by the Romans and then Christians to shame the Jews, was superstructured with aesthetically eminent buildings by one of the first Muslim rulers, who thus not only ‘covered the shame’ of the desecration of the erstwhile central holy place but at the same time aesthetically and hermeneutically filled the gap between the two the rivalling symbol systems of Judaism and Christianity.

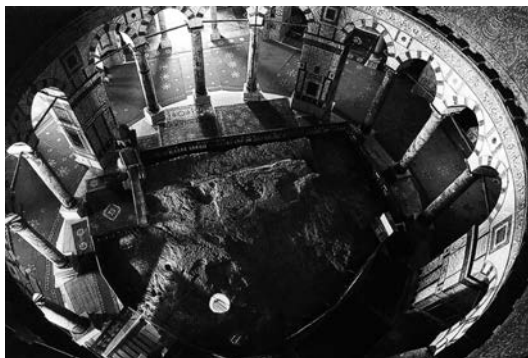


Fig. 6: The Rock in the interior of the Dome of the Rock

Glen Bowersock concludes his essay *The Crucible of Islam*<sup>67</sup> with a lament: “The formation of the vessel that Muhammad bequeathed to the world took place in a crucible of incompatible doctrines and traditions.” Has this to be understood as a predicament, a completely negative precondition for the cohabitation of the three religious cultures? Bowersock states: “And so it should hardly be surprising to find that these incompatibilities have endured as long as Islam itself.”<sup>68</sup> I would like to argue the opposite: Islam, not least thanks to its universal language, classical Arabic, accessible to and used by the diverse educated elites, was able to initiate a dialogue between the dogmatically ‘incompatible’ religious cultures and to create an epistemic space that was not only to re-shape the Near East but also impact European cultural history.

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<sup>67</sup> Glen Bowersock, *The Crucible of Islam*, Cambridge & London 2007, p. 159.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

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# Epistemic Entanglements in Seventeenth-Century *Books of Prophecies*

Nikolas Pissis

Apocalypticism constitutes for several reasons a privileged field for the history of knowledge in premodern cultures. It is not only the inherent claim to validity that qualifies apocalyptic knowledge as “epistemic” in the sense proposed by the CRC “Episteme in Motion”.<sup>1</sup> Far from confining itself solely to foretelling the future, this claim refers to a knowledge that provides meaning to the mass of historical experience. It inscribes the past along the present and the future into a providential script, thus structuring time in response to persistent needs – be they hopes, anxieties or, not least, curiosity.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as has been observed, the “highly transferable and adaptable”<sup>3</sup> quality of apocalyptic language helped it cross social and religious boundaries in various historical contexts. It is for this reason that historians have recognized apocalyptic currents as particularly suitable for tracing and narrating “connected histories” and “transcultural entanglements” in several historical constellations.<sup>4</sup> If, finally, one takes into account the repeatedly remarked paradox that failure of prophecy to materialize often only enhances its credibility and the belief in its future fulfillment,<sup>5</sup> then recontextualization, i.e. the transfer of knowledge from one cultural, historical or epistemic context to another and its accompanying adaptation and modification, emerges as the key feature of apocalypticism understood as an epistemic phenomenon.

It is in this manner that both biblical and extra-biblical prophecies, as a rule composed in the form of disguised historical accounts, *vaticinia ex eventu*, in order

- 1 Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, “Institution – Iteration – Transfer. Zur Einführung”, in: *Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, Wiesbaden 2015, [Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer interdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 1], pp. 1–13.
- 2 Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York 1998<sup>2</sup>, pp. 30–31.
- 3 Cornell H. Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018), pp. 18–90.
- 4 See the special issue of the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018): *Speaking the End Times*, ed. Mayte Green-Mercado as well as the classic article of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Turning the stones over: Sixteenth-century millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges”, in: *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40 (2003), pp. 129–161.
- 5 Reinhart Koselleck, *Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000, pp. 170, 187; idem, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000<sup>4</sup>, p. 30.

to strengthen the credibility of the actual predictions attached to them,<sup>6</sup> have been liable to constant transfers, reductions, selections, rearrangements and actualizations. The detachment of prophetic texts from the initial context and the original associations and connotations has always been the prerequisite for successful re-contextualizations and accommodations that renewed their persuasive potential.<sup>7</sup>

The seventeenth century saw a well-attested climax of apocalyptic expectations and speculations.<sup>8</sup> While it has been observed that in the course of the century, especially in its last quarter, apocalypticism tended to be denigrated among established scholars, this was certainly a gradual process that neither brought debates on apocalyptic interpretation to a sudden end, nor confined them exclusively to sectarian peripheries, until well into the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> A particular feature that qualifies seventeenth-century apocalypticism as a distinct intellectual phenomenon, is that to a significant extent it combined political uses of apocalyptic imagery in confessional and dynastic confrontations with ventures of an encyclopedic-antiquarian character associated with surveys of salvation history and universal knowledge. From Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627) and Alsted's *Thesaurus Chronologiae* (1628) and *Trifolium Propheticum* (1633) to Comenius' *Lux in Tenebris* (1656) and Jacques Massaud's *L'Harmonie des Prophetes Anciennes avec les Modernes* (1686), the effort to collect, (re-)organize and systematize extensive and comprehensive textual corpora and invest them with an opportune interpretation, appears as a common quality.<sup>10</sup> While the principal centers as well as the main protagonists of this cur-

6 Paul J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources", in: *The American Historical Review* 73 (1968), pp. 997–1018; Lorenzo Di Tommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, Leiden/Boston 2005, pp. 75, 104–107.

7 Thomas Long, "Revisiting the Revelation: Early Modern Appropriations of Medieval Apocalypticism", in: *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan, Leiden/Boston 2016, pp. 378–425, esp. 381, 385 on "disassembling and reassembling"; Anke Holdenried, "De Oraculis Gentilium (1673) and the Sibilla Erithea Babilonica: Pseudo-Joachimite Prophecy in a New Intellectual Context", in: *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration. Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905–2003)*, ed. Julia Eva Wannenmacher, Farnham 2013, pp. 253–281.

8 Robin Barnes, "Images of Hope and Despair: Western Apocalypticism: ca. 1500–1850", in: *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2: *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn, New York/London 2000, pp. 143–184, here p. 164.

