RENS BOD,
JAAP MAAT &
THIJS WESTSTEIJN
(EDS.)

The MAKING *of the* HUMANITIES

VOLUME II

From Early Modern to Modern Disciplines

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The Making of the Humanities

Volume II:
From Early Modern to Modern Disciplines

Edited by
Rens Bod,
Jaap Maat and
Thijs Weststeijn

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Introduction: The Dawn of the Modern Humanities

Rens Bod

This volume investigates the changes in subject, method and institutionalization of the humanities before and after 1800. Was there a revolution in the humanities around 1800 – a sudden shift in the study of the products of the human mind, or were these changes part of a much longer process? The authors address these questions from an overarching perspective for a variety of humanities disciplines: from philology, musicology, art history, linguistics, historiography to literary theory.

This is the second volume in the series *The Making of the Humanities* which originates from the conference series of the same name.[1] While the first volume dealt with the emergence of the humanities disciplines in the early modern world,[2] the current book centres around the transition from early modern humanities disciplines (i.e. before 1800) to modern disciplines (i.e. after 1800). This transition is generally taken as one of the most important transformations in intellectual history,[3] and has even been regarded as a conceptual and institutional revolution.[4] It is therefore surprising that existing studies rarely if at all take an overarching view on the humanities during this period. Instead they focus on the development of an individual discipline during the decades around 1800, or make a comparison between a couple of disciplines only, such as philology and historiography.[5] By way of a *pars pro toto* reasoning, the transformations found in one or two disciplines are then generalized to all humanities disciplines. An in-depth cross-comparison of all humanistic activities during the period around 1800 is badly needed, and this volume aims to make a start with it.

The articles in this book were originally presented at the conference *The Making of the Humanities II* at the University of Amsterdam in 2010. The first conference of this kind, in 2008, was initiated by a group of scholars affiliated to the Universities of Amsterdam, Oxford and St Andrews who wished to explore the history of the humanities in comparison: philology, history, linguistics, musicology, rhetoric, art history, poetics, literary studies, theatre studies, as well as more recent disciplines such as film studies. Such an endeavour had never been taken

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up before. This conspicuous gap in historiography is still difficult to explain. It is sometimes understood as a consequence of the fragmentation of the humanities disciplines during the last two centuries when linguists, philologists, historians, musicologists, archaeologists, art historians, theatre historians and literary theorists increasingly formed their own academic communities with specialized methodologies, journals and conferences. At the same time it has also been observed that despite the increasing divergence between the humanities disciplines, their underlying concepts, methods and practices display a striking commonality.[6] This remarkable combination of fragmentation and unity formed a further motivation for our conference series. At the first conference in 2008, we focused on the humanities in the early modern period from 1400 to 1800. This was the time when the *studia humanitatis* produced immensely influential insights into philology, linguistics, art theory, poetics, musicology and historiography that changed European society in all respects and that profoundly shaped the New Sciences.

The 2008 conference did not cover the humanities in other periods or regions, however. For this reason, we believed that a second conference was in order, and indeed that several more were needed. The initial aim of the 2010 conference, from which the current volume originates, was to start where the previous conference stopped, i.e. around 1800, when the early modern disciplines supposedly transformed into modern ones. Yet, it soon became clear that the germs of the transition from early modern to modern humanities were already present in the eighteenth and often even in the seventeenth century. We therefore decided that the period of the second conference should not range from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, but should include (at least part of) the seventeenth century as well.

In virtually any historiography, periods are categorized in terms of 'before' and 'after' 1800. But not all things split nicely and neatly. Political history may be categorized in terms of this time frame with turning points like 1789 or 1815.[7] But is intellectual history, in our case the history of the humanities, also subject to this split? This is a question that recurs in several of the papers of this volume. Even if it is generally assumed that the humanities underwent a 'humanization' of their methods and subject matter after 1800 – when the human world was separated from the natural – the papers in this volume show that the constitutive distinction between a science of human products and a science of nature was already in full shape around 1700, in particular in Giambattista Vico's work. Vico predates the well-known distinction by Wilhelm Dilthey between *Geisteswissenschaften* and *Naturwissenschaften* by almost two centuries. This insight triggers a whole set of follow-up questions, such as: how did nineteenth-century disciplines, methods and communities differ from their eighteenth- and seventeenth-century counterparts? Is there only continuity to be found in the development of the hu-

manities during this period or can something like a break be discerned? And to what extent were the conceptual and methodological 'innovations' in Lachmann's philology, Ranke's historiography and Grimm's linguistics, among others, already present and practised in the eighteenth century and before?

The papers in this book

In the first contribution of Part I of this book, Linguistics and Philology, Joep Leerssen immediately sets the stage for these questions when he compares the notion of philology as applied by linguists and literary historians of the early nineteenth century with the programme set forth in Giambattista Vico's *Scienza Nova*. He shows that while the name of Vico was by and large obscure, a paper trail can be traced from Vico to Grimm so as to account for the rise of modern philologies (a term coined by Vico). In a programmatic sense, Leerssen argues, the historicist turn and the comparative method were entirely Vicoesque. The philological approach of reconstructing the *Urtext* was used in the comparative linguistic investigation of deriving language relationships as well as legal studies, and it became an all-embracing cultural anthropology of the various European nations.

The influence of the early modern humanities on the nineteenth-century humanities is also explored by Toon Van Hal who addresses the 'proto-discipline' of linguistics in a time when there was not yet such a discipline. The study of language constituted an auxiliary branch of learning rather than a separate field. How was linguistic knowledge transmitted and received in these times and how? Van Hal discusses the various views of kinship of languages before the nineteenth century. Many of the famous nineteenth-century discoveries on the relation and kinship between Indo-European languages made by Franz Bopp and others were already made before 1800, and Van Hal shows that these discoveries were well consolidated among Renaissance and post-Renaissance scholars.

The last contribution of Part I discusses the state of linguistics as an academic discipline at the end of the nineteenth century. Els Elffers deals with the development of General Linguistics by its (co-)founder Georg von der Gabelentz and his textbook from 1891, one of the first general linguistic textbooks ever written. The task to create the actual discipline of general linguistics was enormous: it arose as an umbrella discipline where many fragmented parts of earlier language studies had to be integrated, from the exclusively historical approach to the more 'synchronic' approaches. Elffers shows that on the one hand Von der Gabelentz builds on early historical linguistics, while on the other hand he is a visionary predecessor of De Saussure in the twentieth century.

Part II of the book deals with the intricate relation between The Humanities and the Sciences. The article by Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis concentrates on the early modern entanglement of mathematics and philology. The humanist bent of early modern mathematics is usually seen as a remnant of the Renaissance, but Dijksterhuis shows that the making of the humanities was the making of the sciences at the same time. It is a story of reciprocal demarcation that gave the sciences and humanities a distinct profile in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Focusing on two actors that were both philologists and mathematicians, Dijksterhuis shows that the fate of 'humanist mathematics' was sealed with the nineteenth-century reform of the universities and the formation of modern scientific disciplines that resulted in a break with the classics.

The relation between music and science is investigated by Maria Semi who sheds new light on a work on the 'science of music' by Sir John Hawkins in 1776. While the birth of musicology is usually attributed to Guido Adler in 1885, Semi shows that the beginnings of musicology must be antedated by more than a century. Hawkins had a clear idea of a discipline that recognized music as its object and history as its method of investigation. Already in the eighteenth century the time was ripe for the birth of musicology that, in employing a historical method, characterized itself as a humanistic discipline and led to the explosion of the ancient *artes liberales*. The physical study of music, named 'acoustics', became part of the sciences and was fostered by an enormous quantity of experiments performed and published by the royal academies.

The nineteenth-century revival of the ancient debate over the question whether language is a natural phenomenon or something that is constructed by humans, is dealt with in the contribution by Bart Karstens. Among the first and second generation of comparative linguists there was considerable difference of opinion whether linguistics should be (or become) a natural science or remain part of the humanities. Karstens shows that the assemblage Bopp created by drawing together ideas from philology, history, anatomy, physiology, anthropology, physics and philosophy gave rise to these controversies which sheds light not only on the development of linguistics but on the discipline formation process in humanities and science in general. As Karstens contends, discipline formation is to be understood as a form of hybridization rather than specialization.

Part III of the book is entitled Writing History and Intellectual History. Nineteenth-century historicism and its predecessors is the topic of the first contribution by Jacques Bos. In his analysis of the transition of historiography from humanism to historicism, Bos focuses on two humanist historians (Machiavelli and Guicciardini) and two nineteenth-century historians (Ranke and Droysen). His starting point is Machiavelli's and Guicciardini's painful experience that the old world of Italian city-states was lost. A similar dissociation of the past occurred

around 1800 when historians realized that the French Revolution had brought about a tragic rupture. As a result the past became an object of study similar to what happened in the sixteenth century. Bos also discusses some key elements in nineteenth-century historicism that are not found in humanist historiography, such as the problem of interpretation and especially the transformation of historiography into an academic discipline.

Foteini Lika deals with the intricate relation between fact and fiction, in particular between the competing 'disciplines' of historiography and novel writing. She shows that the defining space between the two has always been fluid since the novel, as a fictional form, defined itself either in relation to or as an actual species of history writing. Lika then compares the works of two nineteenth-century writers, Thomas Macaulay and Emmanuel Roidis, showing that both writers blurred the boundaries between history and fiction: the first working towards a 'novelization' of history, the second towards a 'historization' of the novel.

The contribution by Hilary Gatti provides a long-term view of the history of intellectual history by comparing John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) with John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859). Gatti shows that these authors share some fundamental ideas, such as their common emphasis on the individual as proper subject of liberty, as well as the limits any society should impose on the individual's rights and freedom. Gatti then argues how these notions of liberty have had a decisive impact on more recent discussions, in particular the question of women's liberties and rights, and the problem of colonial liberty. It thus turns out that the history of the concept of liberty connects seventeenth-century humanists with nineteenth-century philosophers.

The Impact of the East is the theme of Part IV. From 1600 onwards the history of the humanities becomes increasingly global. In the first contribution, Gerhard F. Strasser points out that the first substantive results of an interchange between Europe and the Far East occurred with the beginning of Catholic missions to these 'new' regions, in particular China. The materials that reached the European scholarly community gave an enormous impulse to the study of the Chinese language and its tonal system, Chinese art and musicology. The first Sanskrit grammar was published and numerous accounts on Nepal, Tibet and India appeared. Strasser notes that all fields of the European humanities underwent profound changes due to the Eastern influx.

Thijs Weststeijn continues along this line when he discusses the immense impact of the Chinese humanities in the Low Countries (as well as in other parts of Europe) and the emergence of what he calls proto-sinology. The Chinese language, with its tonal system and semantically transparent characters, was investigated to such an extent that it served as the basis for the design of artificial languages, for example by Leibniz. Chinese themes popped up in literature and

theatre (for instance in Vondel's work), and Chinese styles appeared everywhere in the applied arts (the words 'Dutch' and 'Chinese' even became interchangeable in ceramic art). Isaac Vossius's insight that Chinese history could not be accommodated with biblical history, as Chinese texts and monuments were apparently untouched by the Flood, had a major impact. Vossius's stance connected China to radical thought. Weststeijn shows that proto-sinology was by definition interdisciplinary – it combined the humanities with geographical, anthropological and politicological insights. Similar to what Karstens contends for linguistics, the emergence of the proto-discipline of sinology is a form of hybridization rather than specialization.

Michiel Leezenberg's paper focuses on the impact of the 'nearer' East, that is, the East formed by the frontier region of the Ottoman, Austrian and Russian empires where Christian and Islamic ideas came together. The key figure here is Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723) who played a leading role in the development of German and Russian orientalism. Translations of Cantemir's Ottoman history shaped Edward Gibbon's view of the Ottoman Empire and possibly Montesquieu's ideas on the causes of the greatness and decline of Rome. A highly underestimated scholar for the last two and a half centuries, Cantemir emerges as a crucial figure in the rise of Western orientalism as well as of the rise of the modern nation state. As such he may stand as a symbol for much broader developments, such as the decline of the great early modern empires and the rise of the nation state and modern imperialism, and the radical rearticulation of the humanities against this background.

In Part V, entitled Artworks and Texts, Mats Malm sets off with a paper on the role of emotions in the development of artistic theory and the system of literary genres. He clarifies the emergence of lyric as third of the major genres (next to drama and epic) by tracing treatments of the emotions on the border between poetry and the other arts. Malm views the Renaissance attempt to define painting through rhetoric's categories as a precursor to the definition of poetry when the fine arts were launched in the eighteenth century, enabling lyric to be established among the literary genres. He traces a very long shadow of Alberti's art theoretical work *De pictura* (1435): painting is defined through rhetoric, and then poetry through painting.

The contribution by Adi Efal examines the interrelation between philology and the discipline of art history. She draws a view of the place of the plastic arts within the philological endeavours, from Winckelmann onwards. Her discourse centres around the notion of *figura*, and she surmises that it is the figures that make up the framework of philological inquire. According to Efal the figure (*figura*) is located on the borderline between word and image, finding its origin in rhetoric. She discusses the affinity between art history and philology in the con-

text of the movements of historicism, hermeneutics and neo-kantianism, arguing that art history can be and has been exercised as a 'figural philology'.

Part VI deals with the relation between Literature and Rhetoric. The first contribution by Alicia C. Montoya investigates the emergence of medievalism in the Paris-based Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in the early eighteenth century. Montoya points out that modern commentators have tended to dismiss the historiographic efforts of these early Académiciens, arguing that their *belle-lettriste* conception of scholarship prevented them from giving due attention to non-literary sources such as archaeological, iconographic and architectural sources. Montoya argues that this judgement does not do justice to the Académiciens' own understanding of scholarship. She examines how these authors defined the work of scholarship and proposed models for eighteenth-century practice. The relation between rhetoric, philology and historical scholarship appears to be a close one in this period.

Neus Rotger explores the Gothic revival that is first found in eighteenth-century historiography. The interest in the Gothic reflected a growing taste for the non-classical centuries of European culture. Rotger argues that a comparative examination of the most influential French and English advocates shows to what extent historical consciousness allowed new ways of interpreting the cultural past. The revival of a Gothic antiquity (opposed to the Classic) was fundamentally 'interdisciplinary' and promoted the rehabilitation of a series of marginal authors and works to canonical positions. The reconstruction of the Gothic literary past entailed a debate a meaning, function and uses of the past for the modern contemporaries, long before the proclaimed nineteenth-century historical turn.

David Marshall discusses the long decline of the discipline of rhetoric in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He argues that rhetoric's contribution to the development of the humanities between 1600 and 1900 was profound precisely because it was being marginalized. Marshall discusses the work by Thomas Hobbes, Giambattista Vico and Friedrich Nietzsche who all taught rhetoric and produced written records of these experiences. While none of them thought that rhetoric could be an end in itself, they adopted rhetorical presuppositions in their work to the point that they became unconscious to all but invisible. Hobbesian politics, Vichian anthropology and Nietzschean philosophy were all transformations of rhetoric, each in its own way.

The last part of this book, Part VII, deals with the Academic Communities in the development of the modern humanities. The 'archival turn' was a decisive moment in the transformation of history from an early modern to a modern discipline. Pieter Huistra discusses how archival research became crucial to the historical method, but also, how the content of the archives influenced the historian's work. Huistra provides an in-depth study of the role of the archive during three

generations of the Feith family who were heading the Groningen archive in the nineteenth century. He shows how the changing standards in history influenced the archival depot and its inventories, and how in turn historians were guided by its content and structure. The Feith family illustrates how the structure of their 'designed' archive changed historical practice.

Claus Møller Jørgensen analyzes the dynamics behind the specialization that took place in the nineteenth-century humanities at the University of Copenhagen. The humanities liberated themselves from an inferior position to the higher faculties by upgrading the status of classical studies and the education of secondary school teachers at the end of the eighteenth century. While the classics held a superior position until 1849 embodying the ideal of educational holism and integration of disciplines, after the reform of the faculty of humanities in 1849 the attempt at integration lost its attractiveness. The disciplines evolved as specialized scholarly disciplines with research agendas, methodologies and journals of their own. Classical philology became gradually marginalized by the national disciplines of history and national philology.

In the last contribution of the book, Herman Paul explores the ideals of intellectual virtue, where he focuses on nineteenth-century Leiden. While this century is known as an age of academic discipline formation and specialization, in which fields as history, philology, Oriental studies and theology all sought to establish distinct identities, the similarities and parallels between the emerging disciplines are often striking. Paul argues that one overlooked parallel is the extent to which scholars in various fields could have remarkably similar ideas about the qualities essential for the 'modern, critical' scholar. Since such ideals of intellectual virtue or scholarly selfhood deeply influenced the goals and methods of research, the study of these scholarly selves nourished by scholars in different fields contributes to a truly interdisciplinary history of the humanities.

Break or continuity in the humanities?

Various papers in this volume suggest that the notion of a revolution in the humanities around 1800 is more problematic than has been previously assumed. While the nineteenth century brought discipline formation and specialized methodologies, several concepts and ideas were in existence already well before 1800 and were consolidated among scholars, for instance in philology, linguistics, musicology and historiography (Leerssen, Semi, Van Hal). New in the nineteenth century was especially the academic institutionalization of disciplines (Elffers, Paul, Jørgensen), not so much the nature of humanistic knowledge as a whole. Universities guaranteed stability and continuity, but these also existed among

Renaissance and post-Renaissance scholars before academic institutionalization (Van Hal, Weststeijn, Leezenberg).

Several papers illustrate the immense influence of early modern humanism on the modern humanities, for example in philosophy (Gatti) and historiography (Bos) but also in philology (Leerssen) and rhetoric (Marshall). Also the cross-relations between different fields are closer than often assumed: for example between art theory and literary theory (Malm), and philology and art theory (Efal) as well as between history writing and fiction writing (Lika). Thus the widely proclaimed specialization and fragmentation of the humanities is less evident than is often assumed: the transition from classical to national humanities is fundamentally 'interdisciplinary' (Rotger) and the notion of discipline formation can be seen as a form of hybridization rather than specialization (Karstens, Weststeijn).

This volume also shows that the humanities developed a common historical and philological method which was built on a *rhetorical* tradition that already lasted for several centuries. This continuing importance of rhetoric further undermines the idea of a revolution in the humanities around 1800. Rhetoric rather than history or philosophy appears to be constitutive for the development of many of the humanistic disciplines: it is foundational in eighteenth-century philology and historical scholarship (Montoya). And even though rhetoric becomes marginal in the course of the nineteenth century, most scholars adopt strong rhetorical presuppositions in their work (Marshall).

The study of academic communities in the nineteenth century indicates that the different fields of the humanities have more in common than their increasing specialization suggests, especially with respect to ideals of intellectual virtue (Paul) but also with respect to the dramatic changes due to nationalist agendas (Jørgensen). The 'archival turn' was a decisive moment in the transformation of the historical humanities from early modern to modern disciplines (Huistra). The humanities indeed changed from a classical to a national character, but this process already started in the eighteenth and even in the late seventeenth century.

Another important development in the period 1600-1900 is that the humanities and the sciences drifted apart obtaining different profiles. Humanist mathematics disappeared and was detached from its history (Dijksterhuis). The science of music was split into a physical and a historical study of music, even though this happened as early as in the eighteenth century (Semi). In some disciplines, in particular linguistics, there was a debate whether the object of study (language) was a natural phenomenon or something created by humans (Karstens). This opposition became the constitutive distinction between science and humanities in the work by Wilhelm Dilthey, which could however already be found in Giambattista Vico two centuries earlier.

The impact of the 'East' on the 'West' has been immense in the development of the humanities. Not only did the study of music, art, language and literature from China and India change the European humanities (Strasser), new disciplines appeared as well, such as proto-sinology which combined insights from a variety of fields (Weststeijn). Also the humanities from Eastern Europe (Russian and Ottoman Empire) have been highly influential: developments in Eastern Europe not only preceded the humanities in Western Europe, but shaped them to a very large extent, especially with respect to nationalism and imperialism (Leezenberg). Thus the very idea of a transformation in the humanities must also be viewed and further investigated from an Eastern perspective.

In sum, this volume seems to indicate that if there was a revolution in the humanities as a whole around 1800, it was mostly on an institutional rather than on a conceptual level. A profound transformation of concepts – e.g. from the classical to the national – did occur, but this transformation was part of a longer and more complex process that already started in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where input from the 'East' (both from outside and from within Europe) was crucial. Of course, our investigatory journey into this process has just begun, and more research and conferences will be needed to shed further light on this issue.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 The first conference in this series was 'The Making of the Humanities: First International Conference on the History of the Humanities', which took place from 23-25 October 2008 at the University of Amsterdam. The second conference was 'The Making of the Humanities II: Second International Conference on the History of the Humanities', which took place from 21-23 October 2010 also at the University of Amsterdam.

2 Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn (eds.), *The Making of the Humanities: Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

3 See Reinhart Koselleck, 'Einleitung', in: O. Brunner, W. Conze and R. Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur Politisch-Sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Vol. I (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972). See also Johan Heilbron, Lars Magnusson and Björn Wittrock (eds.), *The Rise of the Social Sciences and the Formation of Modernity: Conceptual Change in Context, 1750-1850* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998).

4 See Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966). See also Michiel Leezenberg and Gerard de Vries, *Wetenschapsfilosofie voor geesteswetenschappen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000). And see also Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

5 While Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses* discusses various 'human sciences', his coverage of the humanities is focused on philology and history. The same holds for Georges Gusdorf, *Les Sciences humaines et la pensée occidentale*, 13 vols (Paris: Payot, 1968-1988). An exception is Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: een geschiedenis van de humaniora* ('The Forgotten Sciences: A History of the Humanities') (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010 – the English translation will appear with Oxford University Press), which discusses eight humanities disciplines until 1900 and fourteen disciplines from the twentieth century onwards. However, Bod's book is meant as a general overview rather than as a case study of the transition around 1800.

6 The search for a general humanistic method of analysis and interpretation with a specific set of concepts is as old as the concept of *Geisteswissenschaften* introduced by Wilhelm Dilthey in the nineteenth century. See Bod, *Vergeten wetenschappen* for an overview of the various methodologies in the humanities. See also Gunter Scholz, *Zwischen Wissenschaftsanspruch und Orientierungsbedürfnis: zu Grundlage und Wandel der Geisteswissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991). And also Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960).

7 Also from a global perspective, this Eurocentric division may hold, due to nineteenth-century colonialism and Western imperialism.

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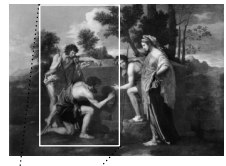
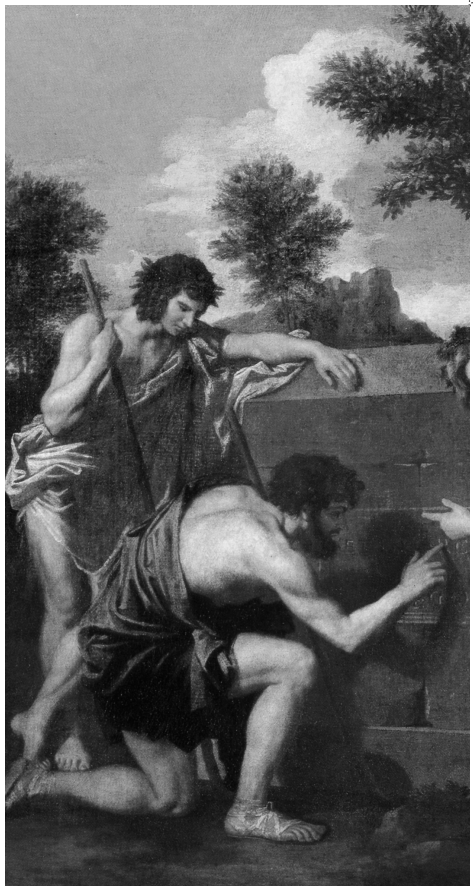
Linguistics and Philology





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The Rise of Philology

The Comparative Method, the Historicist Turn and the Surreptitious Influence of Giambattista Vico[1]

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Introduction

A true 'scientific revolution', in the root sense as employed by Thomas Kuhn, took place around 1800 when the study of linguistic relations was placed on a new footing.[2] Sir William Jones's description of Sanskrit led to a tendency to compare European languages, not with the religious *Ursprache* Hebrew (as had been the tendency before) but with Sanskrit, and paved the way for a phylogenetic-comparative method full of new insights. It made possible, indirectly, the reclassicifation of linguistic variations as resulting from historically specific vowel or consonant shifts, and a systematic and even nomothetic description of such shifts – for instance, Grimm's famous 'laws' of *Lautverschiebung*.

This paradigm shift implied a sudden and complete change in the scholarly status of philology and etymology. *Philology* had been, until the eighteenth century, an obsolete byword for well-read but useless erudition, while *etymology* was notorious for giving free reign to speculative analogy-hunting between unrelated but superficially similar words from different languages. The paradigm shift is illustrated tellingly by the vehemence with which Friedrich Schlegel, in his *Von der Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* (1806), in order to vindicate the new Sanskrit-informed and systematic comparatism, denounces happy-go-lucky old-school etymologists. Schlegel sets out, as he states at the conclusion of Book I, to show

> nach welchen Grundsätzen etwa eine vergleichende Grammatik und ein durchaus historischer Stammbaum, eine wahre Entstehungsgeschichte der Sprachen, statt der ehemaligen erdichteten Theorien von Ursprungen derselben, zu entwürfen wäre.

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The same Schlegel, in his diaries and around the same time, begins to describe his own work as 'philology', the first sign that that term was being retrieved from near-oblivion.