9 Markus Meumann, "Von der Endzeit zum Säkulum. Zur Neuordnung von Zeithorizonten und Zukunftserwartungen anfangs des 17. Jahrhunderts", in: *Kulturelle Orientierung um 1700. Traditionen, Programme, konzeptionelle Vielfalt*, eds. Sylvia Heudeker, Dirk Niefanger, and Jörg Wesche, Tübingen 2004, pp. 100–121, esp. 113; Matthias Pohlig, "'The greatest of all Events'. Zur Säkularisierung des Weltendes um 1700", in: *Säkularisierungen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Methodische Probleme und empirische Fallstudien*, eds. Matthias Pohlig et al., [Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 41], Berlin 2008, pp. 331–371; Achim Landwehr, *Geburt der Gegenwart. Eine Geschichte der Zeit im 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a.M. 2014, pp. 310–323; Holdenried, "De Oraculis", p. 277.

10 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Apokalypse und Philologie. Wissensgeschichten und Weltentwürfe der Frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2007; Richard Popkin, "Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism", in: *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. Malcolm Bull, Oxford/Cambridge Mass. 1995, pp. 112–134; Dieter Groh, *Göttliche Weltökonomie. Perspektiven der Wissenschaftlichen Revolution vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2010; Howard Hotson, "Via Lucis in tenebras. Come-



rent, as is already evident from this short list, are to be found in Protestant Europe, its range, both in terms of adaptations as well as of responses and refutations, was transconfessional. After all, its broader contexts – in short confessionalization,<sup>11</sup> imperial messianism<sup>12</sup> and encyclopedism<sup>13</sup> – affected in their manifold variants not only the Christian confessional cultures but also early modern Jewish and Islamic thought.<sup>14</sup> These very contexts set the stage for the apocalyptic debates in Eastern Europe that this paper deals with: On the one hand the confessional context, marked by the need of the Orthodox churches to position themselves vis-à-vis post-Tridentine Catholicism and the various Protestant denominations, a process with severe intra-Orthodox tensions but also with seminal epistemic effects;<sup>15</sup> on the other, the political context associated with the rise of Russia as the leading Orthodox power and with the speculated collapse of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, as this volume argues, despite their distinct historical contexts, complex epistemic processes of transfer cannot be adequately grasped in conventional categories of cultural, confessional, linguistic or ethnic spaces or even of epochs and periods. Instead, they require a methodology which enables researchers to cross the limits of such categories and trace the movements of knowledge in all their possible and occasionally unexpected directions and connections. This constitutes the analytic potential of *Wissensoikonomien* as a heuristic tool for approaching the continuous flows of the history of knowledge and identify distinct overlapping and intertwining histories. To demonstrate this potential in

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nius as Prophet of the Age of Light”, in: *Let There Be Enlightenment. The Religious and Mystical Sources of Rationality*, eds. Anton M. Matytsin and Dan Edelstein, Baltimore 2018, pp. 23–61; Lionel Laborie, “Millenarian Portraits of Louis XIV”, in: *Louis XIV Outside In. Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661–1715*, eds. Tony Claydon and Charles-Edouard Levillain, Ashgate 2015, pp. 209–228.

- 11 Kaspar von Greyerz, “Die Konfessionalisierung der Apokalyptik”, in: *Zeitstruktur und Apokalyptik. Interdisziplinäre Betrachtungen zur Jahrtausendwende*, eds. Urban Fink and Alfred Schindler, Zürich 1999, pp. 163–179; cf. Matthias Pohl, “Konfessionskulturelle Deutungsmuster internationaler Konflikte um 1600 – Kreuzzug, Antichrist, Tausendjähriges Reich”, in: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2002), pp. 278–316.
- 12 Thomas J. Dandele, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2014; Arno Seifert, *Der Rückzug der biblischen Prophetie von der Neueren Geschichte. Studien zur Geschichte der Reichstheologie des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Protestantismus*, Köln/Wien 1990.
- 13 *Die Enzyklopädie der Esoterik. Allwissenheitsmythen und universalwissenschaftliche Modelle in der Esoterik der Neuzeit*, eds. Andreas B. Kilcher and Philipp Theisohn, Munich 2010.
- 14 Richard H. Popkin, “Jewish Messianism and Christian Millenarianism”, in: *Culture and Politics from Puritanism to the Enlightenment*, ed. Perez Zagorin, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1980, pp. 67–90; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford 2011, pp. 75–84.
- 15 *Orthodoxa Confessio? Konfessionsbildung, Konfessionalisierung, und ihre Folgen in der östlichen Christenheit Europas*, eds. Mihai-D. Grigore and Florian Kühner-Wielach, Göttingen 2018; *Confessionalization and the Knowledge Transfer in the Greek Orthodox Church*, eds. Kostas Sarris, Nikolas Pissis, and Milos Pechlivanos, [Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer interdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte], Wiesbaden 2021 (forthcoming).
- 16 Nikolas Pissis, *Russland in den politischen Vorstellungen der griechischen Kulturwelt 1645–1725*, Göttingen 2020.

case-studies of apocalyptic texts, in particular early modern *Books of Prophecies*, a twofold approach may be reasonable: First, to treat the texts as *Oikoi* and analyze the multiple transfer processes they rely upon; second, to situate their creation in interpersonal networks of their authors and trace exchanges among them.

Paisios (Pantaleon) Ligaridis (1610–1678) was acknowledged by his contemporaries as an expert in matters prophetic and apocalyptic.<sup>17</sup> He was born and raised in the Aegean island of Chios; he studied and later taught at the Jesuit *Collegio Greco* in Rome, before returning to the East as an agent of *Propaganda Fide*. His trajectories brought him to Jerusalem, where he was consecrated (Orthodox) metropolitan of Gaza (1651), to the Danubian Principalities, where he attached himself to consecutive princes as preacher, confessor and teacher at their courts, and finally Muscovy. There he played a pivotal role as counselor of Tsar Aleksei in the dramatic events leading to the Russian Church Schism. In his much troubled life he may have amassed impressive learning but he also switched confessional and political loyalties and allegiances more than once, a fact that brought him much distrust in his own days and characterizations such as “intellectual adventurer” or “resourceful villain” from modern historians.<sup>18</sup> Recently he even provided the model for the villain – Metropolitan Taisii – in Boris Akunin’s celebrated crime novel *Altyn-Tolobas*.<sup>19</sup> Due to his Jesuit training, his predilection for curiosities and oddities and not least his notable talent in dissimulation, it would not be misleading to regard him as a personification of what has been termed a “baroque persona”.<sup>20</sup> And due to his expertise in Byzantine history and literature he would stand for what could be described as “Baroque Byzantinism”.<sup>21</sup>