By 1820, the notion of philology was being enshrined as the very core of what the humanities were all about. Institutionalized in Humboldt's new university model (implemented for the first time in the University of Berlin), the study of language (until then a mere adjunct for classicists and biblical scholars) was yoked to the study of literature (until then an adjunct for rhetorical studies), and the new twin science of 'Lang. & Lit.', under the new label of 'Philology' became the very backbone of the new humanities faculties.

Both in its linguistic and in its literary orientation, philology worked, centrally, with a phylogenetic-comparative method. Variants of language or of texts were compared and ordered into a 'family tree'. In language and largely through the work of Franz Bopp, the 'trees' of the Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages were collated with Sanskrit into the master 'tree' of the Indo-European languages, as were, in the course of these decades, languages like Armenian, Albanian, Lithuanian and the Celtic complex. In literary studies, the editorial method pioneered by the towering figure of Karl Lachmann proceeded in a similar fashion: textual variants in various manuscripts were compared and grouped until a 'tree' or *stemma* of codical relationships could be established springing from a common root or '*Urtext*'. Just as linguists could extrapolate vanished words from dead languages by comparing their various descendants, so too editors could extrapolate what must have been in the *Urtext* by systematizing the various derivative manuscripts. The method was so all-pervasive that it would also be applied to the realm of living organisms (by Ernst Haeckel), influencing the thought of Darwin later that century.[3]

Men like Jacob Grimm applied their new philological method to a variety of fields which are now considered to be widely separate: not only linguistics, textual scholarship and literary history, but also legal studies (especially jurisprudential history) and history-writing, as well as the investigation of folktales and folk beliefs, often with a view towards establishing their roots in ancient mythological belief-systems.[4] In short, philology in these decades had the ambition to be an all-embracing cultural anthropology of the various nations of Europe in their primordial origins, establishing a nation's cultural profile and outlook by the investigation of its language, poetry, myths and sagas, historiography and legal system.

In what follows, I want to give a slightly more substantial outline of how this programme emerged in the decades after 1800. In particular, I want to highlight one extremely puzzling and suggestive factor: in developing this programme, the scholars concerned worked very closely along the lines that had been suggested by Giambattista Vico for such a *scienza nuova* in 1725; they even used the name of *philology*, which Vico had employed as an unfamiliar quasi-neologism in order

to refer to such a *scienza nuova*. Yet most of them did so in almost total ignorance of Vico's work, life or even name. So how did Vico's agenda and nomenclature manage to survive their author's obscurity, and influence the philological renewal of the humanities three generations after the appearance of the *Scienza nuova*?[5]

The break-up of Enlightenment universalism: Montesquieu to Humboldt by way of Ossian

Matters of culture, language and literature were, in the Enlightenment, usually discussed in the abstract. The proper study of Mankind is Man, as Alexander Pope put it, and in the philosophical anthropology which we see practised up to and including Kant, words like civility, culture, language, literature and 'man' are used as non-countable abstractions, and usually as *singulare tantum* – words denoting an undifferentiated whole that cannot be easily put in the plural, much like 'milk', 'knowledge', 'guilt' or 'innocence'. To be sure, comparative contrasts were made in order to better understand the working of a given principle: philosophical historians would treat the succeeding stages and experience of history as so many tests and samples from which to infer moral generalizations,[6] and moral philosophers might compare national characters, or the various temperaments, or the two sexes, in order to understand human affects such as the susceptibility to beauty or terror.[7] But these were incidental rather than categorical distinctions.

Language and literature, too, were seen as a varied, yet on the whole undifferentiated whole. Literature was habitually divided into that of 'The Ancients' and 'The Moderns', with the balladry of the Middle Ages intervening, but no categorical divisions were made between Cicero and Shakespeare, Homer and Dante. As Jorge Luis Borges memorably phrased it,

> Para el concepto clásico, la pluralidad de los hombres y de los tiempos es accesoria, la literatura es siempre una sola.[8]

Universalism was never universal, of course; there were always counter-positions. The most important in the first half of the eighteenth century was doubtless Montesquieu, who argued that law itself was anything but absolute or universal, and must be germane to the society of its currency: hot climates, for instance, necessitating different constitutions from cold climates. (There is, by the way, some indication that Montesquieu had come across Vico's *Scienza nuova*, but no direct influence can be inferred from his writings.)

In the second half of the century, the most important counter-position was certainly that of Johann Gottfried Herder. Many Enlightenment philosophers

had been deeply preoccupied with the origin of language, that premier distinguishing criterion between Man and Beast. Herder turned the question as to the origin of language inside out. If mankind had only one undifferentiated language, he argued, that would amount to no more than a refined instinct, comparable to the bees building honeycombs or birds building nests. What made the human command of language special was its variability, adaptability and diversity. Unlike the one-trick-always-repeated of animal instincts, humankind had spawned a proliferation of different languages adapted to the communication needs of different nations, epochs and climates.

Thus Montesquieu and Herder redefined central human capabilities (lawmaking and language) in terms of their *diversity*. What made human culture special was its capacity to be plural; what defined it was the way it showed specific differences between nations rather than a generic one-size-fits-all typology.

Finally, after law and language: literature. Into a growing sensitivity to national specificity and diversity and mounting reservations concerning generic-abstract universalism intervened the notorious literary episode of Macpherson's *Ossian*. The general facts are well known:[9] how James Macpherson astounded the literary world in 1760 by retrieving fragments of ancient balladry orally handed down in the Scottish Highlands. These fragments caught the literary imagination both because of their lofty, sublime melancholy and their patina of ancient, but forgotten heroes and civilizations. The purported author of these fragments, the bard Ossian, was deemed to have flourished in the Scottish Highlands in the fourth century AD, equal in epic stature to Homer and like him the author of two great epic poems. These were likewise retrieved and reconstituted by Macpherson in the next years, published as *Fingal* and *Temora* and they took European literature by storm – helped along to no small extent by Goethe, who interpolated long passages in his success novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774). Here was, so Europe realized, another Homer, a Northern one. That in itself was sufficient to drive home the realization that literary civilization, rather than being a monogenist, classically-derived single whole, might in fact be a polygenist force, emerging independently in different parts of the world in analogous form.

The Ossianic vogue lasted for a few decades – longer in some parts of Europe than in others. Ossian's prestige crumbled between 1775 and 1800 under critical scepticism as to the authenticity of Macpherson's translations. By 1800 Macpherson was widely discredited as a forger.

Ossian left lasting traces, however.[10] Most importantly, it alerted critics to the possible interchangeability between oral fragment and epic whole; and it gave fresh weight to certain speculations that possibly the Homeric epics themselves, with their formulaic repetitions and their episodic structure, might be the result of a compilation rather than the premeditated and original creation of a single

inspired individual. The chain of reasoning ran more or less as follows: 'If Ossian is no Northern Homer, maybe Homer was a Southern Macpherson'. The case was made to devastating effect in F.A. Wolf's famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum* of 1795.[11] In this view, Homer was only the compiler of pre-existing rhapsodic fragments that circulated in oral performance. This view tied in with a preference among philologists for 'national epics' that were anonymous, and collective (almost like folktales and folksong). While it took away from the stature of Homer as the genius and origin-point of all literature, it boosted the prestige of what now became known as 'oral epic': orally performed material that was heroic and sublime in tone, and which came to be seen as the type of material which could constitute the elements later to coalesce into a full-length epic.

All this led to a relativism, where each human culture was now seen as an independent entity in its own right, with its own beginnings, language and world-view, separate and non-interchangeable. It was a more 'ecological' view of human culture, and as such an advance beyond the monolithic, and implicitly eurocentric, stance of Enlightenment universalism; but it also opened the door for increasing ethnic essentialism. The processes sketched here also belong to the pre-history of European nationalism. But what separated the late-Enlightenment relativists, like Herder, from the Romantic proto-nationalists was another paradigm shift, as incisive as the discovery of Sanskrit: the historicist turn.

The historicist turn: Savigny to Grimm by way of the 'Wunderhorn'[12]

In the Napoleon-dominated decade between the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire (1806) and the Battle of Waterloo, the legal scholar Friedrich Carl von Savigny,[13] Professor of Law at Marburg, was among the most stalwart anti-Napoleonic intellects of his day. He had been trained in the jurisprudential discipline of old-style legal scholarship, where, in order to understand a law system, one had to study its entire historical development – *ancien régime* jurisprudence being a slow accumulation of successive rulings and regulations based on earlier rulings and customs. The study of law thus became the study of (the word is indeed pregnant) *legal custom*. A law system was, in this view, the moral and regulative accompaniment of a nation's historical development, organically part of the nation's historical track record. The imposition of a new, French legal system, the *Code napoléon*, irked legal scholars like Savigny. To have a millennial heritage replaced by a merely instrumental set of regulations devised by an ad-hoc assembly of bickering politicians was, in Savigny's view, a travesty. Savigny became the foremost proponent of an *organicist* notion of law, which also took in the older views

as put forward by Montesquieu, that each nation had its own proper legal system much as it had its own language.

In due course, Savigny was to become one of the great legal statesmen of post-Napoleonic Prussia. But in pre-1815 Marburg, part of the new-fangled Kingdom of Westphalia ruled by a minor Bonaparte, he was as yet a reserved academic, muttering through clenched teeth in the privacy of his study. In claiming that a law system was the direct expression of nation's specific mentality, Savigny was the first in the German language to give currency to the notion of *Volksgeist*.[14]

His importance for the argument I am unfolding here lies also in the fact that he served, for a while, as mentor to a bright young law student, whom he trained in the jurisprudential craft of paleography – the study of ancient documents and their provenance, of old types of handwriting and of obsolete forms of the language. At this time, the study and source-criticism of medieval documents was almost the exclusive preserve of legal historians such as Savigny; medieval *literature* was as yet merely an entertaining fancy for antiquaries and amateurs.

This young scholar thus trained by Savigny was bookishly inclined and even followed his master as an assistant when Savigny went to Paris to consult sources in the Parisian libraries and archives. The young man was none other than Jacob Grimm.[15] Himself the son of a lawyer (who had died early, leaving him an impoverished half-orphan), Grimm had enrolled at Marburg in order to prepare for a career as a public official through the traditional means of a law degree. Later on he was to choose differently, having meanwhile discovered, among the old documents Savigny introduced him to, the literary riches of the *Minnesänger* and *Reinhart Fuchs*.[16] Even so, he was to remain close to Savigny for the rest of his life and applied to his study of cultural material precisely that historicist organicism that he had learned from his legal mentor and from the craft of jurisprudential source criticism.[17]

Savigny introduced Jacob Grimm, and also Jacob's shy brother Wilhelm, to a set of literary amateurs whose social gatherings he frequented. This was the so-called 'Bökendorf Circle', so named after the country seat of the baronial family Von Haxthausen. The young Haxthausens, August and Werner, had cultural, literary and national interests and received like-minded people (such as their cousin Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, later a renowned author) in what became a regular network. The central node in this network was occupied by Clemens Brentano, who since the beginnings of his Göttingen student days had struck up a close friendship with Achim von Arnim, who married Brentano's sister Bettina in 1811. Brentano's other sister Kunigunde became the wife of, precisely, Savigny.

It was through these associations that the Grimm brothers, as Savigny's protégés, came to attend gatherings at Bökendorf. They were also involved in the collection of folksongs that formed the Bökendorf Circle's chief literary pleasure

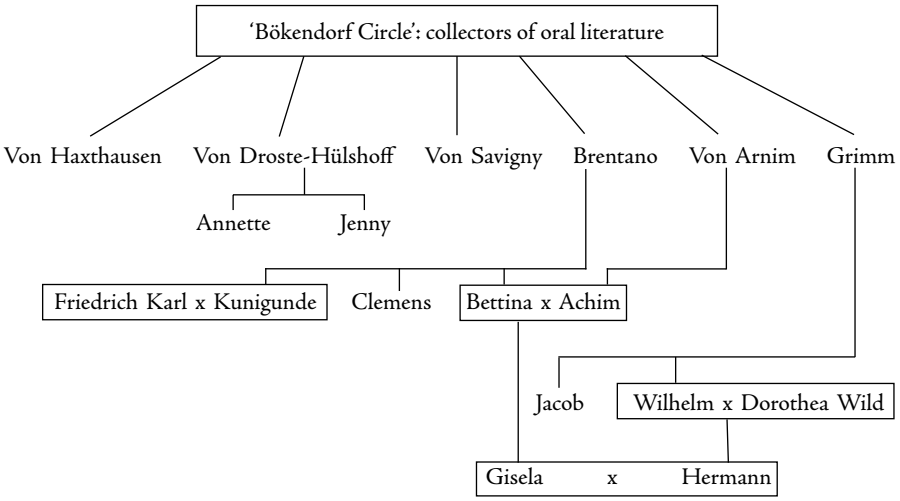

Fig. 1: The 'Bökendorf Circle', collectors of oral literature

and that were to culminate in the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in 1806-1807. Edited by Arnim and Brentano, this prototype of all Romantic folksong collections was really the collective effort of the entire Bökendorf Circle. Indeed the Grimms' own collection of fairy tales (the epoch- making *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, which appeared in 1812 and which included material contributed by the Arnims, Brentanos, Haxthausens and Droste-Hülshoffs) may be seen as a prose spin-off of the *Wunderhorn*.[18]

But there was a difference. Whereas the folk material collected in the *Wunderhorn* was meant to appeal to sentimentally-inclined readers, who wanted to dip into the naive but charming verses of simple country folk, the interest of Grimm's folk- and fairy tales was different. The Grimms sensed that such tales constituted the oral remains of an older, now-vanished system of supernatural beliefs and sagas of the German nation, the sort of thing that Macpherson had gathered to concoct his Ossian. For the Grimms, pupils of Savigny that they were, the interest of these tales was historicist and anthropological, a window on the primitive mentality of the German nation in its infancy. And so we can trace, from the *Wunderhorn* (1806) to the *Märchen* (1812), and thence to the Grimms' *Deutsche Sagen* (1816) and Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835) a progress from sentimentalism to philological historicism, and from a dillettante literary interest to hard-nosed academic scholarship.

At the same time, Grimm developed his linguistic skills, coming to the formulation of 'Grimm's Laws' in his *Deutsche Grammatik* around 1820. Again, we can

see this as the application of Savigny's legal historicism to cultural topics: Grimm looked at language, not as a fixed, closed system, but as a process in a continual state of development, where each phenomenon was to be understood as the product of an evolutionary dynamics. Grimm called it 'das Sein aus dem Werden begreifen' – to understand *what is* in terms of *how it came to be* – and always credited his mentor Savigny with inculcating him with this method.[19]

For Grimm and the generations of *Germanisten* whom he inspired, all the various specialisms they deployed (folklore studies, linguistics, history, literature and jurisprudence) came together in the overriding agenda to understand the nature of the German nation, its origins and national character (witness the insistent use of the word *Deutsch* in all of Grimm's book titles). Much as astrophysicists nowadays seek to understand the universe by taking their observations back to conditions as close as possible to the Big Bang, so too the historicism of the Grimms led them back towards the most ancient, heroic, epic-collective moments in the nation's history. There, in the tribal beliefs, cults, dialects and lays, before native authenticity was addled by Roman, Christian and foreign influences, lay the moment when the German nation enjoyed a Unity of Culture, when priests, bards and judges were essentially serving one and the same purpose: to articulate what it meant to be properly German. That is what the *logos* in philology stands for: culture, in the philological view, was an act of national self-creation by self-articulation. Not for nothing does the Grimms' massive *Deutsches Wörterbuch* carry, for its logo, the opening line of the Gospel according to John: *Im Anfang war das Wort* – in the beginning was the Word [Fig. 2].

The long shadow of a forgotten godfather: Giambattista Vico

The notion that each civilization bursts upon the scene of world history in an epic-heroic moment of collective self-articulation, a Big Bang when poetry, mythology/religion and law-making are an undifferentiated whole, when poets are priest and prophets and (as Shelley called it) the 'unacknowledged legislators of Mankind': that view had been voiced a century before Grimm by the Naples savant Giambattista Vico, in his *Scienza Nuova*.[20] The *Scienza Nuova*, which, as the subtitle phrases it, deals with 'la commune natura delle nazioni', is a gnomic and difficult book, and its full originality only came to be appreciated gradually, in the century after his rediscovery in the 1820s-1830s by Edgar Quinet and Jules Michelet. They (like Marx after them) saw Vico essentially as a philosopher of history (more particularly, that peristaltic world history in which civilization goes through successive cycles of youthful vigour, maturity, decrepitude and a fresh beginning). What people took longer to recognize was Vico's anti-Cartesianism,

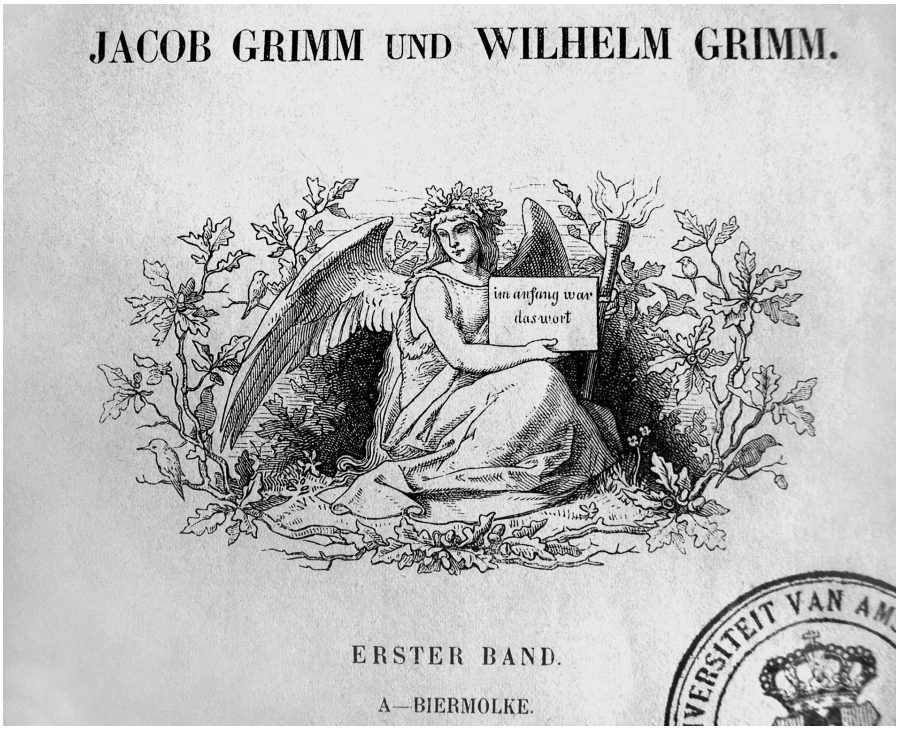

Fig. 2: I*m Anfang war das Wort*. Vignet on title page of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854-1971), 16 vols.

and his view that the mind must use different modes of comprehension for the world around it and for its own mental constructs. The attempts to understand the objective world, Vico calls 'philosophy'; which aims to establish the truth about things. But besides the agenda of philosophy, and given human limitations to understand the world properly, there are those things which emanate from the mind itself: mathematics, mental constructs, epistemic frameworks, in short: culture. This (the *verum factum*) can be understood with certainty by the mind, because the mind is their author. Thus Vico opposes to the quest for truth the investigation of certainties. The former endeavour he calls 'philosophy', the latter (his 'new science') *philology*. It is apt to address all those areas in which humans make their own world and mental ambience, through language, law, mythology, poetry and other cultural acts of creation. And it is these which, in a compact Big Bang moment, he sees as the originary moment of each historical civilization.

It will be obvious that both in its coinage of the idea of philology and in its agenda, Vico uncannily foreshadows the endeavours of someone like Grimm, who meant to understand the German mentality and world-view by investigating

that nation's language, law, mythology and poetry. But was Grimm aware of Vico? Probably not, and in any case not enough to realize how great and substantial the indebtedness was.

This raises the intriguing question how Vicoesque thought and the notion of *philology* as a 'cultural anthopology of the nation's antiquity' reached Grimm's generation. Isaiah Berlin has pointed out, in his essays on Counter-Enlightenment intellectuals, that there were remarkable parallels between Vico and Herder, but he failed to substantiate the link or fill in the paper trail leading from one to the other. Names like those of Montesquieu and (especially) Hamann were mentioned, but we may need to look elsewhere for the most promising conduit. Which brings us back to James Macpherson's *Ossian*.

Ossian had, as I pointed out, a Europe-wide vogue. This was carried by varying translations – an ironic thing for a text which in itself purported to be an English translation from Scottish Gaelic. Besides the passages that Goethe inserted into *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, one of the more influential translations was an Italian one, by the Paduan antiquary Melchiore Cesarotti, a highly respected name in the history of Italian Enlightenment.[21] In Venice he published his literary-critical dissertations *Sopra l'origine ed i progressi dell' arte poetica* and *Sopra il diletto della tragedia* in 1762, and shortly after became acquainted with the recently-published Ossianic texts, which he immediately translated into Italian (1763). It earned him great fame and a professorial appointment in his native Padua, where he produced a matching, but less accomplished translation of the Iliad (1786). In his essays and in his annotations to these translations of Homer and Ossian, Cesarotti instills many of his views on the origin and progress of epic poetry, and these, it can be easily seen, are substantially familiar with Vico's *Scienza Nuova*.[22] In turn, Cesarotti was known to Herder as a prominent European expert on the Ossianic poems. Cesarotti also obtained the patronage and support of Lord Bute, the Scottish statesman who had funded both some of Macpherson's editions and Cesarotti's translation.

This suggestive line that leads from Vico to Herder by way of Macpherson and Cesarotti may in itself be somewhat tenuous; but it is more suggestive than anything which Isaiah Berlin was able to offer on the topic.[23] And it is strengthened by the fact that only a few years later, another 'primitive epic' was discovered, again in this intellectual Scottish-Venetian coterie. The Venetian priest Alberto Fortis, a friend of Cesarotti's, undertook a Voyage to Dalmatia, and on that Venetian-controlled but little-known region he published a book in 1774. Part of that book was the presentation of an oral epic noted down in the Dalmatian hinterland from oral recitation, the 'doleful song of the wife of Hasan-Aga' or *Hasanaginica*.[24] Now an uncontested classic of Croatian literature, this freshly discovered tragic-epic poem knew an immediate and enormous éclat in post-Ossianic, pre-

Romantic Europe.[25] Once again, Goethe was instrumental (as he had been when he had interpolated Ossian into his *Werther*, in that selfsame year 1774). His poetic rendition of the *Klaggesang der edlen Frau der Hasan-Aga* as published in 1778 in Herder's epochal anthology of oral literature, the *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, and later again in Goethe's own lyrical collections. The vogue continued for decades. And Alberto Fortis's book was published in an English translation as early as 1775, with a dedication to its financial sponsor – Lord Bute...

The interest in, and circulation of, a type of heroic poetry taken down as oral fragment and considered to be the folk-collective emanation of a heroic primitivism was in the air and affected a very specific set of Ossian-inspired intellectuals, a network involving Cesarotti and Fortis, Goethe and Herder.[26] It was through networks like these that Vicoesque notions of primitive folk-collective epic could be carried to affect the young student brought in by Savigny to aid in the preparation of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

Notes

1 This paper was finished during my fellowship at the Lichtenberg-Kolleg, Göttingen.

2 Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967). Anna Morpurgo Davies, *Nineteenth-Century Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1998).

3 Benoît Dayrat, 'The Roots of Phylogeny: How did Haeckel Build his Tree?', *Systematic Biology* 52.4 (2003), 515-527. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1963).

4 Grimm vindicated the unity of jurisprudence, history and philology proper, under the common name of *Germanistik*, in his statements as chairman of the first Congress of *Germanisten* in Frankfurt (1846), cf. *Verhandlungen der Germanisten in Frankfurt am Main am 24., 25. und 26. September 1846* (Frankfurt: Sauerländer, 1836), 14-17 and Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften* (8 vols.; Berlin: Dümmler, 1865-90), 7: 556-63 ('Über die Wechselseitigkeit der drei vertretenen Wissenschaften'). On that occasion and its importance, see Frank Fürbeth et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Nationalphilologien in Europa. 150 Jahre Erste Germanistenversammlung in Frankfurt am Main (1846-1996)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), and Katinka Netzer, *Wissenschaft aus nationaler Sehnsucht: Verhandlungen der Germanisten 1846 und 1847* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2006).

5 Generally on the conceptual history of philology, including the role of Vico: Pascale Hummel, *Philologus auctor; le philologue et son oeuvre* (Bern, Lang: 2003).

6 Thus Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs*, Hume's *History of England*, Robinson's *History of Scotland* and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

7 Thus in various climatological sections of Montesquieu's *l'Esprit des lois*, rebutted in Hume's essay 'Of National Characters', or in Kant's *Betrachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen*.

8 Jorge Luis Borges, 'La postulación de la realidad' (1930), in: *Prosa Completa* (5 vols., Barcelona: Bruguera), 1:155-60, esp. 157.

9 The primary corpus has been edited by Howard Gaskill as James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996). Two 'classics': Paul Van Tieghem, *Ossian et l'Ossianisme dans la littérature européenne au XVIIIe siècle* (Groningen: Wolters, 1920); Alexander Gillies, *Herder und Ossian* (Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1933). Other fundamental sources: Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Fiona Stafford & Howard Gaskill (eds.), *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998); Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2004).

10 Some of these I have traced elsewhere: 'Ossianic Liminality: Between Native Tradition and Preromantic Taste,' in *From Gaelic to Romantic*, eds. Stafford and Gaskill, 1-16, and 'Ossian and the Rise of Literary Historicism', in: Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, 109-25. Also: Kristine Louise Haugen, 'Ossian and the Invention of Textual History', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998), 309-327.