In 1655, while in Wallachia, he compiled in vernacular Greek his most important work, the voluminous *Book of Prophecies*, or, more precisely, *Collection of Oracles regarding Constantinople* (Χρησιμολόγιον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως),<sup>22</sup> a compilation of most heterogeneous material, from biblical prophecy, sibylline oracles and Byzan-

17 Philip Longworth, “The Strange Career of Paisios Ligarides”, in: *History Today* 45 (1995), pp. 39–45; Ovidiu-Victor Olar, “Paisios Ligarides”, in: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10, eds. David Thomas and John Chestworth, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 282–291; idem, “Prophecy and History. Matthew of Myra († 1626), Paisios Ligaridis († 1678) and Chrysanthos Notaras († 1731)”, in: *Histoire, mémoire et dévotion. Regards croisés sur la construction des identités dans le monde orthodoxe aux époques byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. Radu G. Păun, Seyssel 2016, pp. 365–389; Harry Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*, New York 1972; Fedor B. Poljakov, “Paisios Ligarides und die ostslavische Barockliteratur in Moskau”, in: *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 49 (2003), pp. 143–156.

18 Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, Munich 1988, pp. 251–258; Ihor Ševčenko, “Byzantium and the East Slavs after 1453”, in: idem, *Ukraine between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century*, Edmonton/Toronto 1996, pp. 92–111.

19 Boris Akunin, *Altyn-Tolobas*, Moscow 2000.

20 Rosario Villari, “Introduction”, in: *Baroque Personae*, ed. idem, Chicago/London 1995, pp. 1–8.

21 For the term see Pissis, *Russland*, Chapter 3.1.

22 I follow the already established English conversion of the title, not least because of the narrower modern connotations of “oracle” in English. Cf. Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*; Olar, “Paisios

tine *vaticinia* to divination, oneiromancy and magic, alongside commentaries and reflections on the knowledge of things to come. It is divided – a step with major interpretative, epistemic consequences – into two parts: already fulfilled prophecies from the Creation to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and future prophecies up to the Restoration of the Greek/East Roman Empire and the subsequent End of the World with the Last Judgment. Ligaridis' opus can be described as an encyclopedic endeavor in collecting and rearranging a vast tradition while at the same time constructing, indexing and fixing it as such in a new context – in other words a case study for a preserving venture that precisely through selection, canonization and recontextualization modifies knowledge. This venture is informed by various cultural models and references combining encyclopedic ideals such as Byzantine polymathia,<sup>23</sup> Jesuit antiquarianism,<sup>24</sup> and early modern polyhistory.<sup>25</sup> The image of the “industrious bee” (ως φιλόπονος μέλισσα) collecting the “scattered prophecies and the dust-covered oracles” (τας διεσπαρμένας προφητείας και τους σκονισμένους χρησμούς) is emblematic both for those epistemic variants and for their overlapping.<sup>26</sup>

The first aspect to address is the negotiation of the epistemic status the compiled knowledge aspires to, its legitimacy and its validity. The challenge which every Christian futurology had to face, namely Jesus' prohibition of prognostication regarding the Eschata (Ap 1:7), is rejected by the equally commonplace reference to God's signs and the divine inspiration of Sibyls and Prophets for the sake of human consolation (f. 2v and 168v). In the same manner, Ligaridis treats the issue of public/ permitted and secret/forbidden knowledge when he justifies his exegetical efforts in revealing divine secrets: Christian truth differs in its principal accessibility from the obscure Eleusinian mysteries (f. 223v). On this base he builds his authorization strategy by stressing the required competence of the theologically trained and linguistically accomplished exegete (ο έμπειρος των γλωσσών, f. 223v–224).

If the reference to God's philanthropy and to the legitimacy of theological interpretation suffice for the bulk of historical prophecies collected, different justifications are required for the realm of popular prognostication and magic. Here the key concept appears to be curiosity invested with positive connotations and

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Ligarides"; idem, “Prophecy and History”. I quote from cod. 160 of the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (LPJ).

23 *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?*, eds. Peter van Deun and Carolin Macé, Leuven 2011.

24 Jan Marco Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch*, Tübingen 2009; Landwehr, *Geburt der Gegenwart*, pp. 135–145.

25 Anthony Grafton, “The World of the Polyhistor: Humanism and Encyclopedism”, in: *Central European History* 18 (1985), pp. 31–47; Wilhelm Kühlmann, “Polyhistorie jenseits der Systeme. Zur funktionellen Pragmatik und publizistischen Typologie frühneuzeitlicher ‘Buntschriftstellerei’”, in: *Polyhistorismus und Buntschriftstellerei. Populäre Wissensformen und Wissenskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Flemming Schock, Berlin 2012, pp. 21–42.

26 LPJ, cod. 160, f. 3. For the connotations of the bee-metaphor see Kühlmann, “Polyhistorie”, p. 32, n. 34.

associated to *polymathia* and *polyhistory*.<sup>27</sup> Although the frame of reference is probably set by the (Pseudo-) Chrysostomean categorization of predictive knowledge as summarized in the Byzantine tenth-century encyclopedia of Suda<sup>28</sup> – a favourite reference of Ligaridis – an ambivalence inherent to this kind of reasoning is hardly concealed.<sup>29</sup> While Ligaridis ridicules the “superstitious little women” (τα δεισιδαίμονα γυναικάρια, f. 2v), he justifies extensive references to divination based on dreams, earthquakes and thunders by pointing to “curiosity and polymathia” (διά περιέργειαν και πολυμάθειαν αναφέροντες, f. 216). As far as magic is concerned, he adopts a common differentiation between legitimate and demonic magical predictive practices<sup>30</sup> with reference to Renaissance authorities such as Coelius Rhodiginus (Ludovico Ricchieri). On this occasion he delves into a discussion of the so-called “Cessation of the Oracles” after Christ’s advent, and the question of whether the accurate prophecies of ancient pagan oracles were due to demonic empowerment or simply to fraud.<sup>31</sup> Ligaridis’ original suggestion is that Delphi and the other Greek oracles enjoyed truly prophetic charisma, since God had granted this privilege not only to His people, the Jews, but also to the Greeks – in his knowledge that they were destined to believe in Jesus Christ (f. 195).