11 Reinhart Markner & Giuseppe Veltri (eds.), *Friedrich August Wolf: Studien, Dokumente, Bibliographie* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999). Cf also Wolf's *Briefe an Heyne: Eine Beilage zu den neuesten Untersuchungen über Homer* (1797).

12 It should be understood that I deal here with the rise of historicism from another perspective than the usual historiographical, Ranke- and Niebuhr-oriented one, as exemplified in, for example, Stephan Jordan's *Geschichtstheorie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Schwellenzeit zwischen Pragmatismus und Klassischem Historismus* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1999); cf., rather, N.E. Collinge, 'The Introduction of the Historical Principle into the Study of Languages: Grimm', in: Sylvain Auroux et al. (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences. An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 1210-1223; and Ulrich Wyss, *Die wilde Philologie: Jacob Grimm und der Historismus* (Munich: Beck, 1979).

13 Iris Denneler, *Friedrich Karl von Savigny* (Berlin: Stapp, 1985)

14 Cf. generally Christoph Mährlein, *Volksgeist und Recht: Hegels Philosophie der Einheit und ihre Bedeutung in der Rechtswissenschaft* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000).

15 The best recent introduction is the biography by Steffen Martus, *Die Brüder Grimm: eine Biographie* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2010).

16 Cf. my *De bronnen van het vaderland: taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland, 1806-1890* (2nd ed. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011).

17 Wilhelm Schoof (ed.), *Briefe der Brüder Grimm an Savigny* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1953); for the continuing indebtedness, see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Das sinnliche Element des Rechts. Jacob Grimms Sammlung und Beschreibung deutscher Rechtsaltertümer', in: L. Denecke (ed.), *Kasseler Vorträge in Erinnerung an den 200. Geburtstag der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (Marburg: Elwert, 1987), 1-24. Also, my 'From Bökendorf to Berlin: Private Careers, Public Sphere, and How the Past Changed in Jacob Grimm's Lifetime', in: L. Jensen et al. (eds.), *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 55-70.

18 Heinz Rölleke, 'Die Beiträge der Brüder Grimm zu "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"', *Brüder Grimm Gedenken* 2 (1975), 28-42.

19 Maria Herrlich, *Organismuskonzept und Sprachgeschichtsschreibung. Die 'Geschichte der deutschen Sprache' von Jacob Grimm* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1998).

20 From amidst the great deal of secondary literature I select Peter Burke's brief but insightful *Vico* (Oxford University Press, 1984).

21 Cf. Emilio Bigi, *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti 4: critici e storici della poesia e delle arti nel secondo settecento* (Milano: Ricciardi, 1960). Interesting information is also contained in Lesa

Ní Mhunghaile, 'Joseph Cooper Walker, James Macpherson agus Melchiorre Cesarotti', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 17 (2002), 79-98 and Gustavo Costa, 'Melchiorre Cesarotti, Vico and the Sublime', *Italica* 58 (1981), 3-15.

22 Enrico Mattioda, 'Ossian in Italy: From Cesarotti to the Theatre', in: Gaskill, *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, 274-302.

23 The case was first made by Robert T. Clark ('Herder, Cesarotti and Vico', *Studies in Philology* 44.4 (1947), 645-671). It was reiterated by Arthur H. Scouten in his review of Berlin's *Vico and Herder* (in *Comparative Literature Studies* 15.3 (1978), 336-341. Berlin's reply to Scouten ('Professor Scouten on Herder and Vico', *Comparative Literature Studies* 16.2 (1979), 141-145) showed considerable bluster ('This really will not do') but does little else than admit the case as made by Clark, and claim that he, Berlin, was aware of it despite Scouten's cavils.

24 It has been reprinted as Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, ed. P. Rehder (Munich: Sagner, 1994). An excellent analysis is given by Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

25 A very extensive documentation of the reception record is given by Alija Isakovic (ed.), *Hasanaginica 1774-1974* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975).

26 Cf. Barbara W. Maggs, 'Three Phases of Primitivism in Portraits of Eighteenth-Century Croatia', *Slavonic and East European Review* 67.4 (1989), 546-563.

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Linguistics 'ante litteram'

Compiling and Transmitting Views on the Diversity and Kinship of Languages before the Nineteenth Century

Toon Van Hal

Introduction

The present contribution aims to address some issues relating to the transmission and the organization of linguistic knowledge in a time when there was no such thing as an independent linguistic discipline yet. Franz Bopp (1791-1867) is generally credited with having institutionalized a new academic branch of scholarship, since the publication of his *Über das Conjugationssystem* in 1816 earned him the first chair of comparative linguistics at the University of Berlin five years later.[1] Whereas the nineteenth-century interest in linguistics was chiefly limited to the study of the diachronic evolution and the genealogical kinship of languages (leaving aside some notable exceptions),[2] twentieth-century linguistics mainly focused on general and synchronic linguistics. To a large extent, this major shift in perspective has been triggered by Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857-1913) *Cours de linguistique générale*, published posthumously exactly one hundred years after Bopp's *Conjugationssystem* (which may have been no coincidence).[3] In the nineteenth century, however, research questions that were focused on the history and relatedness of (mainly Indo-European) languages took centre stage in the new academic discipline. Nevertheless, the interest in such historical and comparative issues was in itself far from new. From the early Renaissance onwards, a number of fundamental questions about human languages had been asked: why do different peoples speak different languages? What reasons underlie some striking commonalities between some of these different languages? Was there originally only one language and is this language still extant? Why do languages unremittingly change?[4]

In close connection to the general theme of this collection of papers, which focuses on the development of learning and the different branches of scholarship, I will investigate to what extent these 'linguistic' views as developed by Renaissance and post-Renaissance authors have been *transmitted* and *received*, irrespec-

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tive of their correctness judged by present-day linguistic criteria. The answer to this question is not obvious, as it should be singled out that issues concerning historical and comparative linguistics were usually treated in treatises that are not language-oriented in the first place. On the contrary, we see that problems related to the origin, diversity, change and similarity of languages are mostly dealt with in very dissimilar contexts (such as historical works, theological treatises, and geographical descriptions), and that they are less widely discussed in grammars or books devoted to the construction of universal languages.[5] One might therefore be prone to think that Renaissance and Post-Renaissance observations and theories related to linguistic change or genealogy were doomed to remain unnoticed, precisely because of the lack of a proper branch of (historical and comparative) linguistics. Even if it is well-known that the Early Modern boundaries between the several 'disciplines' were far less firm than nowadays, one could presume, for instance, that an Early Modern scholar with a special focus on geography did not know about the ideas on language put forward by a contemporary scholar in a theological book. In view of the fact that there was no coordinating discipline yet, one would expect that views on linguistic kinship and diversity were not systematically collected, and that their influence upon later generations of scholars would be negligible. Such a view has been put forward by Giuliano Bonfante, concluding one of his pioneering (and still useful) papers surveying the views held by 'precomparative' scholars as follows:

> 'Habent sua fata libelli', and so also men and their toils. The history of six centuries of linguistic investigations on the kinship of the Indo-European languages is indeed a sad story of attempts and relapses, of precious revelations and childish vagaries, of perpetual gains and perpetual losses. Many of the xixth century discoveries, as can well be seen, were already made, or very near to completion: still, no real school of linguistics was created, the tradition remained interrupted, and almost nothing of all these long efforts entered into the waking of the xixth century linguistic movement. It is one of the greatest and saddest lessons of history, that the most wonderful intuitions or discoveries remain sterile and are quickly forgotten unless they find the spiritual atmosphere that is apt to receive them and develop them.[6]

This utterly pessimistic statement can be challenged, and the present contribution will advance a more optimistic view. Indeed, I will argue that Renaissance and Post-Renaissance authors knew one another's work well beyond the boundaries of their disciplines, and that writings that were deemed to contain important linguistic theories and arguments, have not entirely fallen into oblivion. In this respect, one could ask two questions. First, why, in what ways and to what

extent were linguistic ideas disseminated before the nineteenth century? The second question depends on the first one: if there emerged something like a body of linguistic reference texts, what role did these texts play in the process of the institutionalization of linguistics as an independent academic discipline? The present paper will focus on the first question (with the exception of some general remarks in the concluding subsection). Even while largely excluding the (potential) bridge to the nineteenth century, the scope of the topic remains immense. Reasons of space prevent me therefore from dwelling at great length on the 'most wonderful intuitions or discoveries' from the fifteenth century onwards as mentioned by Giuliano Bonfante. Nor will I discuss what theoretical and methodological linguistic ideas turned out to be continuously transmitted.[7] Far from being all-inclusive, the present paper will focus on the *media* and the different source types through which these language-related views were transmitted.

Before doing so, I will succinctly discuss two exemplary discoveries made by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars, at the theoretical and methodological level respectively.

(1) The Leiden professors Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653) and Marc[us] Zuer[ius] van Boxhorn[ius] (1612-1653) are generally credited with having developed the so-called Scythian hypothesis, in which the 'Scythian' language was regarded as the matrix language of, among other languages, Latin, Greek, Persian and Germanic. Overall, early modern scholars used to explain cross-linguistic similarities in terms of borrowing or by positing a still-existing original language as the source of all other languages (such as Hebrew, or even Dutch, as suggested by the Antwerpian physician Goropius Becanus). The Scythian theory, however, posits a common source and is thus a step in the direction of the nineteenth-century reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. Johannes Elichmann (1601/1602-1639), a Silesian physician who settled in Leiden, gave the initial and decisive impetus to this theory's development, although his planned *Archaeologia Harmonica* unfortunately failed to materialize due to his untimely death.[8]

(2) A general linguistic method that had gained sufficient acceptance so as to permit scholars to discuss and control their language-related theories was completely absent in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Some scholars, however, formulated the need for such a stringent methodology, and made efforts to compose a list of 'etymological rules'. Linguistic similarity was most frequently demonstrated at the lexical level, which was seen as the most straightforward indicator of language kinship (the possibility of investigating grammatical correspondences was far less frequently explored). However, awareness grew that one pair of identical words did not suffice to prove linguistic kinship between two languages. Hence, many authors inserted extensive lists of lexical comparisons in their works. In addition to this quantitative principle, a qualitative constraint

was worked out as well. Some lexemes were seen as being less prone to being borrowed than others. As a matter of fact, a number of scholars (such as Philippus Cluverius, Jan de Laet, Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn) realized that languages sharing similar words for very basic things (kinship terms, numbers, terms for body parts, etc.) might be related in a genealogical sense, since it was seen as highly implausible that the words for such basic notions would have resulted from borrowing. In other words, this concept of 'basic vocabulary' enabled scholars to distinguish inherited vocabulary from loans.

In Bonfante's opinion, such wonderful insights 'remained sterile and were quickly forgotten'.[9] The remainder of this contribution aims to put this complaint in perspective by looking at the ways in which linguistic knowledge was fruitfully organized and transmitted.

Presenting the problem by means of an anti-linguistic treatise

Exactly one hundred years before Bopp published his groundbreaking comparative grammar, and exactly two hundred years before a first version of Ferdinand de Saussure's *Linguistic Course* finally found its way to the printer, another programmatic linguistic dissertation came from a Leipzig printing press, entitled *De nimio in linguis studio*.[10] In contrast with the 1816 and 1916 publications, this 1716 dissertation is not well-known and its influence was very restricted. It concerns one of the numerous academic dissertations (also known as *dissertationes*, *disputationes*, *exercitationes*, *theses*) that appeared in print in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Germany. Having its roots in medieval educational practice, the disputations can be defined 'as logical exercises – held on a very wide range of possible subject-matters – which were held by two or more participants as part of academic instruction at European schools and universities',[11] mainly in the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany. Two names figure on its title page: a certain Scipio Carl Johann Caspar Rumpff (lifedates unknown) is indicated as *praeses* (the supervising professor); the young Johann Andreas Fabricius (1696-1769) as *respondens* (the defending student). Before the oral event took place, the dissertation (most of which were of restricted length) was printed as a pamphlet.[12] Although many of these occasional publications survived, their distribution is understandably more restricted than regular books. One of the key problems relating to this source type lies in determining authorship, as in most publications no author is specified. So, should the defending student be regarded as the author, or rather the professor, whose contribution often went beyond the mere task of supervising? In Joseph S. Freedman's opinion, it is simply impossible to solve this issue. Hence, it is safer to refer to such dissertations as being co-authored works, if

counterevidence is lacking.[13] Overall, these early modern dissertations are particularly revealing with respect to the general theme of this collection of papers, given that such disputations, in contrast to 'textbooks', used to focus on subject-matters which were at the intersection of different established disciplines.[14] In this respect, these sources can offer invaluable information about the making of the humanities.

The treatise under consideration, the title of which can be translated as *On the Excessive Study of Languages*, is to be read as a concise and well-structured plea against research undertaken in the domain of the language sciences. In the dissertation's preface, the authors, admitting that studying languages can be a satisfactory, pleasant and in some cases even necessary activity, state that most languages are over-studied. The authors even interrupt their Latin discourse for inserting a German saying: 'Man kan auch des Guten zu viel thun'. What is more, not all languages are deemed to be useful, and some of them must therefore not be studied at all. The dissertation itself is subdivided into several chapters, each of which is devoted to a particular linguistic topic. The booklet includes, for instance, sections discussing research conducted with regard to the origin of languages, linguistic kinship and language change. At the end of each chapter, the authors come up with the same conclusion: investigating these issues is in their opinion entirely pointless and even a complete waste of time. On the one hand, the authors condemn the methodological weaknesses in the writings of their contemporary peers. In addition, they keep on stressing that a language is nothing else than a mere means for gaining knowledge about matters useful and important in themselves. Language itself, it seems, does not belong to this category of matters worth being studied.

The dissertation under study is interesting in more than one respect. The treatise most likely did not appear out of the blue: its very content testifies to a genuine irritation and dissatisfaction on the authors' part with the contemporary prevailing and dominant atmosphere. Leaving aside the theoretical possibility that the dissertation should be read as a merely rhetorical exercise, Rumpff and Fabricius reacted against a scholarly climate in which linguistic issues were widely debated – all too widely, in the authors' opinion. Moreover, it seems that these debates were transmitted in a fairly coordinated way. Otherwise it would be hard to explain the fact that an author, whose first aim consists in refuting the usefulness of linguistic research, succeeds in presenting an astonishingly well-structured and well-documented survey of the vast and intrinsically interdisciplinary domain of matters relating to the history and kinship of languages. Reading all books that just loosely touched on the relevant themes (which he did not think interesting at all) would have taken him a life-time. In other words, it is more than probable that the author(s) of this dissertation must have been able to rely on a

state-of-the-art report. As a matter of fact, it is beyond doubt that extensive use was made of Daniel Georg Morhof's (1639-1691) encyclopedic *Polyhistor*, which is more than once referred to. The following section will elaborate on Morhof's *Polyhistor* and will present some other source-types that aim to encompass the body of linguistic knowledge.

Centripetal tendencies: State-of-the-art accounts, programmes, bibliographies and more

The first edition of Morhof's *Polyhistor* was published in 1688, and augmented posthumous editions (which were of more than 1,000 pages) appeared in 1692-1695, 1732 and 1747.[15] Morhof's work, a kind of encyclopedia that critically surveys contemporary knowledge and learning, is considered one of the most important representatives of the early modern genre called *historia literaria*.[16] The book's section devoted to the *Grammaticus* contained chapters such as *De linguis et scriptura* ['About languages and script'] and *De lingua universali et primaeva* ['About the universal and primeval language'], surveying the various views on language and languages held by Renaissance and Post-Renaissance authors as seen, of course, through Morhof's eyes. In gathering writings belonging to different branches of learning, Morhof delivered an early critical 'linguistic' state of the art beyond the borders of the contemporary traditional disciplines. In Daniel Droixhe's view, Morhof astonishingly succeeded in 'separating the wheat from the chaff',[17] and in any case, the linguistic chapter was successful in terms of its impact and reception, the more so since Morhof had published a similar survey in German as early as in 1682 (*Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie*).

Morhof was not the only scholar to compose such a state-of-the-art survey. Similar summarizing accounts have been established by, among others, the German scholar Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612-1676),[18] and by Brian Walton (1600-1661), who authored, as editor of a famous Polyglot Bible, several critical *Prolegomena*.[19] Johann Georg von Eckhart's (1674-1730) *Historia studii etymologici linguae Germanicae hactenus impensi* can be read as an early history of linguistics. Whereas its title suggests that the work does not go beyond the Germanic language(s), a glance at the table of contents reveals that more general theories (such as Boxhorn's Scythian theory) are taken into account as well. The book was meant as a preliminary work for a major etymological undertaking that failed to materialize.[20] A late-eighteenth-century example of a surveying work devoted to the diversity of languages is Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl's (1760-1834) *Allgemeine Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen und Litteratur* (1784). Needless to say, in view of the transmission of linguistic ideas and concepts, such sur-

veys in particular and encyclopedic works in general (as a typical product of the Enlightenment) were of paramount importance.[21] They functioned as important 'hubs', bringing information and ideas together into consistent summaries capable of being shared and discussed by members of the republic of letters. They thus provided later scholars facilitated access to theoretical and methodological arguments developed by scholars of past generations, which they could either adopt and elaborate upon or dismiss and correct.

These surveying accounts were, however, not the sole sources responsible for the spread of linguistic ideas. The need for a new, well-elaborated sub-branch of learning, having the history and affinities of languages as its object, was sometimes felt by scholars who authored books of a rather geographical and historical nature while making use of etymological arguments. To my knowledge, the first programmatic plea for such a branch of learning in its own right was formulated in the Netherlands. Philippus Cluverius (1580-1622), a pioneer in historical geography, admitted that the issue of linguistic kinship was far too complex to be tackled by one single scholar. He stated: 'but regarding the similarity and resemblance of languages, as well as concerning their origin and with respect to the primeval matrix language, the field is much broader and vaster than should or could be treated here. I am very well aware of the fact that in this subject-matter great and wonderful mysteries are hidden, that could only be solved by someone mastering nearly all languages.'[22] The famous *polyhistor* Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716) was another influential proponent of the elaboration of a specific branch of learning, studying the history and diversity of the world's languages. For the development of linguistics, Leibniz's work was of paramount importance, since he succeeded in combining theoretical and methodological questions on the one hand with empirical endeavours on the other.[23] Had a majority of his works not been left unfinished on his desk, his impact would have been even far more substantial.[24] Nevertheless, some authors attempted to fill the research gaps that were pinpointed by Leibniz. Thus, for instance, the Hirschberg rector Gottfried Hensel (Godofredus Henselius, 1687-1765) designed the first linguistic maps in explicit response to Leibniz's request.[25] Henselius was a prolific scholar, who authored mathematical as well as theological works.[26] His monograph entitled *Synopsis universae philologiae in qua miranda unitas et harmonia linguarum totius orbis terrarum occulta [...] eruitur* aimed at revealing the wonderful unity and harmony of the world's languages. Some scholars were less ambitious than Hensel in that they restricted their linguistic contribution to the making of bibliographies listing all books relevant to our topic. A good example is the comprehensive bibliography compiled by the German scholar Johann Heumann von Teutschenbrunn (1711-1760).[27] Interestingly, his bibliographic undertaking, preceded by a short preface motivating his endeavour,[28] is entitled

'*specimen bibliothecae glotticae*', which suggests that Heumann was looking for an appropriate term for the branch of learning his bibliography was covering. The Latinized Greek designation '*glotticus*' seems to be an original invention given that this term was only very rarely used.[29] It is difficult to make a sharp divide between mere bibliographies and 'upgraded', viz. commented bibliographies, the latter of which can be equally regarded as belonging to the branch of *historiae literariae*. The 1777 *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde* by Johann Nepomuk Cosmas Michael Denis (1729-1800) is interesting in that its author attempts to construct a Linnaean taxonomy of the disciplines.[30] *Sprachenkunde* or *Linguistik* ('Linguistics'), a designation he probably coined himself, was part of *philology*, and contained

> I. die glossologischen oder Abhandlungen von den Sprachen, II. die graphischen oder Abhandlungen von der Schreibekunst und den Buchstaben, III. die Sprachlehren oder Grammatiken, IV. die Wörterbücher oder Dictionarien.[31]

Other source types that contributed to organizing and conveying linguistic ideas can be only briefly surveyed here. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *etymological dictionaries* include lengthy prefaces, discussing methodological issues by referring to previous etymological undertakings.[32] In addition, it may be interesting to investigate in what ways Early Modern *journals* were dealing with linguistic issues and to what extent they have played a role in further shaping the field. So, for instance, Daniel Droixhe has shown that Boxhorn's version of the Scythian theory was frequently discussed in *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annemlichen Geschichten* (1689-1698),[33] and the late eighteenth-century taxonomies of disciplines became a favourite point of debate in journals as well. We also see that the questions relating to the origin, diversity and genealogy of languages became a fairly popular subject-matter in *academic dissertations*, a source type discussed above. In many of these dissertations, the problems regarding linguistic origin, history, change and genealogy took centre stage, thus suggesting that historical and comparative linguistics was a topic which could be dealt with in its own right, even though some authors still legitimatize their endeavour by explicitly stating that the research's outcome is fruitful for other domains of learning (such as theology). Although the distribution of the majority of these dissertations was rather limited, some of them became widely read and went through several reprints (sometimes as an item in a rather coherent collection of papers). So, for instance, Olaus Borrichius' *Diatriba de causis diversitatis linguarum*, first published in 1675, was reissued in 1704 'ob praestantiam' ('because of its quality').[34] These sources seem to form a

coherent unity, not only in that they are addressing a similar 'cluster' of linguistic questions and problems, but also in that nearly all of them are referring to a similar body of writings composed in previous centuries.[35] By browsing the academic dissertations and the other source types just surveyed, particular writings by particular authors turn out to be recurrently quoted in almost every source text. Limiting oneself to sixteenth-century authors, one cannot but find that names such as Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), Jean Bodin (1530-1596) and Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519-1573) are very frequently mentioned up to the late-eighteenth century. In other words, these seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources gradually brought about a corpus of texts that were considered of vital importance as to their linguistic views. Such a corpus of linguistic writings could be considered an important step towards the emancipation of historical and comparative linguistics as an autonomous discipline.

Conclusion and outlook

Judging by the increasing number of different source types devoted to the history and the genealogy of the world's languages, one may conclude that linguistic issues have been frequently addressed and dealt with in a fairly focused way from the seventeenth century onwards, despite the absence of an independent academic discipline that enabled the study of language in its own right. Coming back to Giuliano Bonfante, one cannot but conclude that his statement that 'the linguistic tradition remained interrupted in the centuries prior to the nineteenth century' is not tenable or that it is at least somewhat exaggerated. Daniel Droixhe and Pierre Swiggers rightly distinguish tendencies of continuity as well as tendencies of discontinuity in the complex development of the history of sixteenth through nineteenth-century linguistics.[36] At the most basic and empirical level, the making of grammars of the world's languages ('grammaticography') was a gradual and cumulative process. Apart from this unmistakably continuous trend at the documentary level, lines of continuity at the theoretical and methodological level were far from absent either. The present contribution has attempted to investigate in what ways ideas related to the history and diversity of languages were transmitted, and it has tried to trace how a 'corpus' of important linguistic reference texts was gradually shaped. Needless to say, Bonfante was right in claiming that those theoretical and methodological ideas, which strike us as the most promising ones, were not always elaborated upon to the extent we might have hoped. Nonetheless, they were not completely forgotten and were disseminated, albeit often in an abbreviated and mutilated shape, accompanied by many other ideas which seem far less fruitful today.