The second aspect concerns knowledge transfers in the composition of Ligaridis’ work. This includes temporal-diachronic, spatial-diatopic transfers as well as transfers from other epistemic fields. As for the former, the Byzantine prophecies that constitute a great part of the work are ascribed new significations and interpretations when placed in the context of the mid-seventeenth century. The most telling cases concern reinterpretations of those Byzantine prophecies foretelling

27 Richard Newhauser, “Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase”, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 5 (1982), pp. 559–575.

28 Paul Magdalino, “Prophecy, Divination and the Church in Byzantium”, in: *Savoirs prédictifs et techniques divinatoires de l’Antiquité tardive à Byzance*, eds. Paul Magdalino and Andrei Timotin, Seyssel 2019, pp. 186–202.

29 Typical is the case of Ligaridis’ Chiot compatriot and mentor Leo Allatius. See Karen Hartnup, “On the Beliefs of the Greeks”. *Leo Allatius and Popular Orthodoxy*, Leiden/Boston 2004.

30 LPJ, cod. 160, f. 216v–221. For a brief survey of divination and magic as well as perceptions thereof in the seventeenth century see George MacDonald Ross, “Okkulte Strömungen”, in: *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1: *Allgemeine Themen. Iberische Halbinsel-Italien*, ed. Jean-Pierre Schobinger, [Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie], Basel 1998, pp. 196–224; *Magia daemoniaca, magia naturalis, zouber. Schreibweisen von Magie und Alchemie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Peter-André Alt et al., [Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer interdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 2], Wiesbaden 2015.

31 C. A. Patrides, “The Cessation of the Oracles: The History of a Legend”, in: *The Modern Language Review* 60 (1965), pp. 500–507; Anthony Ossa-Richardson, *The Devil’s Tabernacle. The Pagan Oracles in Early Modern Thought*, Princeton/Oxford 2013; Bernd Roling, “Der Schamane und das Orakel von Delphi. Prophetie und Prophetiemodelle im frühneuzeitlichen Skandinavien”, in: *Prophetie und Autorschaft. Charisma, Heilsversprechen und Gefährdung*, eds. Christel Meir and Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf, Berlin 2014, pp. 277–303; idem, “Dämonen und Bühnenzauber: Ciceros Schrift ‘De Divinatione’ in der frühneuzeitlichen Debatte über das Orakelwesen”, in: *Cicero in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Anne Eusterschulte and Günter Frank, Stuttgart/Bad Canstatt 2018, pp. 277–299.

the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Empire. Several of them had been composed as *vaticinia ex eventu* after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders at the Fourth crusade (1204).<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, their transfer into a new context generated interpretive exigencies as a result of which they could now point to the Ottoman masters of the City and *their* demise. Conversely, for those prophecies interpreted as already fulfilled and delegated to the first book, Ligaridis operates with philological methods associated to biblical exegesis:

The exegete who traces the mind and the sense of the author is greatly praised, because this is very demanding and hard to comprehend, i.e. to understand what exactly he had in his heart and in his intellect [...] From the context we derive the correct sense and the accurate meaning of the Holy Scripture [...] There are numerous [prophecies] obscure and enigmatic, which one cannot perceive at all without interpretation and without paraphrasing, especially with regard to the Revelation [...] Hence, the Holy Scripture is not as manifest as the Lutherans imagine.<sup>33</sup>

This last remark suggests one of the latter kind of transfers. Ligaridis incorporates in his work references to a number of debates such as the confessionalist controversies between Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox. While it was especially the interpretation of the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of John that touched upon confessional standpoints, the issue emerges time and again both in historical narratives incorporated in his work (e. g. on the Schism between Latins and Greeks, f. 131, f. 166) and in general reflections as above. Further digressions that constitute transfers of knowledge from other epistemic fields concern e.g. attacks on Cremonini and Paduan neo-Aristotelianism (f. 8), medical analogies for recognizing the approach of the Last Days (f. 232), calendar tables of various ancient people (f. 13–13v), but also references to the Talmud (f. 242–242v) and the Quran (f. 249–249v).<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the excessive quotations from Byzantine historians may contribute to the compilatory character of the work, but at the same time the quoted passages acquire new meanings in the works' context since they serve as arguments for substantiating the truth of fulfilled prophecies.

32 Wolfram Brandes, "Konstantinopels Fall im Jahre 1204 und *apokalyptische* Prophetien", in: *Syriac Polemics. Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*, eds. Wout Jac. van Bekkum et al., Leuven/Paris/Dudley MA 2007, pp. 239–259; Paul Magdalino, "Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople", in: *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, Paris 2005, pp. 41–53.

33 «Προς τούτους επεινείται σφόδρα ο εξηγητής, ωσάν οπού ανιχνεύει τον νουν και την έννοιαν του συγγραφέως ανδρός, το οποίον είναι παγχάλεπον και δυσνόητον, να καταλάβη δηλαδή, το τί εκείνος είχε μέσα εις την καρδίαν του και την διάνοιάν του [...] από τας περιστάσεις ευγάζομεν της θείας γραφής τον ορθόν σκοπόν και την ευθείαν διάνοιαν [...] πολλά είναι δυσνόητα και γοιφώδη, τα οποία χωρίς ερμηνείαν και παράφρασιν δεν νοούνται ποσώς, δεν καταλαμβάνονται, και μάλιστα της Αποκαλύψεως [...] δεν είναι λοιπόν η θεία γραφή τόσοσ φανερή ωσάν φαντάζονται οι Λουτεράνοι». LPJ, f. 224, 227v, and 224v.

34 Besides, Ligaridis employs a favorite argument of early modern Christian *Books of Prophecies*, the reference to pessimistic prophecies of Islamic origin – both genuine and invented – which validated the expectation of near Ottoman doom: LPJ, cod. 160, f. 242v–243.