One can equally question Bonfante's claim that 'almost nothing of all these long efforts entered into the waking of the xixth century linguistic movement'. The transition from the old 'trial-and-error' way of investigating linguistic history and diversity to the nineteenth-century successful methods developed within the framework of a new academic discipline certainly deserves an in-depth study. Recent historiographical studies have however shown that this shift was by far not as radical as has been claimed by late nineteenth-century authors, who, dazzled by the contemporary spectacular discoveries made by neogrammarians, posited that linguistics was an early nineteenth-century *creatio ex nihilo*. By way of conclusion, I would like to illustrate this point by discussing how the (re) discovery of Sanskrit was received in late eighteenth-century 'linguistic' publications. It is commonly known that the study of Sanskrit occupies an important position within the development of linguistics.[37] Some scholars have claimed that the emergence and the flourishing of linguistics as an academic discipline at the beginning of the nineteenth century directly resulted from the (re)discovery of Sanskrit at the end of eighteenth century. This is not true, although it is beyond doubt that Sanskrit played a considerable, predominantly stimulating role in the process of institutionalizing the new linguistic discipline.[38] What we see at the turn of the nineteenth century is that many scholars seem to think that the discovery of Sanskrit confirms (or slightly modifies) their views on linguistic genealogy. In other words, Sanskrit is generally incorporated into the then existing 'genealogical' linguistic models (such as the Scythian theory), and its discovery did not immediately give way to a fundamental rethinking of the contemporary ideas on linguistic kinship (see, for instance, the comparative lexicographic endeavours by Stephen Weston and Henri Augustin Le Pileur).[39] In addition, Jack Fellman and Robert Kispert have shown that Sir William Jones (1746-1794), who is in almost every introduction to linguistics credited with having announced nineteenth-century Indo-European linguistics in a famous *Discourse on the Hindoos* delivered at a meeting of the Asiatick Society in 1786, was familiar with the Scythian theory and that he did not present his ideas as revolutionarily new.[40] The French scholar Constantin François de Chassebœuf, 'comte de Volney' (1757-1820), even stated that Sanskrit was identical to the lost Scythian language.[41] In his works, which were comparative in orientation, the Carmelite missionary Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748-1806), who authored the first Sanskrit grammar published in Europe, testified to a thorough knowledge of the sixteenth through eighteenth-century intellectual debates.[42] An impressive, yet hitherto often overlooked example of a well-documented work merging the old and the new is Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's (1752-1827) 1807 *Geschichte der neuern Sprachenkunde*,[43] one part of his unfinished project entitled *Geschichte der Litteratur von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Göttingen, 1805-

1813) and thus equally belonging to the branch of *historiae literariae*.[44] Its author pleads for an ambitious collective research programme aiming to reveal the 'grammatical anatomy' of the world's languages.[45] In 1828, a similar project was set up by Colonel Vans Kennedy (1784-1846), who still discussed ideas aired by sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century authors besides relying on recent authoritative names such as that of Franz Bopp.[46] In other words, it is obvious that for many scholars being active in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century the 'old' and the 'new' went hand in hand. Moreover, the first generation of nineteenth-century professional linguists was at least not entirely unaware of the work achieved by their earlier predecessors,[47] although it remains to be investigated to what extent they were dependent on their predecessors' ideas. One research strategy for answering this question could consist in browsing these linguists' personal libraries, as far as such libraries can be reconstructed.[48]

Notes

1 Franz Bopp will take centre stage in Bart Karstens' contribution in this volume.

2 Els Elffers' contribution in the present collection of papers focuses on one of these exceptions.

3 E.F.K. Koerner, 'The Concept of "Revolution" in Linguistics. Historical, Methodological and Philosophical Considerations', in: *Linguistic Historiography. Prospects and Projects* (Benjamins, 1999), 85-96, esp. 88: 'Indeed, I suspect that the editors of Saussure's *Cours* were so much under the spell of this date [viz. 1816, TVH] that they decided on a 1916 publication date to mark their celebration of the primacy of synchrony over diachrony'.

4 See Toon Van Hal and John P. Considine, 'Introduction: Classifying and Comparing Languages in Post-Renaissance Europe', *Language & History* 53 (2010), 63-69 and the references given there.

5 Needless to say, important exceptions can be found. So, for instance, the prefaces of many a grammar contain remarks regarding the history and diversity of languages. In addition, John Wilkins' famous 1668 *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* equally discusses historical languages. See Daniel Droixhe, 'Wilkins et les langues européennes', in: Daniel Droixhe and Chantal Grell (eds.), *La Linguistique entre mythe et histoire: actes des journées d'étude organisées les 4 et 5 juin 1991 à la Sorbonne en l'honneur de Hans Aarsleff* (Nodus, 1993), 41-54.

6 Giuliano Bonfante, 'Ideas on the Kinship of the European Languages from 1200 to 1800', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1953-1954), 679-699, esp. 697. Werner Bahner, 'Aspekte der Sprachbetrachtung in der Renaissance', *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 31 (1978), 457-462 is equally sceptical.

7 Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* (Hiersemann, 1957-1963); Daniel Droixhe, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire (1600-1800). Rationalisme et révolutions positivistes* (Droz, 1978); id., 'Avant-propos: genèse du comparatisme indo-européen', *Histoire, épistémologie, langage* 6:2 (1984), 5-15; id., *Souvenirs de Babel: la reconstruction de l'histoire des langues de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises de Belgique,

2007); Jean-Claude Muller, 'Early Stages of Language Comparison from Sassetti to Sir William Jones (1786)', *Kratylos* 31 (1986), 1-31; Pierre Swiggers, *Histoire de la pensée linguistique: analyse du langage et réflexion linguistique dans la culture occidentale, de l'Antiquité au XIXe siècle* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1997); Pierre Swiggers and Piet Desmet, 'L'élaboration de la linguistique comparative: comparaison et typologie des langues jusqu'au début du XIXe siècle', in: Peter Schmitter (ed.), *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie. 5: Sprachtheorien der Neuzeit II: von der Grammaire de Port-Royal (1660) zur Konstitution moderner linguistischer Disziplinen* (Narr, 1996), 122-177; Anna Morpurgo Davies, 'Nineteenth-Century Linguistics', in: Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of Linguistics*, vol. 4. (Longman, 1998); Toon Van Hal, *'Moedertalen en taalmoeders': Het vroegmoderne taalvergelijkende onderzoek in de Lage Landen* (Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2010).

8 Toon Van Hal, 'On the Scythian Theory: Reconstructing the Outlines of Johannes Elichmann's (1601/1602-1639) Planned "Archaeologia harmonica"', *Language & History* 53 (2010), 70-80.

9 See also Jean-Claude Muller, 'Quelques repères pour l'histoire de la notion de vocabulaire de base dans le précomparatisme', *Histoire, Epistémologie, Langage* 6:2 (1984), 37-43, esp. 42.

10 Scipio Carl Johann Caspar Rumpff and Johannes Andreas Fabricius, *De nimio in linguis studio superiorum indultu* ([Lipsiae:] Typis Christoph. Frideric. Rumpff, 1716).

11 Joseph S. Freedman, 'Disputations in Europe in the Early Modern Period', in: Jos Damen and Anton van der Lem (eds.), *Hora est! On dissertations. [Catalogue of an Exhibition in Leiden University Library, December 8, 2005 - February 4, 2006]* (Universiteit-Bibliotheek Leiden, 2005), 30-50, esp. 30.

12 John P. Considine, 'Did Andreas Jäger or Georg Caspar Kirchmaier Write the Dissertation "De lingua vetustissima Europae" (1686)?', *Historiographia Linguistica* 35 (2008), 13-22.

13 In this particular case, we know that the presider, Rumpff, has published a few additional dissertations he supervised, whereas the young Fabricius would turn out to be a far more productive author in his later years. See Helmut Weiß, Irma Held, Dieter Beier and Hans Jürgen Höller, 'Fabricius, Johann Andreas', in: Herbert E. Brekle, Edeltraud Dobnig-Jülch, Hans Jürgen Höller and Helmut Weiß (eds.), *Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch zur Sprachwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Grammatiker, Lexikographen und Sprachtheoretiker des deutschsprachigen Raums mit Beschreibungen ihrer Werke* (Niemeyer, 1996), vol. 3, 12-16.

14 Freedman, 'Disputations', 36.

15 The Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Library (Hannover) holds a manuscript (Ms. XLII 1823) entitled *Collegium de Historia literaria et methodi excerpendi*, dated 1677, which was annotated by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. In it, Morhof devotes about 20 pages to language (viz. ff. 15v-27r). To my knowledge, this manuscript's existence (an embryonic version of Morhof's first published work) remained up to now unnoticed by the scholarly community.

16 For the term as well as for the background of this genre, see Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin, 'Introduction', in: Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-38, and Michael C. Carhart, 'Historia Literaria and Cultural History from Mylaeus to Eichhorn', in: Peter Miller (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (University of Toronto Press, 2007), 184-206.

17 Daniel Droixhe, 'À l'ami Daniel Georg Morhof (1639-1691)', *Language & History* 53 (2010), 97-114, esp. 111.

18 Nicola McLelland, 'Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612-1676) and European Linguistic Thought', *Historiographia Linguistica* 37 (2010), 1-30; Stefan Kiedroń, *Niederländische Einflüsse auf die Sprachtheorie von Justus Georg Schottelius* (Wydawnictwo uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 1991).

19 Droixhe, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire*, 40.

20 Johann Georg von Eckhart, *Historia studii etymologici linguae Germanicae hactenus impensi; ubi scriptores plerique recensentur et diiudicantur, qui in origines et antiquitates linguae Teutonicae, Saxonicae, Belgicae, Danicae, Suecicae, Norwegicae et Islandicae veteris item Celticae, Gothicae, Francicae atque Anglo-Saxonicae inquisiverunt, aut libros studium nostrae linguae criticum promoventes alios ediderunt. Accedunt et quaedam de lingua venedorum in Germania habitantium, tandemque proprium de lexico linguae germanicae etymologico componendo consilium aperitur* ([Hanoverae:] Apud Nicolaum Foesterum, 1711), sig. A5: 'Quemadmodum illi, quibus vastum pelagus ingredi constitutum est, antequam e portu solvant, depictum in tabula mundum curiosis oculis usurpant, suaeque navigationis cursum animo solicito volvunt; ita etiam ego rerum veterum oceano me commissurus originesque & divitias linguae Germanicae expiscaturus, sedulus investigavi, inspexi atque expendi eos omnes, quorum ductu vel etiam adjumento optatum me consequi posse portum putavi.' More details on the complex background of this *historia literaria particularis* are offered by Stefano Gensini, 'Leibniz, Eckhart and the Grammarians: The Aims and Method of "Harmonic" Etymology', in: Klaus D. Dutz (ed.), *Individuation, Sýmpnoia pánta, Harmonia, Emanation: Festgabe für Heinrich Schepers zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (Nodus, 2000), 223-253 (226) with further references given.

21 In this respect, several entries published in the famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert are particularly important and revealing. See, for instance, Pierre Swiggers, 'Le Fondement cognitif et sémantique de l'étymologie chez Turgot', *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 43 (1989), 79-89.

22 'Sed de linguarum similitudine et convenientia, item de origine earum, ac matrice illa primaeva lingua, multo latior, spatiosiorque est campus, quam qui hoc loco pertractari vel debeat, vel possit. Magna, mirandaque ea in re latere μυστήρια, et quae nemo, nisi omnium prope linguarum peritus, aperire possit, haud nescius sum", Philippus Cluverius, *Germaniae antiquae libri tres* ... ([Leiden:] Elzevir, 1616), 60. See George J. Metcalf, 'Philipp Clüver and his Lingua Celtica', *Deutsche Beiträge zur geistigen Überlieferung* 7 (1972), 90-109 and Van Hal, *Moedertalen en taalmoeders*, 281-298.

23 Raffaele Simone, 'The Early Modern Period', in: Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of Linguistics* (Longman, 1996), vol. 3, 149-236.

24 The literature about Leibniz's interest in language(s) is immense. For a first orientation, see Sigrid von der Schulenburg, *Leibniz als Sprachforscher* (Klostermann, 1973), and Gensini, 'Leibniz, Echardt and the Grammarians'. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 'Brevis designatio meditationum de originibus gentium, ductis potissimum ex indicio linguarum', *Miscellanea Berolinensia ad incrementum scientiarum, ex scriptis Societati Regiae Scientiarum exhibitis edita* 1 (1710), 1-16 is one of the only publications related to this topic that was published in his lifetime.

25 Godofredus Henselius, *Synopsis universae philologiae in qua miranda unitas et harmonia linguarum totius orbis terrarum occulta, e literarum, syllabarum, vocumqve natura & recessibus, eruitur. Cum grammatica, ll. orient. harmonica, synoptice tractata; nec non descriptione orbis terr. quoad linguarum situm & propagationem, mappisque geographico - polyglottis.* ... ([Norimbergae:] in Commissis apvd Heredes Homannianos, 1741), sig. A5r-A5v: 'Ergo & hic ego, Viam hanc salebrosam & a nemine hucusque tritam ingredi, periculum feci,

Mappasque Geographico - Polyglottas, pro modulo meo, manu propria confeci, quo Migrationes & permixtiones Linguarum exinde ex parte conspici possint.' Hensel thus responds to a small remark made by Leibniz in *Otium hanoveranum, sive Miscellanea ex ore & schedis illustris viri, piae memoriae Godofr. Guilielm. Leibnitii* ..., Joachim Friedrich Feller (ed.) ([Lipsiae:] Johann Christian Martin, 1718), 160: 'Ego velim regiones dividi per linguas et has notari in Chartis.'

26 Irma Held, Herbert E. Brekle and Hans Jürgen Höller, 'Hensel, Gottfried', in: Herbert E. Brekle, Edeltraud Dobnig-Jülch, Hans Jürgen Höller and Helmut Weiß (eds.), *Biobibliographisches Handbuch zur Sprachwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Grammatiker, Lexikographen und Sprachtheoretiker des deutschsprachigen Raums mit Beschreibungen ihrer Werke* (Niemeyer, 1996), vol. 4, 213-215 and Johann D. Hensel, *Historisch-topographische Beschreibung der Stadt Hirschberg in Schlesien seit ihrem Ursprunge bis auf das Jahr 1797* ([Hirschberg:] Pittschiller, 1797), 582-583.

27 Johann Heumann, *Opuscula quibus uaria iuris Germanici itemque historica et philologica argumenta explicantur* ([Norimbergae,] sumtibus Iohannis Georgii Lochneri, 1747), 480-672. The author equally composed a short outline of a universal grammar based on comparative principles; see Helmut Weiß, *Universalgrammatiken aus der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland: eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung* (Nodus, 1992). He should not be confused with Christoph August Heumann (1681-1764), whose eight editions of *Conspectus reipublicae literariae* (1718-1791) became the most famous representative of the *historia literaria*; see Carhart, 'Historia Literaria', 191-193. Another bibliographical work including a rich section of language-oriented books is Johann Michael Francke's (1717-1775) extensive *Catalogus Bibliothecae Bunavianae* ([Lipsiae:] Impensis Vidvae B. Casp. Fritschii. Typis Breitkopfianis, 1750-1756). I was not able to consult Torsten Sander's recent monograph *Ex Bibliotheca Bunaviana: Studien zu den institutionellen Bedingungen einer adligen Privatbibliothek im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Thelem, 2011).

28 The most interesting passage reads as follows: 'Cum studium glotticon paullo diligentius tractare coepissem, saepius librum desideravi, ex quo, quos in quovis idiomate duces praecipue sequerer, possem cognoscere. Reperi nonnullos, qui de linguis generatim commentati sunt; alios, qui quarundam linguarum historiam composuere; sed universam linguarum praesidiorum, pro meo quidem desiderio, singulatim suppeditatorum notitiam haud reperi', Heumann, *Opuscula*, 480.

29 The term remains rare after Heumann; see however Christoph Murr, *Conspectus bibliothecae glotticae universalis propediem edendae* ([Norimbergae], 1804) and Nikolaus Heinrich Julius, *Bibliotheca Germano-Glottica oder, Versuch einer Literatur der alterthümer, der Sprachen und Völkerschaften der Reiche, germanischen Ursprungs und germanischer Beymischung* (Perthes & Besser, 1817). At the end of the eighteenth century, the term 'glossologie' was used in French and German (cf. also *glottologia*, the present-day Italian term for linguistics).

30 Michael Denis, *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde: erster Theil. Bibliographie* ([Vienna:] bey Joh. Thomas Edl. v. Trattnern, 1777). See Carhart, 'Historia Literaria', 186.

31 Denis, *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde*, 274. As to the background of the term 'linguistics', see Sylvain Auroux, 'The First Uses of the French Word "Linguistique" (1812-1880)', in: Hans Aarsleff, Hans-Josef Niederehe and Louis G. Kelly (eds.), *Papers in the History of Linguistics: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS III), Princeton, 19-23 August 1984* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1987), 447-459, and Pierre Swiggers, 'A Note on the History of the Term Linguistics with a Letter from Peter Stephen Du Ponceau to Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall', *Beiträge zur Geschich-*

te der Sprachwissenschaft 6 (1996), 1-17, with further references given. Samuel Gottlieb Wald (1762-1828) offered a bibliographic section which was given the same designations (viz. 'Sprachenkunde' and 'linguistik') in his *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Kenntnisse, Wissenschaften und schönen Künste, zu akademischen Vorlesungen* ([Halle:] J.C. Hendel, 1784), 88-99; 455. In a personal communication, Pierre Swiggers highlighted the importance of librarians in coining new labels for scholarly and scientific branches.

32 See for instance Krister Östlund, 'Two Pre-Modern Etymologists: The Connections between Johann Georg Wachter (1663-1757) and Johan Ihre (1707-1780)', *Language & History* 53 (2010), 127-137.

33 Droixhe, *Souvenirs de Babel*, 72.

34 Olaus Borrichius, *Diatriba de causis diversitatis linguarum: ob praestantiam denuo impressa* ([Quedlinburgi:] Sumptibus Gottlob Ernesti Struntii, 1704). See George J. Metcalf, 'Andreas Jäger and his "De lingua vetustissima Europae"', *Modern Language Notes* 81 (1966), 489-493 and Considine, 'Andreas Jäger or Georg Caspar Kirchmaier', for another example.

35 The academic dissertations are interesting in the light of the distinction made between 'reference texts' and 'text series', as developed by Gerda Haßler, 'Les Séries de textes dans l'histoire de la linguistique', in: Annick Anglebert, Michel Pierrard, Laurence Rosier, and Dan Van Raemdonck (eds.), *Actes du XXIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes. Bruxelles, 23-29 juillet 1998. Vol. I: l'Histoire de la linguistique, médiatrice des théories* (Niemeyer, 2000), 97-104. The dissertations can be regarded as 'séries de textes pragmatiques, qui s'occupent d'une question commune suffisamment bien délimitée dans un champ de recherches plus vaste, sans être marquée par une méthodologie commune ou des procédés de recrutement bien définis', Haßler, 'Les Séries des textes', 97.

36 Droixhe, 'Avant-propos'; Swiggers, *Histoire de la pensée linguistique*.

37 See Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: een geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010), 26ff., and Karstens's essay in the present book.

38 See for instance Klaus Grotsch, 'Das Sanskrit und die Ursprache: Zur Rolle des Sanskrit in der Konstitutionsphase der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft', in: Joachim Gessinger and Wolfert von Rahden (eds.), *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache* (De Gruyter, 1989), vol. 2, 85-121.

39 See Stephen Weston, *A Specimen of the Conformity of the European Languages, Particularly the English, with the Oriental Languages, Especially the Persian in the Order of the Alphabet* (S. Rousseau, 1803[2]), H[enri] A[ugustin] Le Pileur, *Tableaux synoptiques de mots similaires qui se trouvent dans les langues persane, samskrite, grecque, latine, moesogothique, islandoise, suéo-gothique, suédoise, danoise, anglo-saxone, celto-bretone ou armorique, angloise, alémanique ou francique, haut-allemande et bas-allemande, précédés de l'abrégé d'une grammaire analytique du Persan, de comparaisons des parties constitutives de ces langues, et d'un essai de l'analogie des mots Persans entr'eux et avec ceux de plusieurs idiomes* (Th. Barrois / G. du Four, c. 1812). For further examples, see Rosane Rocher, 'Lord Monboddo, Sanskrit, and Comparative Linguistics', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100 (1980), 12-17 and Toon Van Hal, 'From Jones to Pictet: Some Notes on the Early History of Celtic Linguistics', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 15 (2005), 219-243 (esp. 225-226).

40 Jack Fellman, 'Semitic Linguistics and Indo-European Comparative and Historical Grammar', *Linguistics* 206 (1978), 57-58; id., 'The Earliest European Sanskritists', *Linguistics* 205 (1978), 61-62; Robert J. Kispert, 'Sir William Jones: A New Perspective on the Origin and Background of his Common Source', *Georgetown University Papers on Languages and Linguistics* 14 (1978), 1-68. Jones's famous quote reads as follows: 'The Sanscrit language,

whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists'. Pace Oswald Szemerényi, 'About Unrewriting the History of Linguistics', in: Gunter Brettschneider and Christian Lehmann (eds.), *Wege zur Universalienforschung: Sprachwissenschaftlichte Beiträge zum 60. Geburtstag von Hansjakob Seiler* (Narr, 1980), 151-162, Jones's importance has been put into perspective by most recent historiographers; cf. e.g. Henry M. Hoenigswald, 'Fallacies in the History of Linguistics: Notes on the Appraisal of the Nineteenth Century', in: Dell Hymes (ed.), *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Tradition and Paradigms* (Indiana University Press, 1974), 346-358; Lyle Campbell, 'Why Sir William Jones Got it All Wrong, or Jones' Role in How to Establish Language Families', in: Joseba Lakarra Andrinua and José Ignacio Hualde (eds.), *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo: International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology [Special Issue: Studies in Basque and Historical Linguistics in Memory of R. L. Trask]* 40 (2006), 245-264; Peter Rietbergen, *Europa's India: Tussen fascinatie en cultureel imperialisme, 1760-2000* (Vantilt, 2007), 140-142. Since Jones' speech was widely read, it is now generally considered fruitful because of its impact rather than because of its innovative ideas.

41 Droixhe, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire*, 11.

42 See Toon Van Hal, 'Language Comparison in Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748-1806), Aims, Methodological Principles', *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 22-23 (2004-2005), 323-336. Judged by their library catalogues, the same holds for scholars such as William Marsden (see his books *A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets* ([London:] s.n., 1796); and *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana philologica et orientalis: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts Collected with a View to the General Comparison of Languages, and to the Study of Oriental Litterature* ([London:] printed by J. L. Cox, 1827)) and Silvestre de Sacy. See G. de Lagrange and Pierre Claude François Daunou (eds.), *Bibliothèque de M. le baron Silvestre de Sacy* (Imprimerie Royale, 1846).

43 Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Geschichte der neuern Sprachenkunde* (Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1807).

44 Hans Jürgen Höller, A. Angerstorfer and S. Gräßel, 'Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried', in: Herbert E. Brekle, Edeltraud Dobnig-Jülch, Hans Jürgen Höller, and Helmut Weiß (eds.), *Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch zur Sprachwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Grammatiker, Lexikographen und Sprachtheoriteker des deutschsprachigen Raums mit Beschreibungen ihrer Werke* (Niemeyer, 1993), vol. 2, 344-368.

45 The fragment is worth to be quoted in full: 'Die Sprachen selbst habe ich nur nach den allgemeinsten Zügen ihrer Verwandtschaft gestellt, ohne dabey die Absicht zu haben, sie in eine genaue genealogische Anreihung zu bringen. Wer möchte auch diese jetzt schon versuchen? [...] Nur durch die vereinigte Bemühung mehrerer Gelehrten, die sich in einzelne Geschlechter der großen Stammtafel der Sprachen theilen, läßt sich diese Riesenarbeit erwarten: und wie hießen die Sprachgelehrten, welche bisher schon sich dazu vereinigt hätten, oder einzeln mit reifen Einsichten in die Tiefen dieser Untersuchungen hinabgedrungen wären? Und wollten auch die Sprachforscher unsrer Zeit zusammentreten, um den Gordischen Knoten der Sprachenverwandtschaft durch vereintste Bemühungen zu lösen: wo wären die vollständigen Materialien dazu? von wie vielen Sprachen sind die dazu unentbehrlichen Hülfsmittel vorhanden? von wie vielen nur Grammatiken,

Wörterbücher und zureichende Texte zur Zerlegung ihrer Bestandtheile? Und doch läßt sich erst nach vollendeter grammatischer Anatomie aller der Sprachen, die zu einem Geschlechte gehören, und nach geschehener Vergleichung der Resultate einer solchen Zerlegung ihrer Bestandtheile und ihrer grammatischen Veränderungen die große Stammtafel der Sprachen mit allen ihren Unterabtheilungen entwerfen, und Mutter, Tochter, Enkelin und so fort die weitere Folge von Geschlechtern nach der ihnen gebührenden Rangordnung in Reihe und Glied stellen', Eichhorn, *Geschichte der neuern Sprachenkunde*, vi-vii.

46 Vans Kennedy, *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe* (Longman, 1828).

47 See e.g., Robert J. Kispert, 'Sir William Jones. A New Perspective on the Origin and Background of his Common Source', *Georgetown University Papers on Languages and Linguistics* 14 (1978), 1-68; Droixhe, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire*, 11 and especially the early yet excellent history of linguistics composed by Theodor Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem Anfange des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts mit einem Rückblick auf die früheren Zeiten* (Cotta, 1869).

48 The reconstructed library collected by Jakob Grimm (1785-1863) turns out to contain mainly recent works; however, the reconstruction is not complete; see Ludwig Denecke, Irmgard Teitge and Friedhilde Krause, *Die Bibliothek der Brüder Grimm: Annotiertes Verzeichnis des festgestellten Bestandes* (Böhlau, 1989).

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The Rise of General Linguistics as an Academic Discipline
Georg von der Gabelentz as a Co-Founder

Els Elffers

Introduction

'What is General Linguistics?' The first full professor of General Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam, Anton Reichling (1898-1986), asked this question in 1947 in the title of his inaugural lecture. Reichling presented his audience with a bird's-eye view of eight centuries of answers to his question, which he all regarded as wrong, mainly because of the attempt to find the 'generality' of general linguistics in the wrong place: either in aprioristic ideas on 'general grammar' (the earlier answers) or in reductionist appeals to non-linguistic principles (the later answers).

And yet, according to Reichling, one man had already been on the right track, that of 'autonomous generality', years ago. This man was Georg von der Gabelentz (1840-1893), and his answer can be found in his book *Die Sprachwissenschaft, Ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse*, first published in 1891. Reichling quoted a long passage from this book, in which Gabelentz envisages a new programme for language typology and which begins as follows:[1]

> (i) Every language is a system, of which all parts organically relate to and cooperate with each other. One has to suppose that none of these parts may be lacking, or different, without the whole being changed.

Reichling concluded that Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), the founder of modern general linguistics, had an almost visionary predecessor.

Reichling's comments form a good starting point for the subject I want to explore, the rise of general linguistics, with a focus on Gabelentz. They are linked to the following facts and issues, all of which are relevant to this theme:

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a) A European university established its first chair in General Linguistics as late as 1947.
b) Nevertheless, early varieties of general linguistics existed at least eight centuries before that.
c) The 'generality' of general linguistics has been conceived in very different manners.
d) Saussure is regarded as the founder of modern general linguistics.
e) Gabelentz anticipated at least some of Saussure's ideas.

I begin by providing a brief elaboration of (a)-(d), which will involve a more precise demarcation of 'general linguistics' and an overview of the development of general linguistics thus defined. Then I turn to Gabelentz's role in this process. Basic data on Gabelentz are presented in a separate section. The next two sections focus on Gabelentz's modernity. The anticipation of Saussure mentioned in (e) above will be discussed, together with some other modern aspects of Gabelentz's work. The next section is entirely devoted to one very prominent aspect of Gabelentz's modernity: his programme for language typology.

In the last part of the article, I will put a different face on this programme. Despite its advanced aspects, Gabelentz's work fell into oblivion rather early. Reichling's remark on its 'visionary' character does not stand entirely alone, but it is outweighed by opinions on its outdatedness and by a general neglect.[2] I will argue that the main source of this neglect can, rather paradoxically, be found in the very element of Gabelentz's general linguistics programme that reveals his most advanced ideas: the typology programme.

The last section summarizes the conclusions reached throughout the paper.

General Linguistics: What, when, where?

Disregarding, in this article, the above-mentioned long and largely philosophical tradition of scholarly involvement in general aspects of language (actually from Antiquity onwards),[3] I will focus on the nineteenth-century development of general linguistics as a more or less well-defined empirically-oriented field of study.

A plausible demarcation of general linguistics in this sense is suggested by history itself. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, a new and successful linguistic approach was developed and introduced at universities, at first in Germany: historical-comparative linguistics. One of the central aims of this approach was a general descriptive coverage of and comparison between languages in their various stages of development, through a uniform and emphatically

empirical-scientific method. In this context, the term 'general linguistics' (in German *Allgemeine Sprachkunde* or *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*) was introduced, indicating the study of general aspects of languages, which was distinguished from the study of particular languages. The very first linguistics professor, Franz Bopp (1791-1867), was appointed in 1821 to teach the subjects of *Orientalische Literatur und allgemeine Sprachkunde* at the University of Berlin.[4]

During the last part of the nineteenth century, the area of linguistics became broader and more diversified. Besides the emphatically diachronic historical-comparative approach, other, synchronic, approaches underwent new impulses. For example, significant innovations were made in methods for the classification of languages. This development was closely related to another one: the enormous growth of empirical knowledge regarding large numbers of languages. Apart from the Indo-European languages, which used to be the main object of historical-comparative research, there was a new focus on other language families. The work of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was crucial for these innovations.

New sub-disciplines were developed, such as phonetics, language psychology and dialectology. Also methodologically, there was a broadening and diversification of approaches. The natural sciences were no longer the only model to follow; there was also a rapprochement with, for example, biology and psychology (all of course in their nineteenth-century shape).

For general linguistics as a discipline, this diversification was of crucial importance. It started as the science of the general principles of historical-comparative linguistics, firmly interwoven with historical-comparative linguistics itself. So the term 'general linguistics' was almost superfluous and was not often used. It was exceptional for a chair, as in Bopp's case, to bear this name explicitly. Due to the growing diversity of language studies (which also implied a growing variation in specialization among linguists), general linguistics became a much more encyclopaedic and independent umbrella discipline. Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (1884-1891) was the first journal explicitly devoted to this area. Related to this increased prominence, the importance of general linguistics as a separate subject in university curricula was growing.

During the first decades of the twentieth century general linguistics became an obligatory part of language programmes at European universities, with the francophone world rather than Germany taking the lead, mainly due to Saussure's forceful and comprehensive conception of general linguistics explained in his *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916)[5]. He defined a set of abstract basic concepts for all language research (e.g. *linguistique synchronique/linguistique diachronique*, *langue/parole/langage*) and promoted a view of languages as self-contained

systems in which all parts relate to each other – exactly the idea of Gabelentz's presented in quotation (i) above.[6]

This new programme enhanced the idea of general linguistics as an autonomous discipline. The institutional corollary was the rise of independent general linguistics departments and the establishment of full general linguistics professorships at all language faculties, albeit in a sometimes slow and gradual process. In the Netherlands, for example, general linguistics was introduced as a subject for academic teaching only in 1921. Initially, courses in general linguistics were assigned as additional tasks to language professors of all categories. Special chairs in general linguistics, such as Reichling's, were created at all Dutch faculties of letters during the 1940s and 1950s.[7]

An important milestone in this extended 'making of a discipline' process was the appearance of general linguistics textbooks. The first examples of this new category appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, mainly in Germany. They were written for university students and professional linguists.

Gabelentz's *Die Sprachwissenschaft* (1891, 1901[2]) belongs to this first generation of textbooks,[8] as do, for example, Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880) and Delbrück's *Einleitung in das Sprachstudium* (1880).[9]

Gabelentz and 'Die Sprachwissenschaft'

Hans Georg Conon von der Gabelentz was originally a sinologist and polyglot researcher of many non-Indo-European languages. In this respect he was following in the footsteps of his father, Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807-1874), who, while pursuing a career as a professional politician, also investigated many exotic languages. Initially, Georg was also a dilettante linguist: he taught himself Dutch, Italian and Chinese during his gymnasium years. After studying law, administration and linguistics in Jena, he worked in the civil service of Saxony for fourteen years. During this period, he wrote a thesis at Dresden University on the translation of a Chinese philosophical text.

From 1878 onwards, Gabelentz held professorships, first in Far Eastern Languages at the University of Leipzig, and from 1890 until his death (in 1893) in East Asiatic Languages and General Linguistics at the University of Berlin. From 1884 to 1889 he was co-editor of Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*.

Die Sprachwissenschaft is the result of Gabelentz's increasing involvement in general linguistics courses for students. Earlier, in 1881, Gabelentz had published his other magnum opus, *Chinesische Grammatik* (Grammar of Chinese). The fame of the latter book, which was reprinted several times until as late as 1960,

lasted much longer than the fame of *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, which was regarded as outdated rather soon after its publication.[10] The opening sentence of Sütterlin's review of the book's 1901 reprint characterized the book as 'a remnant from earlier times'.[11] Sütterlin was not alone in his verdict. Ten years later, the famous American linguist Bloomfield spoke of a 'lively, if not always fully modern book'. In contrast, he recommended Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* as presenting 'the principles and methods of modern linguistics'.[12] These words were prophetic, because Gabelentz was soon forgotten, whereas Paul's book retained its textbook status over some decades.

Yet, Reichling was by far not the only one to emphasize Gabelentz's modernity and anticipation of later ideas. For example, in Morpurgo Davies's detailed overview of nineteenth-century linguistics, an 'inescapable air of modernity' is observed in Gabelentz's book, in comparison to other textbooks.[13]

In the next sections we will see how it can be explained that Gabelentz evoked such contradictory judgements.

Gabelentz as a pioneer of general linguistics

Morpurgo Davies motivates her remark on the air of modernity present in *Die Sprachwissenschaft* in terms of the total 'arrangement' of the book:

> (ii) Gabelentz's first section ... started with generalities about language and a brief history of linguistics but then turned to a discussion of various approaches with which the linguist must be familiar: phonetics, psychology, logic. The other three sections of the book deal with *einzelsprachliche Forschung* (the analysis of individual languages), 'genealogical-historical' linguistics, and finally General Linguistics (*allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*). Here the subjects discussed are the human capacity for language, the language of animals, etc., the analysis of discourse, the organization of morphological material, word order, intonation, grammatical categories, etc. – all this with reference to a number of non-Indo-European languages. In the arrangement there is an inescapable air of modernity ...[14]

Morpurgo Davies rightly observes that Gabelentz was innovative in many respects, and that the total design of the book reflects this. In the following subsection, I discuss this aspect of Gabelentz's modernity in more detail. Other aspects are dealt with in two additional subsections.

General linguistics as a multiform science

More than other late-nineteenth-century general linguistics textbooks, *Die Sprachwissenschaft* bears witness to the author's intention, not only to present a broad body of linguistic knowledge, but also to offer students of linguistics a number of basic conceptual tools and methods for research. Due to this broad approach, the book's underlying framework is very similar to the framework of recent introductions to general linguistics: a combination of 'encyclopaedia of linguistics' (overview of approaches and sub-disciplines), 'foundations of linguistics' (basic linguistic concepts) and 'general linguistics' in the narrower sense of 'research that generalizes over all languages'. This combination reflects a still-existing duality of general linguistics as an auxiliary discipline for all language investigators and general linguistics as a separate area of research.

Gabelentz's advanced approach is reflected in the arrangement of his book, as was observed by Morpurgo Davies in quotation (ii). After a general section on the scientific study of language, sections on the synchronic analysis of a single language and on historical linguistics provide the basic knowledge and methods for research in these respective areas. The final section deals with general linguistic phenomena (e.g. word order, intonation) and especially with the language typology programme.[15]

In order to elaborate such a broad design, Gabelentz had to acquire new knowledge. Whereas earlier textbooks mainly reflect the specializations of their authors, Gabelentz explicitly mentions his efforts to extend his original, mainly polyglot expertise into less exotic areas such as historical linguistics (traditionally focused on Indo-European languages) and his native tongue, the latter because he felt the necessity to illustrate his theoretical expositions for his German audience through maximally clear and accessible examples.[16]

With respect to the book's general design, Gabelentz's first section *Allgemeiner Theil* (General Part) is remarkable for various reasons. Firstly, its overview of the history of linguistics is by no means confined to Western scholarship as is usual in such overviews – the fruit of Gabelentz's wide knowledge of exotic languages and cultures.[17]

Secondly, the subsection *Schulung des Sprachforschers* (Education of the Language Researcher) heralds a new involvement in the didactic aim of general linguistics. It is divided into four parts, devoted to education in phonetics, psychology, logic and general linguistics itself respectively.[18] It is unfortunate, from a present-day perspective, that there is an implicit restriction in this subsection to language research in the sense most familiar to Gabelentz: the empirical analysis of new and mainly orally available languages. What is being presented as auxiliary sciences is actually a range of auxiliary practical skills, useful for such

an enterprise. Phonetics is discussed as a training in listening, articulation and transcription; psychological training comes down to a general alertness to subtle semantic phenomena; logic is discussed as a skill in practical reasoning, and general linguistics training mainly consists of practical exercises in the acquisition of maximally different languages. It seems that Gabelentz considered these four areas irrelevant as theoretical disciplines. However, it would be self-contradictory to maintain this: the whole book is a theoretical introduction to general linguistics, thought to be relevant to all language students. An important issue in such a theoretical introduction is the position of linguistics among other sciences. Gabelentz does not fail to include in his first section a subsection devoted to this subject (*Stellung der Sprachwissenschaft*), which discusses theoretical connections of linguistics with anthropology, history, natural science, psychology, logic and metaphysics. But this discussion does not reveal any implications for the training of language students in these related disciplines.[19]

In sum, Gabelentz presented an advanced and broad conception of general linguistics, although the new educational involvement borne out by Gabelentz's *Schulung* subsection remained confined to a limited area within the entire field of language research.

Saussure and Gabelentz

Gabelentz owes most of his 'modernist' reputation to his being a forerunner of Saussure. Reichling was far from the only observer to pinpoint similarities between these scholars. I will not go into the still unresolved controversy as to whether Saussure actually derived his ideas from Gabelentz.[20]

The similarities are striking, although one may be tempted to overemphasize them.[21] The most important similarities concern the above-mentioned conception of languages as self-contained systems, the sharp distinction between synchrony and diachrony, the prominence of synchrony over diachrony, defended by Gabelentz as vehemently as by Saussure, and the conceptual distinction *langue/parole/langage*, which is similar to Gabelentz's distinction *Einzelsprache/Rede/Sprachvermögen*).

These are fundamental principles of general linguistics, but there are also equally fundamental principles on which Saussure and Gabelentz differ vastly. For example, Gabelentz's above-mentioned advanced programme for language typology is absent from and even contradicts Saussure's *Cours*, despite its starting-point (presented in quotation (i)) in the very Saussurean idea of languages as self-contained systems. This programme, including its non-Saussurean aspects, will be elaborated on in the next two sections.

Other early insights

There are other, more isolated elements in *Die Sprachwissenschaft* that have prompted the conclusion that Gabelentz was well ahead of his time. In his specialty, polyglot knowledge, he was unequalled. But also his achievements in what may be called 'pragmatics-avant-la-lettre', are remarkable. In this respect, his sole basis is his ingenuity in observing subtle phenomena of language use, mainly in his native language. For example, his analysis of sentences in terms of a 'grammatical' and a 'psychological' subject and predicate foreshadows the research area now called 'information structure'. Also his semantic/pragmatic analysis of modal particles and interjections and his ideas on German word order anticipate insights developed further only in the second half of the twentieth century.[22]

The 'hypology/typology' programme

Gabelentz's ideas on language typology can be found in the last part of section 4 of *Die Sprachwissenschaft*: *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (General Linguistics). It is contained in its sixth chapter titled *Die allgemeine Grammatik* (General Grammar), which is preceded by chapters on general issues such as the human capacity for language, general linguistic phenomena (e.g. intonation, word order) and the evaluation of languages (*Sprachwürderung*). Chapter 7, on general aspects of the lexicon (*Die allgemeine Wortschatzkunde*), is the book's penultimate one, only followed by a very brief concluding chapter.

Additional details of the typology programme are presented in Gabelentz's very last article, published posthumously in 1894.[23] Publishers' initial unfamiliarity with the term 'typology' (cf. note 1) becomes very apparent from an error in the title of the published article: *Hypologie der Sprachen. Eine neue Aufgabe der Linguistik* (Hypology of languages: A new task for linguistics). Due to his sudden death, Gabelentz was unable to correct the proofs.

The central tenets of the programme are laid down in the passage from *Die Sprachwissenschaft* partially quoted by Reichling. Its first sentences were presented in quotation (i); the rest of the passage runs as follows:

> (iii) But it also seems that, in the physiognomy of languages, certain features are more distinctive than others. We must trace these features, and investigate which other features regularly co-occur with the former ones. I am thinking of morphological and syntactic particularities, and of preferences with respect to grammatical categories. I also feel that these phenomena interact with phonetic phenomena. The induction that I require may be

> extremely difficult, and if and as far as it will succeed, sharp philosophical thought will be required to recognize, behind the regularities, the laws, the active forces. But how gainful it would be if we could straightforwardly say to a language: you have this characteristic, consequently, you have those further characteristics, and that general character! – if, like the bold botanists have tried to do, we could construct the lime tree from the lime leaf. If I were allowed to baptize an unborn child, I would choose the name *typology*. I observe here a task for General Linguistics, which can be fulfilled already with the means now available. It will earn fruits that do not yield to those of historical linguistics in maturity and will be superior in scientific significance. What was thus far said about spiritual relationship and similar features of non-related languages, will acquire a concrete form, and be presented in exact formulas; and subsequently, speculative thought should be added to these formulas, in order to interpret something observable as something necessary.[24]

This programme has been praised by later generations of linguists, who recognized in it the idea of 'implicational universals', which was only reintroduced in the 1940s: if a language has feature B, it must also have feature A. After the nineteenth-century decline of earlier types of universal grammar, which proved to be biased in favour of European grammatical categories, this idea opened a new way to language universals: powerful restrictive generalizations became available, not through claims that all languages share specific substantial features (which had proved unsuccessful), but through claims that some features imply other features. This approach allowed for a strong delimitation of possible combinations of properties and for a new way of classifying languages, apart from the familiar genetic classification.

In the 1894 article, Gabelentz gives away a few more details regarding the 'exact formulas' that could present the type of generalizations he envisaged. Here the typological programme reappears in a more elaborated form, in which several stages are distinguished. The first stage aims at drawing up a complete inventory of features of as many languages as possible.[25] The second stage is 'purely mechanical': a statistical analysis, resulting in exact correlations between features (example: A coincides with B in ¾ of all cases) and knowledge about features with a great predictive power. The result is that 'from a dozen of well-known features, a hundred other features can be extrapolated.'

Gabelentz explicitly refers to the great palaeontologist George Cuvier (1769-1832). Cuvier applied a comparable programme, which enabled him to 'build an entire animal from one bone' (see also the comparison in the above quotation (iii) with the 'bold botanist' who constructs the lime tree from a leaf).[26]

It is not surprising that later language typologists have recognized the progressive thrust of this programme. Nor is it surprising that typology in this form was welcomed by Reichling and others as a central research area of general linguistics, which it has remained until now.

'The last gasp of Humboldtian tradition'

Given this very exact and remarkably advanced programme, it is hard to imagine that Gabelentz's work was condemned as 'outdated'. This criticism was entirely due to the third and final stage of the programme, not discussed thus far: in the words of quotation (iii), the stage in which the 'active forces' behind the regularities are recognized through philosophical thought, and in which 'speculative thought should be added to these formulas, in order to interpret something observable as something necessary'. What are these 'active forces'?

Gabelentz's general view, emanating from throughout *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, is that all languages have organic characteristics that embody the collective mentality of their speakers. This *Sprachgeist* (spirit of the language) is mainly manifest in overall structural characteristics, and directly reflects the language users' *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people). Structural variation between languages and language types is thus causally connected to variation between mentalities and thought patterns. In Gabelentz's words: 'Every language embodies a world view, the world view of a nation'.[27]

In the third stage of the typology programme, the structural patterns discovered in the former stages are explained in terms of these national mentalities. In his 'Hypology' article, Gabelentz emphasizes that observation, induction and statistical procedures yield impressive results, but these results only consist of what is called *correlations* of features. Correlations become real *relations* when they are interpreted in terms of national mentalities of the language users. These mentalities cannot be observed directly: they are objects of speculation. The procedure necessarily appeals to what Gabelentz calls 'the investigator's subjectivity', but he claims that this subjectivity is minimal, given the objectivity of the rest of the procedure. His conclusion is that, along these lines, the twentieth century will realize what the nineteenth century aspired to in vain: 'a truly general grammar, entirely philosophical and yet entirely inductive'.

This 'philosophical' aspect of Gabelentz's programme is a direct continuation of a typical nineteenth-century (mainly German) tradition of linking languages to national mentalities. Wilhelm von Humboldt was the most important representative of this tradition. Main features of the tradition are its speculative character (there was a simple extrapolation from language features to thought

features) and its evaluative corollaries (for example the idea that 'irregular' languages embody muddled thought). Gabelentz's huge chapter *Sprachwürderung* (almost 100 pages, one-fifth of the volume) contains many examples of this line of thought.[28]

This programme was soon declining after the turn of the century. The very idea of collective national mentalities was already severely criticized by Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*. Humboldtian claims about language-thought relationships were rejected, for example by Saussure, as entirely unwarranted.[29] Actually, the issue disappeared as a kernel subject of linguistics and returned later in a separate subdiscipline: linguistic anthropology.[30]

Sütterlin, the reviewer of *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, speaks of Gabelentz as the very last follower of Humboldt's approach to General Linguistics.[31] He claims that this approach died with Gabelentz. Ninety years later, Hutton, in the preface to his new edition of *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, used almost the same words, when he described Gabelentz as 'the last gasp of Humboldtian tradition'.[32]

Hutton also mentions an additional negative aspect of Gabelentz's programme, namely theoretical incoherence. His claim is that Gabelentz was a thoroughgoing Humboldtian and thus belonged to the humanistic tradition. Gabelentz rejected the mechanical world view implicit in the views of linguists such as Bopp and Paul. But, incoherently, he also wanted to include the natural science point of view.

However, this incoherence is only apparent. It is an artefact of the current assumption of an unbridgeable gap between the nineteenth-century natural sciences and humanities. True, this distinction was widely accepted. For several nineteenth-century linguists, it caused a bipartition of their discipline, be it in rather different ways. For example, Schleicher distinguished *Glottik*, the natural science of sounds and words, from *Philologie*, which was classed among the humanities and covered syntax and stylistics.[33] The criterion was (in)dependence on the free will. For Paul, the criterion was the ontological nature of the object of research: the study of sounds was regarded as a natural science (acoustics or physiology), the study of meaning was seen as belonging to the humanities, namely to psychology, which Paul considered to be the only 'pure' member of this category.

But such examples do not imply that unitary enterprises that combine elements of both areas are incoherent. Recent investigations show that there are, on the contrary, many examples of a coherent 'mixed' research style. In this case, *methodological* aspects of both approaches are applied, but at different levels: on the one hand painstaking empirical observation and inductive generalization, on the other hand explanation in terms of non-mechanical 'forces'. Especially the life sciences and history exhibit this style. Prominent examples are Cuvier

and Humboldt himself (especially in his historical work). The approach now labeled 'enlightenment vitalism', prominent in the nineteenth-century life sciences (physiology and paleontology), is a case in point. History largely followed this example. It appealed to historical forces, which were thought to be on a par with natural forces. At the same time, there was a strong orientation towards objective data. The historical writings of Humboldt himself are examples of this approach. Rather than create a 'counter-science' apart from the natural sciences (as he is often believed to have done), he tried to translate data-gathering principles of the natural sciences into history and linguistics. The historian Droysen even described Humboldt as 'the Francis Bacon of historical science'.[34]

Gabelentz, who admired both Cuvier and Humboldt, followed this 'mixed' approach. His appeal to induction and statistics as the only method to attain regularities and, at the same time, his ideas on world views as forces behind them fit in with a general pattern that can be observed in other nineteenth-century disciplines as well.[35]

There can be no doubt that, despite all modern elements scattered throughout the book, it was Gabelentz's continuation of the Humboldtian programme, especially in his typology project, that doomed the book to oblivion soon after its appearance.

On the other hand, Gabelentz's *way of applying the program* contains several germs of innovation. For example, two passages of the 1894 article hint at the requirement of *empirical* support for claims about national mentalities. The idea of pure 'speculation' is thus mitigated. Although Gabelentz does not elaborate the idea, he stresses the necessity of testing such claims against anthropological and historical data.

Moreover, the *Sprachwürderung* chapter contains many critical remarks about language evaluation as practised by colleague-linguists.[36] In the first place, as a polyglot lover of all language types, Gabelentz sharply criticized unsound and biased ways of dealing with exotic languages. A striking example of this bias is the double-standard evaluation of languages with respect to abstract nouns: in 'civilized' languages, a large number of abstract nouns is regarded as a signal of a capacity for abstract thought, in 'primitive' languages as a signal of vague and imprecise thought. Similarly, a small number is regarded as a signal of a capacity for subtle distinctions and as a signal of an incapacity for abstract thought, respectively.

In the second place, Gabelentz's sharp distinction between synchrony and diachrony kept him from resorting to unjustified appeals to etymology in extrapolations from words to concepts. For example, when a language applies the expression '*seeing* hunger, fear, etc.', this does not imply anything, according to

Gabelentz, about the way in which the sensation of hunger or fear is conceptualized by its present speakers.

In the third place, Gabelentz stressed that one should never consider isolated phenomena; the idea of languages as self-contained systems implies that a whole language should be taken into account. For example, absence of a case system for nouns and adjectives does not imply 'formless thought': the system may contain other means instead of cases to express the same content.

In summary, despite Gabelentz's acceptance of the almost obsolete idea of language evaluation, his modern linguistic insights are reflected in his execution of this programme.

Conclusion

The rise of general linguistics as an academic discipline was a multifarious process in which various aspects (content, textbooks, journals, chairs) did not always keep pace with each other. Gabelentz's *Die Sprachwissenschaft* was a milestone in this process. In his book Gabelentz presented a broad overview of general linguistics as a basic introduction for all linguists and he gave an advanced typology programme a central position in general linguistics as a research area. In both respects, Gabelentz was ahead of his time. In addition, his theoretical insights anticipate ideas developed later by Saussure and others. However, due to the prominence of the Humboldtian programme, the book fell into oblivion rather soon after its appearance.

Notes

1 My translation, as in all German citations that follow. Reichling's lecture (Dutch title: 'Wat is Algemene Taalwetenschap?') was published in his *Verzamelde studies over hedendaagse problemen der taalwetenschap* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1965[3]),7-23. The term 'typology', which is very commonly used nowadays, was coined by Gabelentz in the following *Sprachwissenschaft* passage: 'If I were allowed to baptize an unborn child, I would choose the name "typology"'. Cf. Georg von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse* (1901[2]), reprint, with an introduction by E. Coseriu (Tübingen: Narr, 1984[3]), 481 (first edition 1969).

2 For example, in Hans Arens, *Die Sprachwissenschaft: Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Freiburg etc.: Karl Alber, 1955) and Robert H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (London etc.: Longmans, 1969[2]), Gabelentz is mentioned only once or twice and in a marginal way.

3 Medieval *Grammatica Speculativa*, the earliest example mentioned by Reichling, in many respects builds on ancient grammar. See e.g. Robins, *A Short History*, chapter 4.

4 See Van Hal's contribution to this volume, 'Linguistics *ante litteram*. Compiling and transmitting views on language diversity and relatedness before the nineteenth century', for earlier ideas that anticipate historical-comparative linguistics. Bopp is discussed in Karstens's contribution 'Bopp the builder. Discipline formation as hybridization: the case of comparative linguistics'.

5 Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale (1916), édition critique preparée par Tullio de Mauro* (Paris: Payot, 1972).

6 Despite the term 'organically' in the Gabelentz quotation, he and Saussure both rejected, for different reasons, the idea of languages as organisms, which was widely adopted throughout the nineteenth century (cf. Karstens, 'Bopp the Builder'). The new saussurean view, anticipated by Gabelentz, is more radically holistic than earlier organicism: the system is regarded as prior to its elements; hence the claim that any minor change affects the whole.

7 Cf. Jan Noordegraaf, 'Reichling revisited: Algemene taalwetenschap in Nederland, 1935-1960', *Voortgang* 14 (1994), 273-302.