The third set of factors pertains to the political context. Ligaridis was involved in the heightened project activity of the 1650s in Southeastern Europe triggered by the Cretan War, the Cossack Rebellion and the subsequent Northern War.<sup>35</sup> The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisios Lampardis (1645–1660), who more or less orchestrated a fair part of this lobbying, initiated Ligaridis into his projects and into his networks.<sup>36</sup> The dedication of the *Book of Prophecies* to tsar Aleksei Mikhajlovich and all the more the pro-Russian line of interpretation he adopted ascribing to the Tsar a messianic mission in the near future, make sense in this political and intellectual climate. In Ligaridis' interpretation Muscovy is the heir to the Eastern Roman Empire, the Tsar destined to liberate Constantinople and rule there as Roman Emperor. Several of the "future", i.e. not yet fulfilled, prophecies point to the Russians, the "blond people" of the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, as the messianic avengers and redeemers of the enslaved Greeks (f. 257).<sup>37</sup> In other words, the book belongs at least partially to a context of political activity among groups of the Greek clergy, who deployed widespread messianic discourses in favor of anti-Ottoman lobbying at the Muscovite court. The subsequent anti-Ottoman coalitions in the latter part of the seventeenth century once more triggered publications of prophetic compilations across Europe which prominently deployed the same Byzantine prophecies. Their editors were not only "curious" polyhistorians such as Johann Praetorius<sup>38</sup> or Stanislaus Axtelmeier,<sup>39</sup> but also distinguished scholars such as the Dominican professor of metaphysics at the University of Padua, Nicolo Arnu.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, all these factors referred to above can, in the sense of the guiding heuristic concept of the volume, be understood as a web of relations conditioning the negotiation of knowledge, its transfers and its claims to validity in the *oikonomie*

35 Ekkehard Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert. Russisch-griechische Beziehungen und meta-byzantinischer Einfluß 1619–1694*, Stuttgart 1995; Vera G. Tchentsova, "The correspondence of Greek church leaders with Russia", in: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10, eds. David Thomas and John Chestworth, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 485–491; Radu G. Păun, "Enemies within: Networks of Influence and the Military Revolts against the Ottoman Power (Moldavia and Wallachia, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries)", in: *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, eds. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević, Leiden/Boston 2013, pp. 209–249.

36 Pantaleon Ligaridis actually adopted the patriarchs' name (Paisios) when the latter consecrated him as Metropolitan of Gaza in 1651.

37 However, when discussing the "fulfilled" prophecies on the Fourth Crusade in the first part, Ligaridis interprets the "blond people" in a philologically correct manner as an allusion to the French Crusaders and the Venetians (f. 88).

38 Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Ways of Knowing in Early Modern Germany. Johannes Praetorius as a Witness to his Times*, Aldershot 2006; eadem, "Gathering Information – Constructing Order. Johannes Praetorius' Architecture of Knowledge", in: *Polyhistorismus und Buntschriftstellerei. Populäre Wissensformen und Wissenskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Flemming Schock, Berlin 2012, pp. 132–148.

39 Wolfgang Harms, "Axtelmeier, Stanislaus Reinhard", in: *Killy-Literaturlexikon*, vol. 1, Berlin/New York 2008<sup>2</sup>, p. 273.

40 Andrei Timotin, "Prophetes anti-ottomanes à Venise à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Nicolas Arnu (1629–1692), lecteur des oracles byzantins", in: *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 54 (2016), pp. 119–134.

of Ligaridis' book. A different, complementary, approach would be to trace the impact and the impression the book made among contemporaries and to draw interpersonal connections around it. Apart from criticism towards numerous authors of the past, already in his book Ligaridis attacks Greek contemporaries who had expressed divergent views on the subject. His targets are Matthaïos, Metropolitan of Myra (1559–1624), who in a popular poem had rejected belief into “fake prophecies” particularly on the “blond people” and the vain Greek hopes built upon them,<sup>41</sup> as well as the monk Christophoros Angelos (ca. 1575–1638), whom an adventurous life had brought to England, where he published a bilingual (Latin-Greek) apocalyptic treatise with an anti-papal interpretive agenda.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, Ligaridis did not escape himself critique of his work. The Bucharest manuscript (Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. gr. 386) bears on its last page a marginal note by the erudite Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos Notaras (1663–1731) accrediting the entire work as ‘for the most part futile and deceitful labor’ (ματαιοπονία ή ψευδοπονία ως επί το πλείστον).<sup>43</sup> Whether this expressed a traditional clerical reservation towards unauthorized prognostication, an epistemic shift – bearing in mind Chrysanthos' interest in up-to date knowledge not least in the natural sciences – or simply personal animosities, is open to question.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, to the recorded admirers of Ligaridis scholarly efforts belong the Arab Patriarch of Antioch Makarios III Za'im and his son the deacon Paul of Aleppo, who left a valuable account of their travels to Muscovy and back. They first met Ligaridis in Wallachia soon after he had finished his book. The Arab guests not only managed to obtain copies of the book, but later commissioned its (at least partial) translation into Arabic.<sup>45</sup>

We obtained from the aforementioned Metropolitan of Gaza another book in Greek whose contents he gathered from all lands and many authors. He called it ‘Oracle’ or ‘The Book of Prophets’, and it was altogether unique, there not existing any other copy of it [...] Whoever looks at this precious book is filled with admiration for the prophecies, proverbs and other con-

41 Ovidiu-Victor Olar, “Matthaïos of Myra”, in: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10, eds. David Thomas and John Chestworth, Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 146–153; Alfred Vincent, “Byzantium Regained? The *History, Advice and Lament* by Matthew of Myra”, in: *Thesaurismata* 28 (1998), pp. 275–347.

42 Christophorus Angelus Graecus, *De Apostasia Ecclesiae, et de homine peccati, scilicet Antichristo. Et de numeris Danielis et Apocalypseos quos nemo rectè interpretatus est ex quo praedicti sunt à Prophetis*, London 1624; Asterios Argyriou, *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque (1453–1821). Esquisse d'une histoire des courants idéologiques au sein du peuple grec asservi*, Thessaloniki 1982, pp. 219–248; Konstantinos Garitsis, *Ο Χριστόφορος Αγγελος και τα έργα του. Συμβολή στην αποκαλυπτική και χρησμολογική γραμματεία του 16<sup>ου</sup> και 17<sup>ου</sup> αι.*, 2 vols, Thira 2008.

43 Djamilja N. Ramazanova, “Bucharestskij spisok *Chrismologiona* Paisija Ligarida: Paleograficheskoe i kodikologicheskoe issledovanie”, in: *Vestnik RGGU* 7/50 (2010), pp. 178–191.

44 See Olar, “Prophecy and History”, pp. 365–366.

45 Vera G. Tchentsova, “Les artisans grecs des projets culturels du patriarche Macaire III d'Antioche”, in: *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 52 (2014), pp. 315–346.

tents [...] It contained the prophecies of the prophets, wise men and saints and things that had been foretold in respect of the events in the East, fulfilled by Agar's children, and relating to Constantinople and the conquest of this city; wonderful tales about the past; and, also, their prophecies about those things decided in the past in respect of the future.<sup>46</sup>

A misunderstanding that for a long time prevailed in the pertinent research literature concerns the alleged Russian translation of Ligaridis' book. The work in question, *Collection of Oracles, that is Book of Prophecies* (*Chrismologion, sirech Kniga Prerechenoslovnaja*) is, nevertheless, in every respect a distinct one, despite its title as well as the personal bonds between Ligaridis and its author that inspired such speculation. Nicolae Spathar (1636–1707),<sup>47</sup> a Moldavian-Greek dragoman in the service of the Muscovite court, best known for heading the Muscovite embassy to China in 1675, composed it in 1672–73 as part of an ambitious "editorial program"<sup>48</sup> directed under the guidance of the Russian government. Spathar who was one of the main protagonists of this trend, described as "Muscovite baroque",<sup>49</sup> might actually raise a claim at least equal to Ligaridis to the doubtful honor of a "baroque persona" both for his encyclopedic erudition as for his proclivity to court intrigues. As a bojar at the court of successive Moldavian as well as Wallachian princes and as their deputy (*kapukehaia*) at the Porte in Istanbul, he had played the usual power game of survival through dissimulation and changing loyalties, not always placing his cards successfully. During the first years of his stay in Moscow he was hosted by Ligaridis and after the latter's departure (March 1673) he

46 Cited after Olar, "Prophecy and History", p. 341. The reputation Ligaridis earned as an expert in matters apocalyptic is further illustrated by a later (1671) request of the Archbishop of Pogoniani (in Epirus), Manassis, concerning the identity of the apocalyptic figures Gog and Magog (Apk 20:8) to which Ligaridis replied in length. The modern editor of the letter (in late Ottoman Istanbul) censured it, opting cautiously to omit a passage concerning the redemption of Constantinople by the Russian "blond people". I thank Chariton Karanasios for enabling me to consult the manuscript (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, [fonds du Syllagos], ms. 10, f. 154v–155); A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας", in: *Hellenikos Philologikos Syllagos Konstantinoupoleos* 17 (1882/83), pp. 50–93, here pp. 83–85.

47 Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 268–271; Petre P. Panaitescu, "Nicolas Spathar Milesco (1636–1708)", in: *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, vol. 1, Paris 1925, pp. 33–180; Zamfira Mihail, "Nicolae Milesco, le Spathaire – un 'encyclopédiste' roumain du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 18 (1980), pp. 265–285. In research literature on Spathar 1708 is usually given as his death year. But a recent archival evidence from 1707 suggest that he already died in this year: T. A. Bazarova, "Perevodchiki russkikh poslov v Stambule v nachale XVIII v.", in: *Perevodchiki i perevody v Rossii konca XVI – nachala XVIII stoletija*, Moscow 2019, pp. 9–16, here p. 10.

48 I. M. Kudrjavcev, "Izdatel'skaja dejatel'nost' Posol'skogo Prikaza. K istorii russkoj rukopisnoj knigi vo vtoroj polovine XVII v.", in: *Kniga. Issledovanija i materialy* 8 (1963), pp. 179–244; Paul Bushkovitch, "The Vasiliologion of Nikolai Spafarii Milesco", in: *Russian History* 36 (2009), pp. 1–15.

49 Lidija I. Sazonova, *Literaturnaja kul'tura Rossii. Rannee Novoe vremja*, Moscow 2006; Susanne Strätling, *Allegorien der Imagination. Lesbarkeit und Sichtbarkeit im russischen Barock*, Munich 2005.



inherited his apartment alongside the library he had left behind.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, it is probable that he composed his work under Ligaridis' presence and guidance. Its planned but not realized second volume dedicated to prophecies on the fate of Constantinople might indeed have relied on Ligaridis' original.<sup>51</sup> Although the completed first volume is confined to the Four World Monarchies according to the Book of Daniel, a subject only briefly touched by Ligaridis, their interpretive imperatives as well as the political context of its composition were very similar. In the years after 1672, in reverse to the usual pattern of Western quests at the Tsar's address, Muscovy was in search of allies for an anti-Ottoman crusade.<sup>52</sup> At around the same time, in summer 1674, Ligaridis sent to Tsar Aleksei from Kiev a letter written in Latin with references to favorable prophecies on his soon taking Constantinople and celebrating the liturgy in the Church of Hagia Sophia.<sup>53</sup>

Spathar's "Book of Prophecies" as well as his "Book on the Sibyls" (*Kniga o Sivilljach*, also compiled in 1672)<sup>54</sup> supported precisely this agenda, at least as much as the encyclopedic endeavor they were part of. Spathar reserved for Tsar Aleksei and Muscovy, as Ligaridis had done, the destiny of the Fourth and Last World Empire. This "renovated", "Constantinopolitan" (*i samuju Konstantinopol'skuju monarkhiju obnovit'*)<sup>55</sup>, "Greek-Russian Monarchy" (*greko-rossijskaja monarkhija*)<sup>56</sup> was destined to overthrow the Ottomans, to reclaim the imperial capital Constantinople and to last until the End of Days.

It is especially Spathar's preface to his "Book of Prophecy" that manifests epistemic transfers and shifts. In the context of the Danielic vision, he defines his understanding of sovereign "autocracy" (*samoderzhavie*) and ends up introducing in Russia the political concepts of "monarchy" and "aristocracy" (*monarkhija – aris-*

50 Ernst Christoph Suttner, "Panteleimon (Paisios) Ligaridis und Nicolae Milescu. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Offenheit des walachischen Fürstentums für das Bildungsgut der Zeit im zweiten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts", in: *Kirche im Osten* 26 (1983), pp. 73–94; L. A. Timošina, "Gazskij mitropolit Paisij Ligarid: o nekotorych datach i sobitijach", in: *Kapterevskie čtenija* 10 (2012), pp. 89–133, here pp. 129–132.