8 These textbooks, however, did not appear totally out of the blue; they were preceded by some earlier mid-nineteenth-century works on general aspects of language, such as Heyse's *System der Sprachwissenschaft* (1856). Differences and similarities between these earlier works and the more didactic and encyclopaedic textbook generation to which *Die Sprachwissenschaft* belongs are discussed in Anna Morpurgo Davies, *Nineteenth-Century Linguistics*, vol. IV of G. Lepschy (ed.) *History of Linguistics* (London etc.: Longman, 1998), 199-193 and 296-299. Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 52, pays explicit tribute to several predecessors of the earlier generation.

9 Hermann Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1880); Berthold Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Sprachstudium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880).

10 Actually, *Die Sprachwissenschaft* was reprinted as well, in 1969 and in 1995. However, these reprints were made from a mainly historiographic perspective, whereas the Chinese grammar was reprinted because of its value for present-day research of classical Chinese.

11 Ludwig Sütterlin, 'Review of G. von der Gabelentz, "Die Sprachwissenschaft"', *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 10 (1904), 319-320.

12 Leonard Bloomfield, *An Introduction to the Study of Language (1914), New Edition with an Introduction by J. Kess* (Amsterdam etc.: Benjamins, 1983). In the history of linguistics Bloomfield is regarded as the 'father of American structuralism', the counterpart of Saussure, the 'father of European structuralism'. Also in standard historiographies such as Arens o.c., Paul's book features much more prominently than Gabelentz's.

13 Morpurgo Davies, *Nineteenth-Century Linguistics*, 299.

14 Morpurgo Davies, *Nineteenth-Century Linguistics*, 299.

15 The size of the four sections is unequal: 53 p., 82 p., 166 p. and 185 p., respectively.

16 With respect to historical linguistics, Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, iv, mentions his 'uneasy feelings' regarding scientific borrowing. With respect to his native language, however, he proudly believes that he can trust his own judgments as well as others' judgments. Justifiably so, given his keen German observations in hitherto largely unexplored language areas (cf. 4.3 below).

17 Even to the present day, historical overviews of linguistics exhibit a heavy focus on the Western tradition. Exceptions are Esa Itkonen, *Universal History of Linguistics: India, China, Arabia, Europe* (Amsterdam etc.: Benjamins, 1991) and Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: De geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010). In the

latter book, which covers the whole area of the humanities, linguistics is only one of the disciplines dealt with.

18 Despite his serious involvement in the education issue, Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 31, seems to be nostalgic about the – then still recent – past situation in which linguistics was not yet an academic discipline and scholars entered the linguistic field on the basis of being educated in, for example, medicine or law (examples of the latter: Humboldt, Grimm, Gabelentz Sr.). Gabelentz regards the avoidance of professional routine (*zünftlerischer Schlendrian*) as an advantage of the earlier situation.

19 Many recent introductions to general linguistics remain silent on this admittedly difficult question as well, for that matter.

20 See Jörn Albrecht, *Europäischer Strukturalismus: ein forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2007) for a recent summary of this controversy. Saussure's work builds on some ideas of other scholars as well, for example those of the American linguist William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894) and the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). These intellectual connections, especially the latter one, are much more well-known than the connection between Saussure and Gabelentz.

21 Morpurgo Davies rightly observes: 'Georg von der Gabelentz has both gained and suffered from the attempts to connect him with Saussure. They have rescued him from the almost complete obscurity into which he had fallen, but at the same time have called attention to particular parts of his work rather than to others which are equally deserving' (cf. Anna Morpurgo Davies, 'Language Classification in the Nineteenth Century', in: T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics, 13. Historiography of Linguistics*, 2 vols (The Hague etc.: Mouton, 1975), 607-716).

22 Cf. Els Elffers, *The Historiography of Grammatical Concepts: Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Changes in the Subject-Predicate Conception and the Problem of their Historical Reconstruction* (Amsterdam etc.: Rodopi, 1991) for details about Gabelentz's 'double' subject-predicate conception. Gabelentz's other novel semantic/pragmatic ideas are discussed in Els Elffers, 'Georg von der Gabelentz and the rise of General Linguistics', in: L. van Driel & T. Janssen (eds.) *Ontheven aan de tijd: Linguïstisch-historische studies voor Jan Noordegraaf* (Amsterdam/Münster: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU/Nodus Publikationen, 2008), 191-200.

23 Georg von der Gabelentz, 'Hypologie der Sprachen. Eine neue Aufgabe der Linguistik', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 4 (1894), 1-7.

24 Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 481.

25 Gabelentz acknowledges that such an inventory requires an organized cooperation between linguists, who must apply one and the same questionnaire. He is not too pessimistic about this project, although he realizes that 'this programme requires more selfless obedience than can be expected of the majority of scholars'.

26 In Frans Plank's article 'Hypology, Typology: The Gabelentz Puzzle', *Folia Linguistica* 25 (1991), 421-458, arguments can be found to the extent that Gabelentz's knowledge of Cuvier's work was not direct but derived from his colleague and co-editor Friedrich Techmer (1843-1891), who had a background in natural sciences. Plank also shows that some typological ideas of Gabelentz were not entirely new. However, Gabelentz was the first to elaborate them into a concrete step-by-step professional programme, ready to be carried out. 'But death intervened before the search could begin in real earnest', Plank, 'Hypology, Typology', 438. See Karstens, 'Bopp the Builder' (this volume) for other influences of Cuvier on linguistic methodology.

27 Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 76.

28 For example, Gabelentz interprets Latin numerals such as *duodeviginti*, *undeviginti* (18, 19; lit. 'two/one from twenty') and English time indications such as *a quarter to ten o'clock* as signals of general 'hastiness' (in the examples: for the next decade or hour) of the speakers of these languages. 'We have always to be alert to the fact that what is so deeply embedded in the nature of races and peoples becomes manifest, also in the smallest details', Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 401.

29 Saussure explicitly refutes language-race connections (see note 28) and language-mentality connections by presenting counterexamples. See Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, part 5, ch. 4. Reichling, *Verzamelde studies*, 12, in his zeal to present Gabelentz as a Saussure-avant-la-lettre, tries to downplay Gabelentz's Humboldtian side by changing the term 'philosophical' in quotation (i) into 'theoretical', claiming that this is what Gabelentz actually meant.

30 The American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) was a pioneer in this new approach to what is now called 'linguistic relativism'. Boas's work was continued by Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941). In a 1911 lecture, Boas explicitly describes the change at issue: 'At the time of Humboldt and Steinthal the evaluation of languages was one of the main objectives of research. Today, this problem does not interest us, but we are attracted to psychological problems' (quoted in Els Elffers 'The History of Thought about Language and Thought', in: C. Cremers & M. den Dikken (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1996* (Amsterdam etc.: Benjamins, 1996 73-85), 82). There was, however, a neo-Humboldtian trend in German linguistics in the first half of the twentieth century.

31 Sütterlin, 'Review of "Die Sprachwissenschaft"', 319.

32 Chris Hutton, 'Introduction', in: Georg von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse* (reprint, with a new introduction by Chris Hutton, London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1995), v-xvii.

33 Cf. Karstens, 'Bopp the Builder' (this volume).

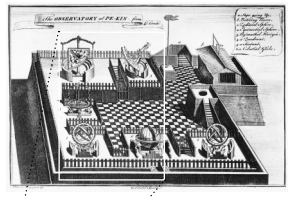
34 For more examples of this 'mixed' style of research, see Peter H. Reill, 'Science and the Construction of the Cultural Sciences in Late Enlightenment Germany: The Case of Wilhelm von Humboldt', *History and Theory* 33, (1994), 345-366 and Irmline Veit-Brause, 'Scientists and the Cultural Politics of Academic Disciplines in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany: Emil De Bois-Reymond and the Controversy over the Role of the Cultural Sciences', *History of the Human Sciences* 14 (2001), 31-56.

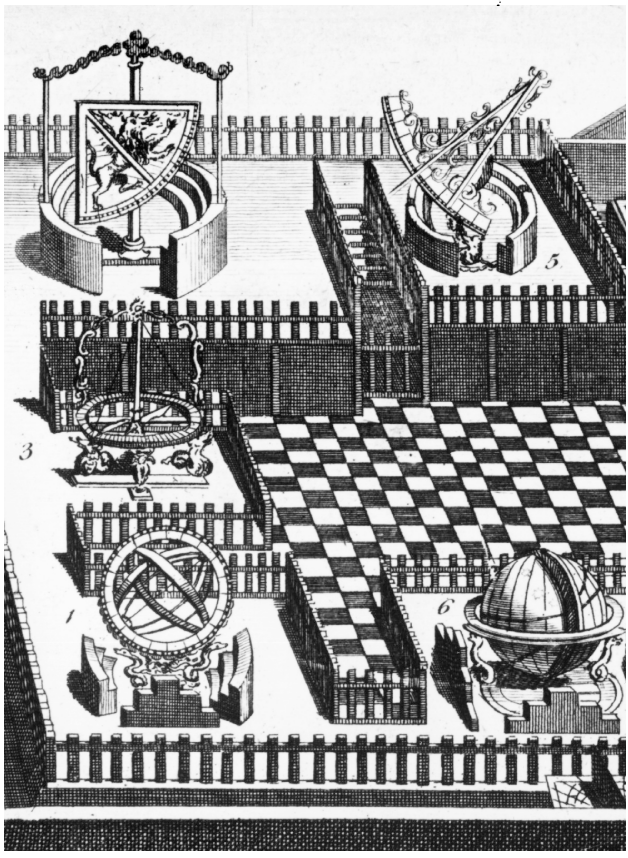
35 In my 2008 article (see note 22), I argue that it should also be taken into account that even in the natural sciences of those days the epistemological difference assumed between observation and generalization (allegedly guided by Mill's inductive rules) and explanation (i.e. explanation by theoretical terms, often interpreted as 'convenient fictions') was much greater than in our days of omnipresent 'theory-ladenness'.

36 Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, 393-398.

II

The Humanities and the Sciences





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The Mutual Making of Sciences and Humanities

Willebrord Snellius, Jacob Golius and the Early Modern Entanglement of Mathematics and Philology

Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis

The making of the humanities was the making of the sciences at the same time. It is chiefly a story of reciprocal demarcation that gave, in the course of the nineteenth century, the sciences and the humanities distinct profiles. In early modern learning the distinction between the products of the human mind and of nature did not exist. The process of disentanglement may have started in the early modern period but it was driven by 'scientific' and 'humanistic' developments alike. In this article I will reflect upon the early modern relationship between the sciences and the humanities from the perspective of the mathematical sciences. The starting point consists of two instances of philological work in mathematics in early seventeenth-century Leiden. The background is not entirely coincidental. By 1600 the University of Leiden had become a bulwark of humanism and this affected the academic pursuit of mathematics as well. In the work of Willebrord Snellius (Snel van Royen, 1580-1626) and Jacob Golius (Gool, 1596-1667) philology was at the core of mathematics. I will take a closer look at the various purposes their philological work served and then address the more general historical question how such pursuits came to be separated from mathematics 'proper'.

Ancient measures

In the summer of 1615 three men of mathematics were travelling through the Dutch province of Holland. The expedition was led by Willebrord Snellius, professor of mathematics at the University of Leiden. In 1613 he had succeeded his father Rudolph Snellius (1546-1613), the university's first professor of mathematics, after having received a broad academic training at his alma mater and abroad.[3] Snellius was assisted by two young noblemen, Erasmus and Casparus Sterrenberg, and they got help from several notables along the way.[4] The goal of the expedition was a precise determination of the distance between Alkmaar and Bergen op Zoom,

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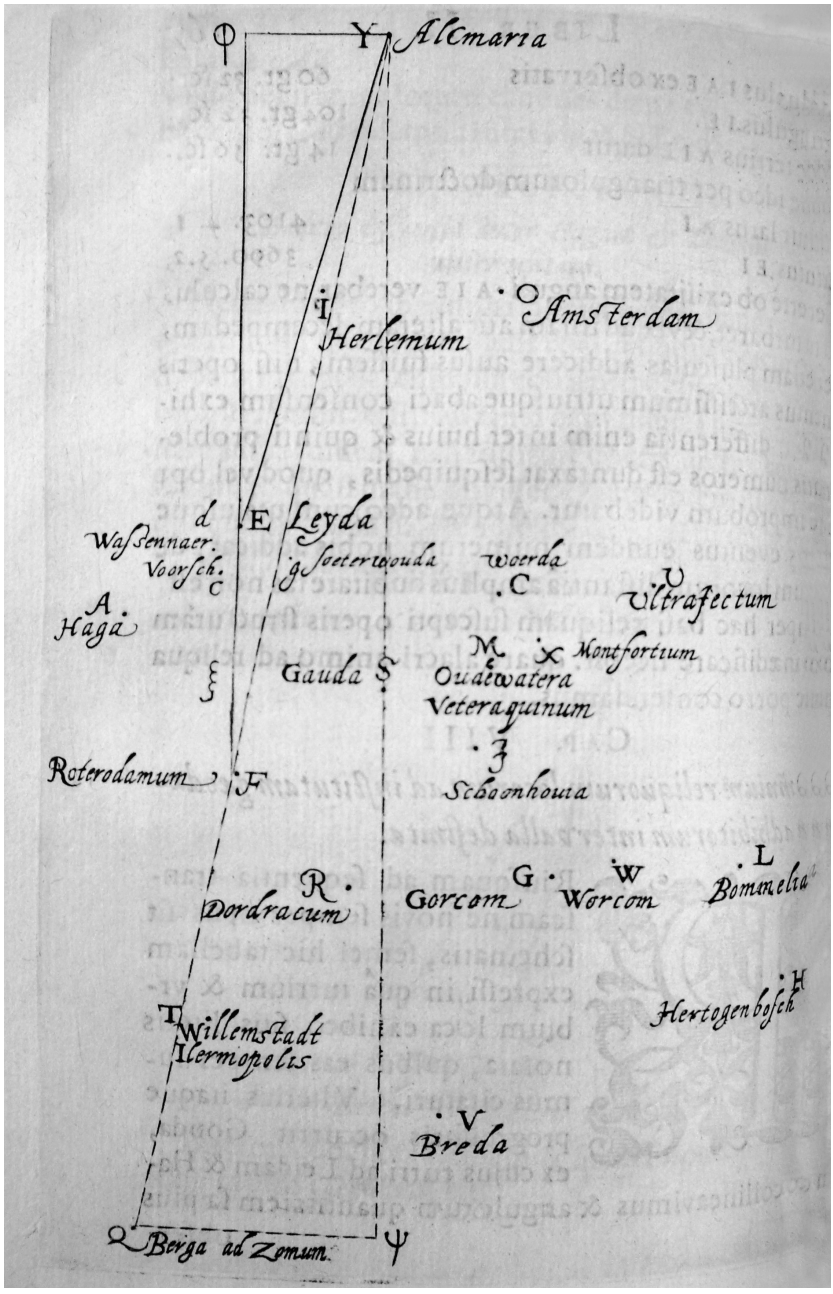

Fig. 3: Engraving of the diagram representing the determination of the distance between Alkmaar and Bergen op Zoom on the basis of the triangulation web between the towns. From Willebrord Snellius, *Eratosthenes Batavus* (Leiden: Colster, 1617), p. 168

two towns that were more or less at the same longitude. With the distance and the difference in latitude of both places, the length of the meridian and thus the circumference of the Earth could be calculated.

Snellius and his assistants used the new technique of triangulation. Instead of measuring distances directly, they measured angles between the towers of various towns. In this way they created a web of triangles over Holland, stretching from Alkmaar to Bergen op Zoom [Fig. 3].[5] The distances between the various nodes in the web can be calculated with simple trigonometry: the base and the two base angles give the other sides. In this way all relative lengths in the web can be calculated. In order to determine the absolute distances between the nodes, one or more lengths have to be measured directly for use as a baseline. With a surveyor's measuring chain Snellius measured three baselines: one orthogonal pair in a field outside Leiden and a single one near Voorschoten [Fig. 4].[6] From the endpoints of the baseline the web could be started by locating the towers of the city. The final network between Alkmaar and Bergen op Zoom consisted of 14 nodes being towers of intermediary towns and 53 measured angles.[7] The distance between the endpoints was calculated to be 34,710.6 Rhineland rods (130,720.1196 metres).[8] With the latitudes of both points, Snellius found the length of a degree to be 28,500 Rhineland rods, which is about 107,330 metres. The length of the meridian is then 10,260,000 rods, or around 38,639 km. Snellius gave hyperexact values up to 20 decimals, clearly well beyond the errors of measurement.[9] This does not alter the fact that his results were excellent for his time, being accurate to modern values by a few per cent.[10]

The results of the expedition were published in 1617 as *Eratosthenes Batavus de terræ ambitus verâ quantitate*: Batavian Eratosthenes, on the true quantity of

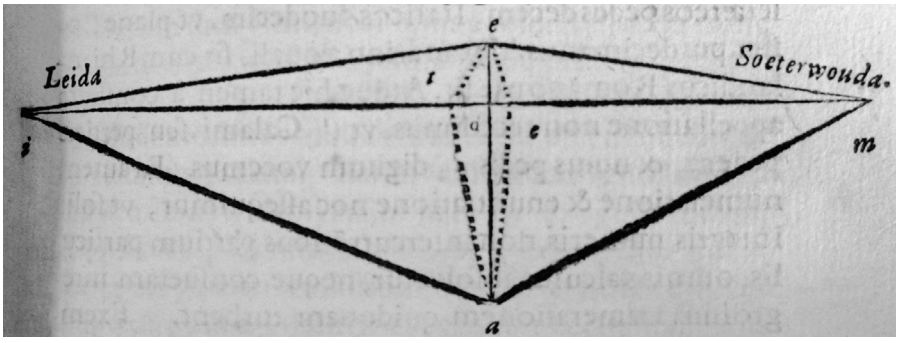

Fig. 4: Diagram of the orthogonal set of baselines at Leiden and the determination of the distance between Leiden and Zoeterwoude. From Willebrord Snellius, *Eratosthenes Batavus* (Leiden: Colster, 1617), p. 157

the circumference of the earth.[11] Snellius presented his project as a Dutch advancement of the classical determination of the circumference by the Earth of the Alexandria astronomer Eratosthenes (c. 276 BCE-c. 195 BCE). The advancement consisted of the method of triangulation. This method had been codified by a compatriot, the Leuven professor of mathematics Gemma Frisius (1508-1555) who was originally from the Dutch province of Friesland.[12] Gemma had explained the method in an appendix 'Libellus de locorum describendorum ratione' of 1533 to his Latin edition *Cosmographicus Liber* of Apianus' cosmography and presented a triangulation network between Antwerp and Brussels.[13] In 1579 Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) used the method to determine the exact location of his astronomical observatory at Hven in the Øresund. Although his geodetic methods were rather crude, Tycho's measurements were quite precise and he added astronomical techniques. Tycho used astronomical instruments of his own design that were far more accurate than the simple goniometrical circle of Gemma.[14] Snellius had worked with Tycho in Prague in 1600/1 and was one of the many pupils who imported the Dane's project of precision observation to his homeland.[15] To determine the latitudes of his network he used, for example, a quadrant of Tycho's design that had been built by Tycho's former assistant Willem Janszoon Bleau (1571-1638).

With *Eratosthenes Batavus* Snellius placed himself in a long line of mathematical reputation. The first book was a comprehensive historical account of the measure of the earth from the earliest times. Snellius discussed Eratosthenes's achievement in detail, followed by the contributions of Ptolemy (2nd century), al-Farghānī (9th century), and others. In the final chapter, he discussed recent attempts, most notably that of Jean Fernel in 1525 who had determined the latitudes of Paris and Amiens and measured the distance directly by means of an odometer.[16] The second book consisted of Snellius's own determination of the circumference of the earth, presenting all of his measurements and calculations.[17] Snellius dedicated the second book of *Eratosthenes Batavus* to the Sterrenbergs and praised their expert contributions to the project.

Calling the book the Dutch Eratosthenes was not mere window-dressing. Philology was at the core of Snellius's project and publication. Book one was a critical discussion of classical texts that provided the learned foundation of his project. Yet, the actual measurements of book two were also grounded in philological research. In order to establish the baseline, the very foundation of the triangulation, Snellius used also philological methods. One of the challenges of metrology is to make measurements interchangeable by providing some standard length that transcends the embodied and local nature of measuring devices and techniques. In order for other mathematicians to know what measurements Snellius exactly had made at Leiden and throughout Holland, he had to make clear what exact size his unit of length was. For this he used his philological expertise.

Snellius presented several means to communicate the exact size of the Rhineland foot he employed, comprising the first five chapters of book two of *Eratosthenes Batavus*.[18] The most direct, but not very reliable means was to print a half foot in the book.[19] He tried to prevent errors caused by the shrinking of paper in the printing process by determining the precise rate of decrease, but he later found out that additional errors had crept in.[20] Secondly, he compared contemporary and ancient measures, arguing that the Rhineland and Roman foot were equal.[21] Besides discussing classical texts he used archaeological evidence. On the beach of nearby Katwijk, remains of a Roman fort had appeared after a storm in 1520.[22] The Arx Britannica or Brittenburg aroused great learned interest, most notably of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) who made an engraving with elaborate comments in 1581 that was copied throughout the next century.[23] Snellius discussed the dimensions of the ruins to acquire direct values of the Roman foot.[24] In addition he compared the Rhineland foot to the ells of various Holland towns that were fixed by specimens displayed in the community centre. For the third way of establishing his unit of length Snellius referred to weights. Weights had the benefit of being more standardized and thus provided a more universal means of reference. In coinage weights had of old been fixed and controlled by the value of coins. Snellius surveyed the value and weights of various currencies and related these to volume.[25] He then described a carefully controlled precision experiment to determine the weight of a cubic Rhineland foot of water, employing a purpose-built instrument and specially treated water to avoid density variations.[26] By this remarkable combination of experimentation and numismatic philology, Snellius hoped to provide his readers a way to determine the exact unit of length he had employed to measure the Earth. It may be clear that the study of ancient texts and artifacts was at the very heart of Snellius's geodetic project.

Modern reconstructions

The *Eratosthenes* was not Snellius's only 'Batavus'. A decade earlier he had published *Apollonius Batavus, seu, Exsuscitata Apollonii Pergaei Περί διωρισμένης τομης Geometria* (The Dutch Apollonius, or the re-awakened Geometry of Apollonius of Perga of the Determinate Section, 1608). As the full title explained, the book was concerned with the work of classical geometer Apollonius (c. 200 BCE), who was best known for the *Conics*, the founding treatise of the theory of conic sections (ellipses, hyperbolas and parabolas). A large part of the *Conics* had been lost, as were most of Apollonius's smaller treatises on geometry that were only known from brief descriptions in the *Collection* of Pappus of Alexandria (c. 90-c. 168).[27] This state of affairs created a grand challenge that mathemati-

cians like Snellius took up. The goal of *Apollonius Batavus* was to resuscitate one of Apollonius's geometrical treatises. Snellius made at least three other reconstructions of Apollonius, two of which survive and were published in *Περί όγου αποτομης, καί περι χορίου αποτομης resuscitata geometria* (Revived Geometry of Cutting off of a Ratio and Cutting off of an Area, 1607).[28] The subject of Snellius's resuscitations was the plane geometry of proportions, determining points on a line in a specific ratio.[29] For example, to draw a line through a given point that cuts two given lines in such a way that segments in a given proportion are cut off.

The goal of these reconstructions was to reinvent the geometry in the way Apollonius would have treated it. Resuscitating thus not only entailed fair competence in geometry, it also required thorough understanding of the original language, the specific style and the approach of the classical master. In his reconstructions Snellius displayed his full philological skills. For the 'Cutting Off' he did not work from Latin translation of Pappus's *Collection* by Frederico Commandino (1506-1575), but from a Greek manuscript provided by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609).[30] He published some fragments, editing them on the basis of his own philological analysis. Philology was thus at the heart of Snellius's geometry as well. It probably also played a crucial role in Snellius's discovery of the law of refraction. Snellius did not publish this and it only survives in manuscript notes that do not give the full analysis. In a searching analysis of these notes, Klaus Hentschel has reconstructed a possible road to the discovery.[31] He argues convincingly that Snellius studied and reconstructed a passage in Alhazen's optics that concerns the *refractaria*, the locus of the images of points on a line seen through a refracting medium. This detour to medieval *perspectiva* led him to the correct relationship between angles of incidence and angles of refraction.

Resuscitating ancient geometry was not a personal hobby of Snellius, but a principal focus of Renaissance mathematics. In the wake of the humanist movement, mathematicians had also started to search and study ancient texts.[32] From Regiomontanus and Copernicus onwards the aspiration to revive the classical mathematical sciences had resulted in the discovery of wealth of manuscripts and a fundamental reorientation of mathematics.[33] Most important were the works of Archimedes and Pappus. Archimedes provided an approach to mathematics that differed substantially from Euclidean geometry and inspired the new hydrodynamics and mechanics of Stevin and Galileo. The *Collection* of Pappus initiated a quest for recovering *analysis*, the method of inventing geometrical problems and solutions, as contrasted to Euclidean *synthesis* that only provides the proof that a solution is correct. The analytical part of creating new mathematics was largely lost in the surviving texts and large parts of the works of Pappus and Apollonius were known only through tables of contents and descriptions. Consequently, Renaissance mathematicians like Francesco Maurolico (1494-1575) and François

Viète (1540-1603) endeavoured to recover and reconstruct ancient methods and knowledge which directly led to the new geometry of Fermat and Descartes. The 'problem drawn from Pappus' concerning the ratio of distances between given lines and a point, was at the heart of *La Géométrie*, that Descartes published in 1637 as one of the essays of *Discours de la méthode*.[34] Around 1600, humanism was a locus of innovation in mathematics.