51 The book was designed to cover three volumes, the third dedicated to Antichrist and the Last Judgment: Vera G. Tchentsova, "Eschatologie byzantine et pensée historique à la cour d'Alexis Romanov: Paisios Ligaridès, Nicolas le Spathaire et Fransesco Barozzi aux origines du messianisme russe (1656–1673)", in: *Écrire et réécrire l'histoire russe d'Ivan le Terrible à Vasilii Ključevskij (1547–1917)*, eds. Pierre Gonneau and Ecatherina Rai, Paris 2013, pp. 41–51; Nadezhda P. Chesnokova, "Russkaja i grecheskaja tradicii Chrimologiona v Rossii XVII v.", in: *Kapterevskie čtenija* 13 (2015), pp. 126–158.

52 Philip Longworth, *Alexis. Tsar of all the Russias*, New York 1984, pp. 209–214.

53 Rossijski Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov, fond 52, opis' 2, nr. 640, 16. July 1674.

54 Ol'ga A. Belobrova, *Nikolaj Spafarij. Estetičeskie traktaty*, Leningrad 1978, pp. 48–86; Michael A. Penenson, "Nicolae Milescu Spafarii's Khrismologion and Kniga o Sivilliakh: Prophecies of Power in Late 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Russia", in: *Religion and Identity in Russia and the Soviet Union: A Festschrift for Paul Bushkovitch*, eds. Nikolaos Chrissidis et al., Bloomington 2011, pp. 63–80; Vera G. Tchentsova, "Sivillino 'kraegranie' v perevode Nikolaja Spafarija", in: *Perevodchiki i perevody v Rossii, konca XVI–nachala XVIII stoletija*, Moscow 2019, pp. 164–170.

55 Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka (RGB), fond 173.1, nr. 25, f. 96–96v.

56 RGB, fond 173.1, nr. 25, f. 28v.

*tokratija*) with reference not only to Aristotle but also to “the most wise Bodin” (*uchennejshij Bodin*).<sup>57</sup> Although one may doubt whether the praise of history according to the familiar topos of *historia magistra vitae* is based on Johann Heinrich Alsted’s preface in his *Thesaurus Chronologiae* (1628),<sup>58</sup> there are in Spathar’s works traces of both the scholarly tradition that had informed Ligaridis’ endeavour – the intermingling of Byzantine *polymathia* with early modern polyhistory – as well as the encyclopedic apocalypticism associated with Protestant authors Spathar is documented to have read and translated, such as Alsted, but also Comenius or Robert Fludd.<sup>59</sup>

The third actor to be introduced is the Croatian priest Juraj Križanić (1618–1683), best known as an early ideologist or rather precursor of Pan-Slavism.<sup>60</sup> His biography resembled and crossed those of Ligaridis and Spathar in more than one way, but their views can be seen as forming an antagonistic complex. During his studies at the *Collegio Greco* in Rome (1640–42) Ligaridis was probably one of his teachers; in any case he attested and signed Križanić’s oath at the College in May 1641. They both left Rome in 1642 and spent some years in Constantinople before moving to Moscow, Križanić a year earlier than Ligaridis, in 1661. However, Križanić proved less fortunate or less cautious than his former *prefetto degli studi*. His peculiar vision of Slavic unity, and even more so its combination with a prospected Church Union, resulted before long in his deportation to Tobolsk, Siberia. He spent fifteen years in exile (1661–1676), during which he compiled his most important works. Nicolae Spathar met him in Tobolsk in 1675 on his way to Beijing and they spent five weeks with conversations on China and on their common interests.<sup>61</sup>

Although Ivan Golub’s speculation that Ligaridis may have imitated or even “plagiarized” young Križanić’s “*Intentio Moscovitia*” – the plan to move to Russia and act as a mentor to the Tsar – and have realized this plan in his own sense instead of the luckless Croat,<sup>62</sup> is rather too bold in its assumption of a life-long competition, it would not be unsafe to imagine that Križanić was aware of Ligaridis’ apocalyptic interests, which are already documented for his Rome years.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, all of our three actors were in one or another way connected to a further spe-

57 RGB, fond 173.1, nr. 25, f. 96; Bushkovitch, “The Vasiliologion”, pp. 13–14.

58 This is the suggestion of Pandele Olteanu, *Nicolae Milescu, Aritmologia, Etica și originalele lor latine*, Bucharest 1982, pp. 44–46, 69–73, 354.

59 Andrei Eșanu and Valentina Eșanu, “Nicolas le Spathaire Milescu et la civilisation occidentale (avant son établissement en Russie)”, in: *Impact de l’imprimerie et rayonnement intellectuel des Pays Roumains*, eds. Elena Sipiur and Zamfira Mihail, Bucharest 2009, pp. 111–122.

60 Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 258–266; Juraj Križanić (1618–1683). *Russophile and Ecumenic Visionary. A Symposium*, [Slavistic Printings and Reprintings 292], eds. Thomas Eekman and Ante Kadić, Den Haag/Paris 1976; Ivan Golub, “The Slavic Idea of Juraj Križanić”, in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10 (1986), pp. 438–491.

61 Panaitescu, “Nicolas Spathar Milescu”, pp. 120–121; D. T. Ursul, *Nikolaj Gavrilovich Spafarij Milesku*, Moscow 1980, p. 46.

62 Ivan Golub, “Ligaridis ha forse plagiato Križanić?”, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68 (2002), pp. 375–387.

63 Olar, “Paisios Ligarides”, p. 286.

cialist of prophetic knowledge, the Ottoman Porte's Grand Dragoman Panagiotis Nikousios (1613–1673). During Križanić's stay in Constantinople in 1651 Nikousios had disclosed to him his firm belief, founded on Byzantine prophecies as well as on the Islamic caballa (*djafir*), that the reigning sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1687), being the namesake of the conqueror Mehmed II, would be the last Ottoman sultan, a belief Križanić rejected.<sup>64</sup>