For an up-and-coming talent like the young Snellius, philology was a perfect way of doing mathematics. Being in Leiden only confirmed this as it had become a stronghold of humanism under Joseph Scaliger. Scaliger not only taught Snellius, but also provided him with mathematical manuscripts. In this way he became the humanist mathematician, as his biographer Liesbeth de Wreede has called him.[35] Philology underpinned the metrological and astronomical empiricism of *Eratosthenes Batavus* as well as the geometrical analysis of *Apollonius Batavus*. In 1624, Snellius added a third 'Batavus' in the same style. His work on navigation was entitled *Tiphys Batavus*, referring to the helmsman of the Argonauts. It would be an understatement to say that mathematics and philology are connected in Snellius's mathematics. If such ahistorical categories should be used at all, we see here a symbiosis. For Snellius the use of philological methods did not raise any questions; providing classical foundations only reinforced the value of his results.

Arabic wisdom

The humanist mathematics of Snellius – or should we say: mathematical humanism? – was developed further by his pupil Jacobus Golius. Golius came from a notable family of administrators and had studied mathematics from 1612 in Leiden with Snellius and Frans van Schooten Sr. (1581-1646). After pursuing private studies for some years in 1618 he returned to university to study Arabic with Thomas Erpenius (Van Erpe, 1584-1624).[36] During the 1620s he got the opportunity to serve as a diplomat for the Republic on two missions, first to the Maghreb from 1622 to 1624 and then to the Levant from 1625 to 1629. Golius collected a rich reward of Arabic manuscripts that lay the foundation of the famous Leiden collection. Among the mathematical manuscripts were an Alhazen, a *Barulcus* by Hero, a Menelaos on spherical trigonometry and the astronomy of al-Farghānī. Most valuable was a manuscript of Apollonius's *Conics*, which contained three of the lost books in the Arabic translation of Thabit ibn Qurra (c. 826-901). This manuscript is regarded as the most original and complete version.[37] Upon his return in 1629, Golius was hailed as a hero who had captured a 'Silver Fleet' of scholarly riches and his fame and that of his collection quickly spread through

Europe.[38] After his first trip he had succeeded Erpenius as the chair of oriental languages, now he became the successor of Snellius as the chair of mathematics as well.

By combining mathematics with Arabic scholarship Golius carried on the work of Snellius while adding a new twist to it. Back in Leiden the philological labour on the manuscripts began: studying, editing, annotating and publishing the texts. Besides the bestselling Arabic-Latin dictionary and a new edition of Erpenius's grammar, Golius published poetical, historical, geographical and mathematical texts.[39] The *Conics* was not among them, however. Although many urged him to make the important text public, Golius never made much progress on the manuscript. He effectively obstructed work by others on Apollonius by keeping the manuscript to himself.[40] In 1696 the library of Oxford bought Golius's copy of the manuscript from his heirs, which Edmond Halley (1656-1742) used to make the 1706 edition of *Conics*. Besides translating and editing the text, Halley in good humanist fashion included resuscitations of lost parts of Apollonius.[41]

Another edition of Golius barely escaped the same fate as Apollonius: the ninth-century compendium of astronomy by al-Farghānī (c. 797-c. 865).[42] Golius's Arabic text and Latin translation had already been printed when he died in 1667. His annotations were not finished but his heirs found them advanced enough to have them completed and published with the bilingual text in 1669: *Muhammedis, Fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica Arabicè & Latinè. Cum notis ad res exoticas sive Orientales, quæ in iis occurrunt*.[43] The edition directly tied in with Snellius's *Eratosthenes Batavus*. Al-Farghānī was the main medieval contributor to the determination of the measure of the earth; chapter eight contained his determination of the length of one degree of the meridian and the circumference and diameter of the Earth.[44] Working from medieval and contemporary translations, Snellius had discussed at some length the method and data of al-Farghānī and made a comparison with Ptolemy's work.[45] Golius had the advantage of having the Arabic text from which he could directly work. In addition, he made use of data and measurements he had collected himself during his journeys. Collaborating with local scholars he not only collected manuscripts, but also made astronomical and geodetic measurements and geographic, natural historical and medical observations.[46] Allegedly Golius impressed his Ottoman hosts and he was offered a position as royal cartographer (which he turned down).[47] Upon his return it was reported that he had gathered many exact tables of data from Syria, Arabia and Egypt.[48] Combining such data with the manuscripts he was studying worked two ways: to critically assess the texts and use the texts as a source for data useful for further astronomical and geographical study. This was exactly what the *Elementa astronomica* did.

Philology was not just subservient to astronomy and neither was the processing of data purely aimed at editing texts. As Golius had interlaced diplomacy and scholarship on his travels, philology and mathematics were interlaced in his editions. The combination of philological and empirical purposes was not typical of Golius. Many orientalists gathered texts as well as data on their travels to the Arabic world. The notebooks Golius's student and friend John Greaves (1602-1652) kept on his journey to the Levant in 1637-1640 show that he collected and exchanged astronomical, geodetic and metrological information.[49] Greaves's plan to establish the latitude of Alexandria did not materialize, though. The astronomers of the Paris Observatoire likewise searched for oriental data to improve their body of knowledge. Jean-Dominique Cassini (1625-1712) even put together a collection of Indian manuscripts, thus bringing to European attention Hindu mathematics.[50] Prominent intermediaries in Europe like Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637) and Robert Boyle (1627-1691) considered the exchange of Arabic learning important for the sciences and the humanities alike.[51] The Levant was considered the cradle of wisdom and oriental manuscripts to be relatively uncorrupted sources of classical knowledge. Golius contributed to this movement with his linguistic work that disclosed the sources as well as his historical, geographical and astronomical editions that made them public.

Golius did not only contribute to Snellius's intellectual and institutional legacy, but also to the material one by preserving his instruments and papers. He does not, however, have made much use of the instruments as no records of observational work in Leiden remain. Golius was the one who revealed in an early stage Snellius's independent discovery of the law of refraction, reporting upon manuscript evidence.[52] He did not, however, act upon the urging of Constantijn Huygens to take up the study of optics and refraction himself. In retrospect and using presentist categories we may say that in the end Golius's focus was on the philological study of ancient texts that included mathematical texts, whereas Snellius pursued philology as part of doing mathematics.

Philology in the Scientific Revolution

The cases of Snellius en Golius show examples of philological work within mathematics serving various goals like data mining, standardization, advancement of geometry. Most of such philological work has nowadays vanished from the sciences. Studying ancient texts no longer counts as a genuine mathematical activity and classical measures no longer gauge modern standards. For data mining ancient texts and artifacts are still used: old observations are still a valuable source in astronomy and require sophisticated criticism; more recently textual analysis

has become crucial to construct time series in climatology.[53] In that case philology is in service of science. The case was different with Snellius and Golius: natural and textual inquiry was mutually serviceable. Humanities and sciences were interwoven to such an extent that distinguishing them is a-historical at least. For Snellius and Golius collecting and studying ancient sources was a genuine mathematical activity and they were respected for it. They were no exception, in early modern learning the modern separation of sciences and humanities did not exist. How to handle this entanglement historiographically? What is the historical significance of philological work in early modern sciences?

The role of humanities in the sciences is commonly presented in terms of a Scientific Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mathematicians joined the humanist movement relatively late but then the recovery of ancient texts became crucial to the transformation of the exact sciences. The renaissance in astronomy by Regiomontanus and Copernicus set the stage for Tycho and Kepler, as the revival of Archimedes did for Stevin and Galileo in hydrostatics and mechanics. The new geometry of Viète, Descartes and Fermat was founded upon the recovery and reconstruction of the texts of Pappus, Apollonius and other classical geometers. The story then continues with a Scientific Revolution that set in around 1600 with Galileo, Kepler and Descartes who increasingly severed the ties with their classical models. Once the 'nuove scienze' had reached the new level of empirical and mathematical inquiry, the ladder that ancient texts had provided could be kicked away.[54] They ceased to be a source of mathematical innovation and philology became an antiquarian pursuit.

This is the common story but it is not entirely unproblematic. To begin with, there is a gap of at least two hundred years between the 'humanist' and the 'scientific' mathematician. The 'humanist mathematician' did not disappear immediately after the Scientific Revolution set in. The optical inquiries of Isaac Vossius originated from his edition and commentary on Pomponius Mela's *Chorographia* and integrated the manuscript notes of Snellius. Friends like Christiaan Huygens were critical of his theories, but they did take him seriously.[55] In the work of Lambert ten Kate optical experiments and study of statues were two sides of the same coin, just as naturalia and artificialia sat effortlessly together in his learned collection.[56] Vossius and Ten Kate are not common names in the history of science but this is mainly because men like them are not regarded 'scientists'.[57] I suspect someone like Vossius has been written out of the history of optics mainly because he does not fit modern categories of 'science'. After the sciences as disciplines took shape in the nineteenth century and began creating their own histories, disciplinary divisions were projected back on early modern times. Snellius and Golius are cases in point. Golius is usually seen as a philologist rather than as a mathematician and Snellius's reputation as a mathematician is saved by his contribu-

tions to optics and geodesy. De Wreede takes some trouble to point out his original innovations in mathematics in order to assess his status as a mathematician proper.[58] Trying to see whether men like Snellius and Golius come up to modern standards of mathematicianship, obscures our view of the early modern nature of their enterprise. They were early modern mathematicians, for whom the study of ancient texts was a part of mathematics.

From the viewpoint of the modern sciences philological work on ancient sources may be antiquarian. It is the domain of the historian, or the scientist in his or her spare time, but it is no longer considered genuine scientific work. For our historical understanding of the early modern sciences, the humanities are definitely not marginal. To understand how modern science came into the world we have to take into account the cultural context of early modern learning. The transformation of natural inquiry was first of all a transformation of *natural philosophy*, simultaneously reorienting cosmology, ontology, methodology and epistemology.[59] The reshaping of the mathematical sciences, of natural history, and of medicine took place within this philosophical context. Newton's *Principia* essentially is a 'philosophia naturalis', expounding a new, coherent view on matter, method, knowledge and the world. This revolution kept natural philosophy as a discipline intact; only after 1800 did natural inquiry lose its essentially verbal nature. Protagonists of the Scientific Revolution considered their 'humanist' pursuits at one with their 'scientific' work – like Boyle's orientalism en Newton's chronology. In other words, the changing conceptions of nature, inquiry and learning were a matter of sciences and humanities combined.

Eric Jorink has argued that the new reading of nature was closely linked to new ways of reading the Bible. Reinterpretations of comets, he argues for example, were not so much the effect of developments in astronomy, but rather of theological transformations.[60] The Book of Nature was tightly bound with the Scripture. Jorink's view can be extended to natural inquiry in general. The methods of textual criticism that were developed by people like Scaliger were equally applicable to the book of nature. And they were applied; witness the epistemological programmes of men like Bacon and Descartes. Nature is a text that ought to be read critically, taking into account the way the text has come about, the way it is read, and comparing your reading to other instances. The parallels between the new philology and empirical philosophy are evident. Avoiding the presentist distinction between sciences and humanities – and thus between nature and culture – will enrich our understanding of the making of both the sciences and of the humanities.

I suspect that historians of science have adopted a large part of the revolutionary rhetoric that set in from the late sixteenth century. It has become somewhat common place to speak of two distinct *cultures*, implying an epistemic and even

psychological difference between humanities and sciences.[61] Grafton and others have shown that the leading lights of the new philosophies of the seventeenth century nullified the value of classical culture for human progress. Bacon dismissed the utility of antiquities downright and Descartes subordinated the conversation with dead men to the inquisitive action of the mind.[62] The idea that the essence and impetus of natural inquiry has consisted of autonomous empirical and rational investigation, and that humanist pursuits are more likely to hamper than to help, has been adopted by historians of science. The separation of sciences and humanities has become a principal ingredient of the history of early modern science. Like Descartes and Bacon made all traces of classical, scholastic, humanistic roots in their work invisible,[63] the humanities have been largely hidden from the view of the Scientific Revolution.

Battle of the Mathematical Books

The break with the classics that men like Descartes and Bacon propagated was neither exclusive to the natural sciences nor originating in the new philosophies of nature. To take a closer look at the changing attitude towards scientific classics during the early modern period, I return to the domain of mathematics. The debate focused on the very foundation of mathematics: the *Elements* of Euclid. The debate was not so much about the mathematical value of ancient geometry but rather about its pedagogical value. As the *Querelle des Anciencs et des Modernes* of the late seventeenth century had literary roots, the debate over the *Elements* had humanist roots and they go back to the sixteenth century.

In 1676 the Amsterdam mathematician Abraham de Graaf (1635-1713) published a comprehensive textbook on mathematics, *De geheele mathesis* (the whole of mathematics). Not only did the book comprise the whole domain of mathematical sciences, it also treated them in a new order, selecting and rearranging definitions, axioms, propositions and proofs. In the chapter on geometry he broke with Euclid, combining propositions according to subject rather than follow the original order of the *Elements*. According to him, this was a *natural* order that followed the logic of geometry.[64] In this De Graaf directly followed Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694), who in the anonymously published *Nouveaux éléments de géométrie* (1667) had proposed a new construction of geometry. According to Arnauld the *Elements* are '... so confused and muddled, that far from bringing to the mind an idea and a taste for a true order, on the contrary, they only make the mind used to disorder and confusion.'[65] De Graaf did not copy Arnauld but adopted the main ideas of his new take on geometry. In the preface of *De geheele mathesis* he quoted the Dutch translation of *Nouveaux éléments* at length.[66]

The geometries of Arnauld and De Graaf were but a late product of a debate on the value of Euclid that had been going on since the sixteenth century. It was part of the programme of Petrus Ramus (1515-1572) for a complete pedagogical reform of both the trivium and the quadrivium. According to Ramus the original texts of classical authors should be replaced by modern textbooks that offered a well-considered selection of material, in a didactically rational order, and embedded within the actual life-world of pupils.[67] Mathematics was prominent in the programme of Ramus, resulting in new textbooks in arithmetic, geometry and optics. His views on mathematics spurred a heated debate over the value of Euclid and many translations as well as adaptations of the *Elements* were published. Mathematics was but part of the whole of learning, standing side by side with grammar, dialectic and rhetoric. The break with the classics was inspired and driven by concerns central to learning in general and the proper way of dealing with texts in particular. The setting of this debate was pedagogy rather than natural inquiry.[68] The rhetoric of revolution in the new philosophy was a reflection of such humanist debates. In other words: much humanist labour was involved in the separation of ancient and modern, and of texts and nature. The 'Euclid without Euclid' of Arnauld and De Graaf had its roots in a pedagogic programme that much antedated the rise of the new geometry in the 1630s and 1640s.

The debate over the pedagogical value of the *Elements* was part of a broader sixteenth-century debate over mathematics, including the question whether it was a 'scientia' at all.[69] Closely connected was the question to what extent the origins of mathematics ought to be traced to the Greeks or earlier to the Egyptians or even Adamic times.[70] Tracing the origin of mathematics was the Renaissance way of explicating the nature of mathematics. In this case too, the strong opinions of Ramus formed a principal focus of a fierce dispute that prolonged well into the seventeenth century. At the same time, the rediscovery of Archimedes and the rise of Arabic arithmetic gave rise to debates about the proper method in mathematics, focusing on the question to what extent analytic and algebraic methods were admissible in mathematics. In all these cases, humanist work was central to the debate. Simon Stevin (1548-1620) based his *Arithmétique* (1585) on the newly recovered work of Diophantos (200 to 214-284 to 298). In *In Archimedis circuli dimensionem exposito et analysis* (1597) Adriaan van Roomen (1561-1615) included the Greek text of Archimedes's measurement of the circle, a Latin translation and two commentaries. His plan to publish an edition of Al-Khwarizmi's *Algebra* did not materialize beyond an introduction.[71] As we have seen, this humanist labour on mathematics eventually gave rise to the new geometries of Viète and Descartes.

In Leiden the young Willebrord Snellius was in the eye of the storm. His father Rudolph had been a fervent Ramist who spread the gospel at the newly

established university of Leiden from his appointment as mathematics professor in 1578. However, he met with fierce opposition when Joseph Scaliger came to Leiden in 1593. The superhero of humanism managed to mobilize students against the barbarous teaching of Snellius and turned Leiden into a stronghold of humanist learning.[72] In *Cyclometrica* (1594) Scaliger criticized the algebraic and Archimedean methods by demonstrating the classical geometrical methods.[73] In the other camp were two close acquaintances of Willebrord Snellius: Ludolph van Ceulen (1540-1610) and Adriaan van Roomen.[74] Stevin in the meantime responded to Ramus's account of the origin of mathematics with his exposition of the 'Age of Sages', which he published in *Wisconstige gedachtenissen* (Mathematical Thoughts, 1608). Snellius published Latin translations of both Stevin and Van Ceulen, introducing them to an international academic community. In his own works, Snellius passed on the heritage of both his masters. On the one hand he published Ramist works like the arithmetic and a Dutch translation of the geometry; on the other hand he was the philologist working on Apollonius and other classics. Maybe the *Eratosthenes Batavus* integrated the two faces, combining philological and utilitarian work.

The fate of humanist mathematics

The humanist mathematics of Snellius and Golius gradually moved to the margins of mathematics in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the formation of the modern disciplines in the nineteenth century, the sciences and humanities were separated and a break between classical texts and scientific research developed. In the intervening period some groups propagated a break with the classics like Descartes and Bacon had done in the seventeenth century, but this was not common opinion. In the eighteenth century the enlightened academies in particular showed little interest in studying ancient texts. The reasons were not strictly 'scientific', being often of a philosophical nature as in the case of the pedagogical debate over the *Elements*. The history of the history of mathematics is a case in question.

The Renaissance tradition of defining the nature of mathematics in terms of its ancient origins was carried on in the seventeenth century in textbooks like *Elementa geometricae planae ac solidae* (1654) by the Antwerp Jesuit Andreas Tacquet (1612-1660). This was reprinted well into the eighteenth century.[75] Around 1700 conceptions of the history of mathematics began to change. It began to be viewed as part of the general progress of the human mind in which the superiority of contemporary science of ancient scholarship was emphasized. Accordingly history was told in order to explain the way the natural world had come to be

understood and the focus shifted from historical representation to the logical development of mathematical ideas.[76] The main protagonists of the Enlightenment approach to the history of mathematics were the secretary of the *Académie Royale des Sciences* Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757) and Nicolas de Condorcet (1743-1794) but Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) and Christian Wolff (1679-1754) voiced similar opinions. In this spirit Jean-Etienne Montucla (1725-1799) published the monumental *Histoire des Mathématiques* (1758) setting mathematics apart and generally considered as the defining moment of the history of mathematics.

The Enlightenment ideas about the history of mathematics did not completely put an end to philological studies. The employment of the Académie's astronomers of Indian astronomical data not only resulted in profound editorial work but also raised questions about the originality of Indian contributions to mathematics. In the early nineteenth century study of Arabic manuscripts gave rise to a heated debate about the Arab contribution to the development of mathematics. The leading *académiciens* tended to maintain the opinion that the Arabs had mainly passed on Greek wisdom. In the end the Académie decided – quite telling for its conception of research – it had no competence in matters historical.[77] This may suggest a contextual factor in the development of philological studies in mathematics: the setting of Enlightenment societies could have been less favourable for 'antiquarian' work. At any rate, humanist approaches kept flourishing in university settings in the eighteenth century. Most notably, Scottish mathematicians like David Gregory (1659-1708) and Robert Simson (1687-1768) continued the work of Halley, preparing the stage for the nineteenth-century studies of ancient mathematics of Thomas Heath (1861-1940) and others.

I suspect that only with the nineteenth-century reform of the universities and the formation of the modern scientific disciplines the break with the classics became commonly accepted. Only then did Latin disappear from the mathematical sciences where it had maintained its status as scholarly language. The experimental philosophies had begun to adopt the vernacular as early as the seventeenth century.[78] When in the course of the nineteenth century the modern scientific disciplines crystallized, the historical study of mathematics found its contemporary place. On the one hand it became an antiquarian pursuit; on the other it functioned as source of cultural legitimatization of the new discipline.[79] More than in other scientific disciplines the history of mathematics has maintained close connections to the discipline of mathematics, being part of mathematical departments and bibliographies.[80] In that sense humanist mathematics is still mathematics, like it was in the days of Snellius and Golius.

Notes

1 Michiel Leezenberg and Gerard de Vries, *Wetenschapsfilosofie voor de geesteswetenschappen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 113-131; Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), Chapter 10; Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, 'De-centring the "Big picture": "The Origins of Modern Science" and the Modern Origins of Science', *British Journal for the History of Science* 26 (1993) 407-432; David Cahan (ed.), *From Natural Philosophy to the Sciences: Writing the History of Nineteenth-Century Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

2 David Cram, 'The Changing Relations between Grammar, Rhetoric and Music in the Early Modern Period', 263-282 in: Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn (eds.), *The Making of the Humanities. Volume 1: Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010); H. Floris Cohen, 'Music as Science and as Art. The Sixteenth/Seventeenth-Century Destruction of Cosmic Harmony', 59-71 in idem. For a general account – and a critique of Foucault's approach – see also H. Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 2000).

3 Liesbeth de Wreede, *Willebrord Snellius (1580-1626), A Humanist Reshaping the Mathematical Sciences* (Utrecht, 2007).

4 Willebrord Snellius, *Eratosthenes Batavus de terræ ambitus verâ quantitate* (Leiden: Iodocum à Colster, 1617), 24-25.

5 In 1622 Snellius extended the web to the south, including towns in Flanders like Mechelen. Henri Bosmans, 'Le Degré du méridien terrestre mesuré par la distance des parallèles de Berg-Op-Zoom et de Malines par Willebrord Snellius', *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* 24 (1900), 111-132; N.D. Haasbroek, *Gemma Frisius, Tycho Brahe and Snellius and their Triangulations* (Delft: Rijkscommissie voor Geodesie, 1968), 66-67.

6 In 1622 he measured two additional baselines. Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 70.

7 Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 87-89.

8 The Rhineland rod and foot were common in surveying in Holland at that time (Rhineland was a prominent water board). The Rhineland rod is 3,766 metres: Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 105. Snellius used a decimal division of the rod in tenths and hundredths instead of the usual division of the rod in 12 feet.

9 Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 109-110.

10 The distance between Alkmaar and Bergen op Zoom is less than 1% off; the calculated meridian is 3.65% smaller than the modern value.

11 For the title and translation see Wreede, *Snellius*, 130.

12 The cartographer Jacob van Deventer (1500/1505-1575) employed the method in his large-scale survey of the Low Countries and may have instigated Gemma's publication. See J.C. Visser, 'Inleiding', in: Jacob van Deventer, *De stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer* (Landsmeer: Robas, 1992-1998).

13 Gemma Frisius, *Een nuttig en profijtelijk boekje voor alle geografen: Met een inleiding en nabeschouwing door H.C. Pouls* (Delft: Nederlanse Commissie voor Geodesie, 1999); Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 10-15.

14 Haasbroek, *Triangulations*, 35-36.

15 Wreede, *Snellius*, 46-48; J.R. Christianson, *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe and his Assistants, 1570-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 358-361.

16 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 113-116.

17 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 212-217.

18 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 121-156 (55 out of 142 pages).
19 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 194.
20 Discussed in a post-script on the last page. Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, [264].
21 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 132.
22 H. Dijkstra and F.C.J. Ketelaar, *Brittenburg. Raadsels rond een verdronken ruïne* (Bussum: Van Dishoeck, 1965). Parlevliet provides a detailed reconstruction of the remains and a discussion of various accounts of it. In the twentieth century nothing was found any more despite large scale exploration. Parlevliet argues that the remains have vanished due to coastal dynamics as well a recycling of the material by the local communities. D. Parlevliet, 'De Brittenburg voorgoed verloren', *Westerheem* 51/3 (2002), 115-121.
23 Tine L. Meganck, 'Abraham Ortelius, Hubertus Goltzius en Guido Laurinus en de studie van de Arx Britanicca', *Bulletin KNOB* 5/6 (1999), 226-236.
24 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 131-132.
25 Snellius, *Eratosthenes*, 143-150.
26 Wreede, *Snellius*, 121-123; Snellius, *Eratosthenes* 150-156.
27 Apollonius, *Conics, books V to VII. The Arabic translation of the lost Greek original in the version of the Banu Musa. Edited with translation and commentary by G.J. Toomer. 2 Vols.* (New York: Springer, 1990).
28 Wreede, *Snellius*, 53-55. Translations by Wreede.
29 For a detailed discussion: Wreede, *Snellius*, 231-239.
30 Wreede, *Snellius*, 55-56.
31 Klaus Hentschel, 'Das Brechungsgesetz in der Fassung von Snellius. Rekonstruktion seines Entdeckungspfades und eine Übersetzung seines lateinischen Manuskriptes sowie ergänzender Dokumente', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 55 (2001), 297-344.
32 Paul Lawrence Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics. Studies on Humanists and Mathematicians from Petrarch to Galileo* (Genève: Droz, 1975).
33 Kirsti Andersen and Henk J. M. Bos, 'Pure Mathematics', 696-723 in: Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science. Volume 3. Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
34 Henk J. M. Bos, *Redefining Geometrical Exactness. Descartes' Transformation of the Early Modern Concept of Construction* (New York: Springer, 2001), esp. 271-283 and 313-334.
35 Liesbeth de Wreede, 'Willebrord Snellius: A Humanist Mathematician', 277-286 in: R. Schnur and P. Galland-Hallyn (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bonnensis. Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bonn 3-9 August 2003* (Tempe, Arizona, 2006). Note, however, that De Wreede does not use the exact phrase in her later biography.
36 On the life and work of Golius see: W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1931), 119-183.
37 See for example Toomer in his commentary to Apollonius, *Conics*.
38 'In thesaurum librorum orientalium a I. Golio ex oriente in patriam allatorum, quo tempore classem Hispanicam P. Heinius occupaverat'; Constantijn Huygens, *Gedichten. Deel 2: 1623-1636*, ed. J.A. Worp (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1893), 209.
39 Elseviers in Leiden was particularly well-equipped to print oriental texts. J.J. Witkam, *Jacob Golius (1596-1667) en zijn handschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 50-51.
40 John Pell (1611-1685) worked on another *Conics* manuscript collected by Christian Ravius (1603-1677), which Golius borrowed for his own studies and subsequently failed to return within reasonable time. G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 184; Jan van

Maanen, 'The Refutation of Longomontanus' Quadrature by John Pell', *Annals of Science* 43 (1986), 315-352: 328-330 and 342-344.