Križanić had at any rate long been familiar with the messianic discourses concerning the Tsar and the Russians.<sup>65</sup> He deemed the Greeks and their impact on the formation of Muscovite imperial ideology – the idea of a Byzantine (Roman) imperial legacy – as inopportune and did his best to reorient the Russians away from what he saw as the Greeks' fatal influence. His major work, the *Politics (Politika, 1663–1666)* abounds with critique towards the Greeks' offers of imperial legitimation for the Tsar.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, his own *Book of Prophecies*, or literally *Interpretation of Historical Prophecies (Tolkovanie istoricheskikh prorochestv)*, written in Križanić's personal artificial Slavic language, reads as a counterpart to Ligaridis and Spathar's texts or as a reply in a virtual disputation.<sup>67</sup> Although he composed it in 1674 in the same context of anti-Ottoman excitement – he aimed to demonstrate that the prophecies foretold the Ottomans' doom rather than a further expansion of their empire – for Križanić the Tsar's messianic mission consisted solely in his liberating and uniting the Slavic people against the Ottomans.<sup>68</sup> The Russians were neither the "blond people" of the revived Byzantine prophecies, nor the heirs to the Roman Empire (§ 48–54). The Fourth and Last World Empire had come to an end either already with Con-

64 George Koutzakiotis, *Attendre la fin du monde au XVIIe siècle. Le messie juif et le grand drogman*, Paris 2014, pp. 160–167. Križanić, being a priest and secretary of the Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople, mediated the contact of Nikousios with Athanasius Kircher in Rome. Nikousios copied for Kircher the hieroglyphs of the obelisk at the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome and Kircher published Nikousios' letter in his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, vol. 3, Rome 1654, pp. 305–306. It would not be out of order to note that Ligaridis refers to the obelisk's hieroglyphs in his *Book of Prophecies* (LPJ, cod. 160, f. 158). He may well have known Kircher from his Roman period. Spathar translated parts of Kircher's works into Russian. On Spathar's cooperation with Nikousios see Panaitescu, "Nicolas Spathar Milescu", pp. 58–59. On Nikousios' aversion towards Ligaridis: Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*, p. 84.

65 Zacharias N. Tzirpanlis, "Juraj Križanić et les Grecs", in: *Balkan Studies* 24 (1983), pp. 38–56; idem, "Georges Križanić et ses relations avec le monde grec", in: *Balkan Studies* 17 (1976), pp. 25–44.

66 Juraj Križanić, *Politika*, ed. V. V. Zelenin, Moscow 1965. See also Ivan Golub, "Križanić theologien. Sa conception ecclésiologique des événements et l'histoire", in: *Juraj Križanić (1618–1683)*, pp. 165–179; idem, "Juraj Križanić als Prophet des russischen Messianismus", in: *Ostkirchliche Studien* 38 (1983), pp. 294–308; idem, "Križanić's Theology of History", in: *Synthesis Philosophica* 16 (1993), pp. 231–253.

67 Juraj Križanić, *Tolkovanie istoricheskikh prorochestv*, [idem, *Sobranie Sochinenija*, vol. 2], Moscow 1891.

68 It is probable that he saw the first step in the union of the Russian and Polish crowns under Aleksei or his successor, Fedor, a project that was then under negotiation. Lev N. Pushkarev, "Jurij Križhanich v Tobol'ske, 1661–1676", in: *Zbornik OPZ* 14 (1986), pp. 39–47, here p. 44.

stantine's abandonment of Rome as a capital or the latest with the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 (§ 103–131). For the Jesuits' pupil, the Church alone inherited the messianic legacy of the Spiritual Rome, embodying the stone that crushed the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan 2). The imperial temptation the Greeks presented to the Russians, an ideology Križanić mistakenly summed up as the "Third Rome",<sup>69</sup> threatened to lead the Russians into the path of the Antichrist (§22, §31). As for the Greeks themselves, they would be liberated from Ottoman infidel rule, only after their repentance and return to the bosom of the Roman Church, according to the prophecy attributed to St. Bridget of Sweden (fourteenth century).<sup>70</sup>

The point that an integrated view of these *Books of Prophecies* hopes to make is that the demonstration of their structural connectedness adds to the understanding of the knowledge transfers examined. Rival, antagonistic epistemic endeavors such as those of Ligaridis and Spathar on the one hand and of Križanić on the other, are bound by relational webs that condition the negotiation of knowledge and its claims to validity. Knowledge, in other words, constitutes itself precisely in such dynamic epistemic processes of communication and interaction, of synergies and conflicts.<sup>71</sup> At the same time, an isolation of these endeavors in conventional terms of epoch, confession or cultural realm fails to grasp the manifold movements that knowledge is put into and the multiple temporalities involved. It is not just the selection, adaptation and re-contextualization of a trans-epochal textual and exegetic tradition that encompasses Late Antique, Byzantine, Medieval Latin, and Early Modern texts of various genres and languages, but also the trans-cultural character of the *Books*, and not least of the authors' intellectual biographies themselves that calls for a heuristic tool suitable for crossing such orders.

69 On the notorious Third Rome see: Edgar Hösch, "Zur Rezeption der Rom-Idee im Russland des 16. Jahrhunderts", in: *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte* 25 (1978), pp. 136–145; Donald Ostrowski, "'Moscow the Third Rome' as Historical Ghost", in: *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah T. Brooks, New York 2007, pp. 170–179. Especially on Križanić's understanding of the notion: Nina V. Sinicyna, *Tretij Rim. Istoki i evoljucija ruskoj srednevekovoj koncepcii (XV–XVI vv.)*, Moscow 1998, pp. 255–260.

70 *Tolkovanie*, § 173: (Grekhi bi vseгда svojim neprijatel'em budom podverzheni: i ot n'ikh budut vseгда tezhky bidnosti i nevolju terpili: vse do kikh dob se svemoj Rimskoj cerkvi vo vsem povinut). It is worth noting, that the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1641–1707), the uncle and predecessor of Chrysanthos Notaras, commented on St. Bridget's prophecy that obviously the Latins lacked holy men and had to rely on a woman's prophecies. In any case, the Greeks awaited their liberation through God's mercy and not through the Papal blasphemy. Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Ιστορία περί των εν Ιερουσαλήμοις πατριαρχευσάντων, διηρημένη εν δώδεκα βιβλίοις. Αλλως καλουμένη Δωδεκάβιβλος Δοσιθέου*, Thessaloniki 1983, vol. 6, pp. 16–17. Dositheos had been on the one hand responsible for recommending and sending Nicolae Spathar to Moscow and on the other for excommunicating Ligaridis and thus for the latter's losing favor with the Tsar's court.

71 Cf. Martin Mulsow, "History of Knowledge", in: *Debating New Approaches to History*, eds. Marek Tamm and Peter Burke, London 2019, pp. 159–173, here: p. 167.

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