41 *Apollonii Pergæi de sectione rationis libri duo* (1706). Apollonius, *Conics*, xxiv-xxv; Michael N. Fried, *Edmond Halley's Reconstruction of the Lost Book of Apollonius's Conics: Translation and Commentary* (Springer, forthcoming 2011).

42 Bahrom Abdukhalimov, 'Ahmad Al-Farghani and his *Compendium of Astronomy*', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10.2 (1999), 142-158.

43 J. Golius, *Muhammedis, Fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica Arabicè & Latinè. Cum Notis ad res exoticas sive Orientales, quæ in iis occurrunt* (Amsterdam: apud Johannem Jansonium, 1669).

44 The Golius edition and the Leiden manuscript have 56⅔ for a degree, 20,400 and 6,500 miles for the circumference and diameter respectively. Abdulkhalimov, 'Al-Farghani', 150-151 discusses the differences between the Leiden and the Bodleian manuscript. In Golius, *Elementa Astronomica* the Latin translation of this chapter is on 30-34 of the first part; the following part contains the Arabic text with chapter eight on 30-34 (counting backwards); Golius's annotations follow in the next part with new page numbers, those on chapter eight are on 71-75.

45 Latin translations had been made in the twelfth century and a Hebrew translation in 1231. The translation by John of Spain was printed first in 1493 and reprinted in 1537 and 1543; the Hebrew translation was printed in 1618. Jacob Christmann made a Latin translation on the basis of the previous translations which he published in 1590. Abdulkhalimov, 'Al-Farghani', 146-147.

46 Jacob Golius to Constantijn Huygens, 1 November 1632, letter 730 in J.A. Worp, *Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1608-1687*. 6 Vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1916). See also: J.F. Gronovius, *Joh. Frederici Gronovii Laudatio Funebris Recitata & Exsequiis Clarißimi Viri Jacobi Golii Arabicæ Linguæ & Mathematicorum Professoris* (Leiden: Danielis & Abrahami à Gaesbeek, 1668).

47 Gronovius, *Laudatio*; Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, 131-134.

48 Hugo Grotius to N.C. Fabry de Peiresc, 6 September 1630, Letter 1539 in: P.C. Molhuysen, B.L. Meulenbroek, P.P. Witkam, H.J.M. Nellen and C.M. Ridderikhoff (eds.), *De Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius. 17 Vols.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1928-2001), vol. 4, 255-262. 'Habet praeterea Golius tabulas exactas Syriae, Arabiae, Aegypti et praeterea annotationes longitudinis ac latitudinis illustriorum locorum, quae ut aut publico dentur, aut amicis communicentur, operae non parcemus.'

49 Zur Shalev, 'The Travel Notebooks of John Greaves', in: Alistair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert and Bart Westerweel (eds.), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 77-102.

50 Later published in *Mémoirs de l'Académie des Sciences depuis 1666 jusqu'à 1699* (Paris: Jean Boudot, 1729-1734), vol. 8, 213-299.

51 Peter N. Miller, 'Peiresc, the Levant and the Mediterranean', in: Hamilton et al., *Republic of Letters*, 103-122; Charles G.D. Littleton, 'Ancient Languages and the New Science: The Levant in the Intellectual Life of Robert Boyle', in: Hamilton et al., *Republic of Letters*, 151-172.

52 In the letter to Constantijn Huygens referred to in note 48, Golius discussed the manuscript of Snellius he had seen. At that moment the news remained within a small circle. Isaac Vossius made it known to the world a couple of decades later.

53 'Archaeoastronomy' has several journals and societies. On use of old texts in climatology see for example the *International Journal of Climatology* which features many meteorological series reconstructed by means of documentary analysis.

54 Cohen, 'Music', gives a fine example of this narrative line: starting with the combined humanistic and scientific study of music in the Renaissance and then observing the creation of a gap caused by the new sciences without much further ado.

55 Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis, 'A View from the Mountaintop: The Development of Isaac Vossius' Optics, 1658-1666', in: Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) and the European World of Learning* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2012).

56 Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis, '"Will the Eye be the Sole Judge?" "Science" and "Art" in the Optical Inquiries of Lambert ten Kate and Hendrik van Limborch around 1710', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 6 (2011), 308-331; J.G. van Gelder, 'Lambert ten Kate als kunstverzamelaar', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 21 (1970), 139-186. See also Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht*.

57 Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert, 'Introduction. Isaac Vossius between Scholarship and Science', in: Jorink and Van Miert, *Vossius*. See also the various other contributions to this volume.

58 Wreede, *Snellius*, 322-323.

59 John A. Schuster, 'The Scientific Revolution', in: R.C. Olby, G.N. Cantor, J.R.R. Christie and M.J.S. Hodge (eds.), *Companion to the History of Modern Science* (London: Routledge, 1990),217-242.

60 Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), chapter 3.

61 The locus classicus is Wilhelm Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte* (Leipzig: Dunckler & Humblot, 1883). C.P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) is famous for its title, but in fact addresses a whole different issue than the distinction between humanist and scientific ways of thinking and is not about 'the' Scientific Revolution.

62 Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1-5; Lise Gosseye, 'Reading Huygens and Descartes. At the Intersection of Humanism and the New Science'. Online paper, URL: http://www.nederlandseliteratuur.ugent.be/index.php?id=32&type=file. Accessed January 14, 2012.

63 Descartes, of course, concealed *any* source of inspiration.

64 In the later *Inleyding tot de Wiskonst* (1706) he explicated his criticism of Euclid as regards the proper teaching of geometry. Tim Nicolaije, 'A Translation Translated. The Educator As Translator In The Works Of The Dutch Mathematics Master Abraham De Graaf', in: Harold Cook and Sven Dupré (eds.), *Go-Betweens, Translations and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, Forthcoming 2012).

65 Antoine Arnauld, *Nouveaux éléments de géométrie* (Paris: Charles Savreux, 1667), preface. Translation: Evelyne Barbin, 'On the Arguments of Simplicity in *Elements* and Schoolbooks of Geometry', *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 66 (2007), 225-242: 231.

66 Nicolaije, 'Translation Translated'.

67 Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning. Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 38-51.

68 Descartes himself is a case in question as his main aim was a reformation of the learning of the schools. Desmond M. Clarke. *Occult Powers and Hypotheses: Cartesian Natural Philosophy under Louis XIV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

69 Paolo Mancosu, *Philosophy of Mathematics and Mathematical Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

70 Robert Goulding, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance Rediscovery of Mathematical History* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010).
71 Paul Bockstaele, 'Benelux', in: Joseph Dauben and Christoph Scriba (eds.), *Writing the History of Mathematics: Its Historical Development* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), 45-59.
72 Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, 51-60.
73 Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-1993), vol. 2, 378-385.
74 Jan P. Hogendijk, 'The Scholar and the Fencing Master: The Exchanges between Joseph Justus Scaliger and Ludolph van Ceulen on the Circle Quadrature (1594-1596)', *Historia Mathematica* 37-3 (2010), 345-375.
75 Bockstaele, 'Benelux', 48.
76 Jeanne Peiffer, 'France', 3-43 in: Dauben and Scriba, *Writing the History of Mathematics*, 6-11.
77 Peiffer, 'France', 14-18.
78 This difference is nicely illustrated by Christiaan Huygens's difficulty in choosing a suitable language for his optics. He had written his natural philosophy of light in French whereas his dioptrics was in Latin. In the end he did not choose and only published his theory of light – in French. Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis, *Lenses and Waves: Christiaan Huygens and the Mathematical Science of Optics in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2004), 219-222.
79 Jens Høyrup, 'The Formation of a Myth: Greek Mathematics – Our Mathematics', in: Catherine Goldstein, Jeremy Gray & Jim Ritter (eds.), *L'Europe mathématique. Mathematical Europe* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1996),103-119.
80 Joseph Dauben et al., 'Praescriptum', in: Dauben and Scriba, *Writing the History of Mathematics*, xxi-xxvii.

A 'Human' Science

Hawkins's Science of Music

Maria Semi

Once upon a time *science*, *learning* and *knowledge* were synonyms. 'Science' was by no means a metonymy for what we nowadays call the 'natural' or 'hard' sciences, and what was formerly called 'Natural philosophy'. Rather, it stood for a particular kind of knowledge, as it was the translation for the Greek word *episteme*, which – according to the Aristotelian system – was the enquiry into what cannot be different from what it is, leading ultimately to knowledge of the causes, of the principles of things. These are also the characteristics of that particular knowledge about music, which Sir John Hawkins – author of *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* – intends in the second half of the eighteenth century as 'Science of Music':

> To remove the numberless prejudices respecting music [...]; to point out its various excellencies, and to assert its dignity, as a science worthy the exercise of our rational as well as audible faculties, the only effectual way seems to be to investigate its principles, as founded in general and invariable laws.[1]

Musicology, the discourse (*logos*) about music, which is the term that the English, French and Italians use to translate the German word *Musikwissenschaft* is traditionally said to have been born in the nineteenth century, founded by Guido Adler with an essay published in 1885 and entitled *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* ('Scope, Method and Goal of Musicology'). And this is indeed the right way to view the birth of the discipline, from an academic point of view, as witnessed by the institution, already in 1875, at the University of Berlin of the first-ever professorship of *Musikgeschichte und Musikwissenschaft* (music history and musicology), held by Philipp Spitta.[2] The use of the term 'science', *Wissenschaft*, in those days clearly denoted a specific way of intending the discipline. As Kevin Karnes points out in a study on music history and criticism in nineteenth-century Vienna, quoting a lecture about the status of art history by

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Moritz Thausing in 1884, 'for the art historian as for the musicologist, the question of his discipline's academic legitimacy hinged upon his colleagues' embrace of the spirit of "the most real of our sciences, the natural sciences"'.[3]

However, outside the academe, knowledge about music had a specific and well established structure long before the nineteenth century, and long before the natural-science model became the dominant one. The history which I will now briefly trace dates back to before this striving for academic legitimacy, and is mostly connected to the reorganization of knowledge in Europe that took place after the medieval system of the liberal arts collapsed.

Since Antiquity music has been an object of investigation for philosophers. Its connection with ethics and physics in the Greek world granted it a peculiar position in the system of knowledge. During the Renaissance, knowledge about music came to be organized in 'treatises', which normally hosted a section that recounted its discovery, its inventors, its powers (i.e. a section mostly known as the 'praise of music'[4]), its link with the micro- and the macrocosm; and then an extended section about the theory of music (intervals, scales, counterpoint). The seventeenth century, which marks the end of the organization of knowledge according to the system of the liberal arts, sees the decline of the 'treatise' form and a growing differentiation in the writings about music.[5]

Indeed, the seventeenth century saw an increasing interest in musical matters, especially in the field of Natural Philosophy.[6] However, one could hardly claim that there was a conception of a structured discipline which had music and sound as its objects. The knowledge about music was, in fact, parcelled up in various sub-branches of other disciplines. This is evident if we consider the ingenious scheme of human learning which Lord Bacon presented in 1605 in his *Advancement of Learning*. Bacon organized his tree of knowledge in three main branches, referring the parts of human learning to the three parts of human understanding: history to memory, poetry to imagination, philosophy to reason.

The learning about music and sound is to be found in several branches of this scheme. In the field of historical knowledge, which is divided into 'natural history' and 'civil history', one can find that sound is an object of the first,[7] and what we nowadays call 'music history' would have been a part of the second, namely in the branch named 'literary history'. I say that it 'would have been' a part of it, because literary history is one of the branches of knowledge which Bacon signalled as in a deficient state: the Lord Chancellor imagined what kind of knowledge 'literary history' should include, but such a discipline was not yet formed. This kind of learning was described as something different from memorials: it should have been a universal history that would take into account all the events which in some way had an influence upon culture.[8] To come back to our scheme, we can notice that in the field of philosophical knowledge music is mentioned twice, and sound

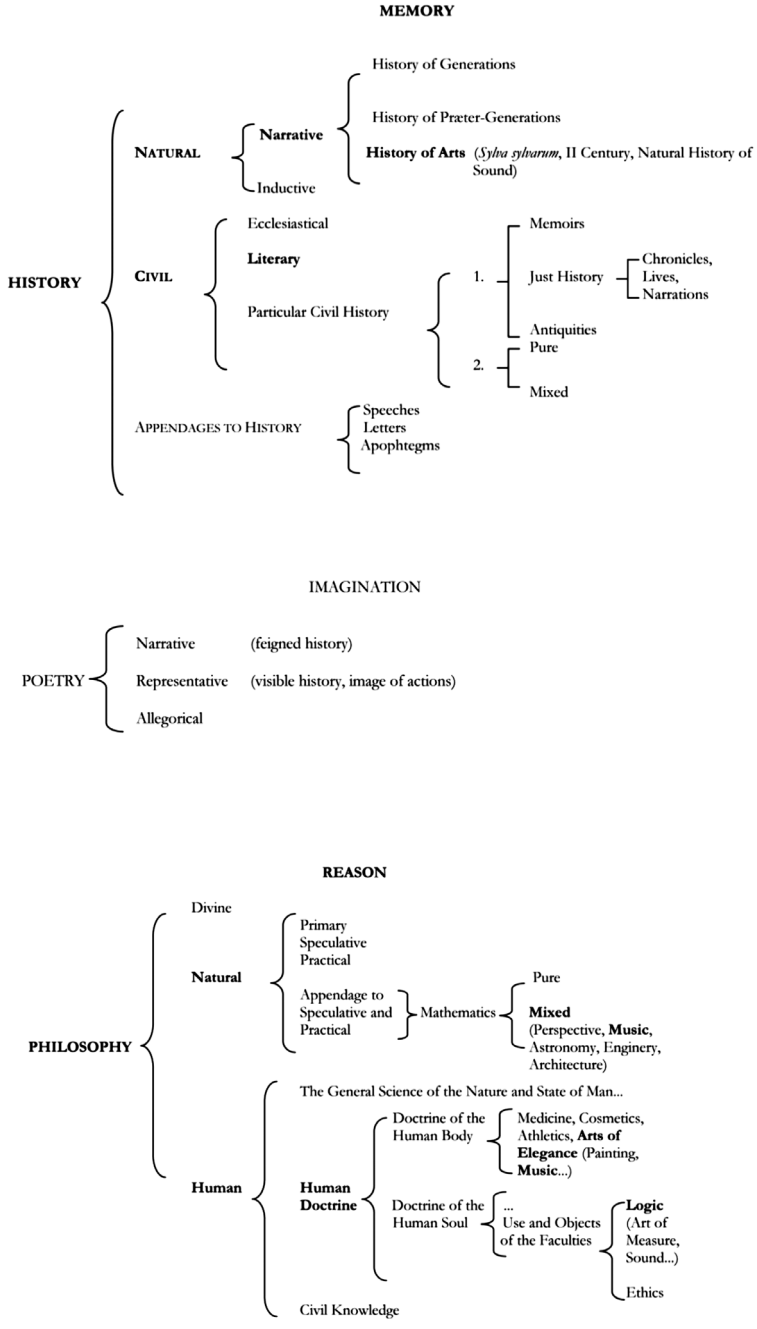

Fig. 5: Sir Francis Bacon, 'General Distribution of Human Knowledge: Memory, Imagination and Reason'

once. Music is intended as a branch of natural philosophy, namely mathematics – heritage of the liberal arts tradition where music was in the quadrivium alongside with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy; but it is also included in human philosophy, among the 'arts of elegance'. Sound too is a part of this latter branch of human philosophy, as it is the object of the 'Doctrine of the organ of Speech', a branch of logic. Lastly, music is mentioned in the section of the *Advancement of Learning* dedicated to imagination, as the art of sounds – especially when allied to poetry – enhances man's pleasures. I indulged a bit in the description of Bacon's tree, as I believe that it conveys an immediate perception of the absence, at this point, of a unitary field of knowledge that would embrace musical learning. At the same time, this scheme gives us a pretty clear idea about the richness of the possible approaches to music at that time.

The point I wish to make in the following pages is that between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century there have been some attempts at framing a coherent view of such a unitary field of learning, and that one of such attempts has been the one of Sir John Hawkins. Besides, I would like to suggest that at least two prominent features that characterize the British humanities of the eighteenth century have held a pivotal role in shaping Hawkins's Science of Music, i.e. the philosophy of the human mind and historical knowledge.

The eighteenth century saw a huge debate throughout Europe about the nature of historical writing, as the ideas of what history was, what its aims were, its meaning and how it should be written and organized were many. Philosophers, historians and antiquarians – battling over the primacy between the Ancients and the Moderns, fighting or supporting scepticism, creating private and public collections – shaped a new way of intending history, which was no more a collection of facts, but an interpretation of mankind through the analysis of 'events', which were not only vicissitudes of kings and battles, but also cultural and economic.[9]

The reflection on the human faculties, on the dynamics of thought, on the nature of belief is another way of interpreting mankind: the eighteenth-century philosophy of mind seeks to understand man from a cognitive point of view, history places man in a specific cultural and chronological *milieu*.

When Sir John Hawkins wrote his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, first published in 1776, he asserted, as I stated at the beginning, that 'the only effectual way' to build a science of music 'seems to be to investigate its principles, as founded in general and invariable laws, and to trace the improvements therein which have resulted from the accumulated studies and experience of a long succession of ages'[10], and then he adds: 'such a detail is necessary to reduce the science to a certainty, and to furnish a ground for criticism'. This statement makes clear that, in writing his work, Hawkins did not simply intend to narrate

the life of musicians of the past and the history of musical theory, but thought that the historical method was the best means for the construction of a science of music 'reduced to certainty'. In this context, 'historical method' means above all 'genealogical method'. It is, for example, in this sense that John Locke at the very beginning of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) says that by the means of the 'historical, plain method, I can give any account of the ways whereby our understandings come to attain those notions of things we have'. This method links chronology and causality, exactly as Bacon says about his description of literary history: it is the business of history to explain the causes of the periods of progress and decay, to explain why things have become as they are and in order to achieve that goal it uses a genealogical method, which infers effects from causes and builds a narration over an unfolding of events.

In my view, this way of justifying the use of the historical method makes Hawkins' history different from his competitor, i.e. Charles Burney's *General History of Music*, whose first volume was published exactly the same year as Hawkins's.

In trying to explain their decision to write a history of music, both authors refer to a passage in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, quoted at length by Hawkins but only hinted at by Burney. It is the passage about the afore-mentioned *literary history*, which we will now read at length:[11]

> No man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented from age to age, as many have done the works of nature, and the state civil and ecclesiastical; without which the history of the world seemeth to me as the statue of Polyphemus with his eye out, that part being wanting which doth most shew the spirit and life of the person. [...] A just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals, of knowledges and their sects, their inventions, their traditions, their diverse administrations and managings, their flourishing, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all the other events concerning learning, throughout the ages of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting.

Now, Hawkins quotes this passage to assert that the investigation of principles, together with the study of history is *the only effectual way* to 'reduce the science of music to certainty'; whereas Burney simply states that:[12]

> The feeble beginnings of whatever afterwards becomes great or eminent, are interesting to mankind. To artists, therefore, and to real lovers of art, nothing relative to the object of their employment or pleasure is indifferent. Sir Francis Bacon recommends histories of art upon the principle of utility,

> as well as amusement; and collecting into one view the progress of an art seems likely to enlarge the knowledge and stimulate the emulation of artists, who may, by this means, be taken out of the beaten track of habit and common practice, to which their ideas are usually confined.

The history of music, then, is to Burney first of all a selection of some 'feeble beginnings of what afterwards becomes great' – i.e. it is a history read from its achievements – and a useful tool to take artists out 'from the beaten tracks'. The difference between Hawkins and Burney in their recourse to history should be clear: for the former it is a method for the foundation of knowledge about music, for the latter it is a means to explain and guide modernity, by stimulating the artist to emulation and providing thus further paths for him to follow. From this point of view, I maintain that Hawkins's *Preliminary Discourse* to the *General History* – which is a kind of introduction to the whole work – represents an attempt to set up and establish what we could call 'musicology', a thought-out system of knowledge about music, and what in his words was the 'science of music'.

To give an idea of what he intends such a science to be, he employs over twenty close pages, whose purpose is 'to enter into a minute investigation of any particular branch of the science of which this work is the history; what is here proposed is the communication of that intelligence which seemed but the prerequisite to the understanding of what will be hereafter said on the subject'[13]. Thus he also implies that the function he attributes to the theoretical foundation of the science of music, the knowledge of its articulation, is a prerequisite to the understanding of the subsequent historical narration.

The very first words of the *Preliminary Discourse* speak the language of the contemporary British philosophy of mind and literary criticism:

> The powers of the imagination, with great appearance of reason, are said to hold a middle place between the organs of bodily sense and the faculties of moral perception; the subjects on which they are severally exercised are common to the senses of seeing and hearing, the office of which is simply perception; all pleasure thence arising being referred to the imagination.

Hawkins's opening with these words is highly relevant for our subject. Beginning a history of music with a theoretical discourse which starts from the powers of imagination, means placing the science of music amidst the philosophical discourses on the arts, such as Joseph Addison's *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1712), or Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725). It means that the science of music is not only considered a specific branch

of knowledge which acts according to its own rules, but that it is a part of a wider species of learning. Hawkins therefore supplies the science of music with a precise cultural framework.

After this section, our author proceeds with the discussion of some pieces of literary criticism devoted to music (such as the works of Sir William Temple, John Dryden, Addison): his aim in dealing with these works is to reinforce the idea that historical knowledge about music is necessary, as it would have prevented many of these authors from making mistakes about the art of sound. In fact, he asserts, these men of letters do speak perfectly well of music when they have to describe its effects on the human mind, but when it comes to the description of aspects of the science itself, their words grow misty. Therefore, he says, 'if anything can be necessary to enforce arguments [in favour of a history of learning]; it must be instances of error, resulting from the want of that intelligence which it is the business of history to communicate'.[14]

This kind of historical intelligence is, according to Hawkins, to be provided for by 'the masters of the science'. Which is why he proceeds to discuss in the following pages the authors who, before him, tried 'to trace the rise and progress of music in a course of historical narration' and also those 'who appear to have made collections for the like purpose'[15], i.e. the antiquaries. From this, he passes on to a synthetic account of 'the progress of music', that is, its history, dividing it in two branches: speculative music and the practice of music.[16] Ultimately he presents the state of the art of music in his days, dealing mainly with opera and oratorio, and he discusses the topic of 'taste'.

This picture shows that Hawkins had a fairly clear idea of a whole discipline that recognized 'music' as its object, and 'history' as its method of investigation. Whether or not the historian of music was thereafter successful in his attempt of describing the birth and vicissitudes of this 'science' is not relevant to the present communication. What I want to state here is that in the eighteenth century the time was already ripe for the birth of a musicological discipline that, in espousing the historical approach, and using the common language of philosophy, characterized itself as a humanistic discipline. This, however, did not mean that the physical study of music was dropped. Rather, we have come at a polarization in the study of music: on the one side a 'science of music' bound to history; on the other side a science named 'acoustics', fostered by the huge amount of experiments performed and accounts published by such institutions as the Royal Society of London and the Académie des Sciences of Paris already during the seventeenth century. These two poles continued to cross during the following centuries, and they are not completely impervious and independent. However we can assert that the eighteenth century witnessed the foundation of two disciplines relative to music, which were born out of the collapse of the liberal arts system: acoustics

and a historical science of music, whose characteristics are very akin to what we nowadays call 'musicology'.

So, if one was to ask why the Science of Music should be part of the humanities – at least in the eighteenth century – and what it means for music studies to be part of this branch of knowledge, I think we might find several answers in the context I have dealt with. In volume I of *The Making of the Humanities* Rens Bod pointed out the difficulty of defining the term 'humanities' and of determining the disciplines which are part of it. First of all, I would like to say that some disciplines may be part of the humanities at some points in history, and not at others: which means that it is not only their object which makes them part of this branch of knowledge. It is also their ends and methods.

Hawkins's science of music is part of 'the making of the humanities' also because of its purpose. In the *Author's Dedication and Preface* the British attorney justifies his turning to music as a subject of study saying that if, indeed, music is a form of recreation, its being 'a source of intellectual pleasure' confers to it a particular dignity. This dignity comes to music from the fact that it can be investigated by means of the powers of reason, and that it is not subdued to the 'capricious arbiter': taste. The end of the science of music is to use reason in order to understand an art to which mankind turns 'for relief from the cares, the anxieties and troubles of life [...], or under the pressure of affliction', and to attend to an art whose greatest excellence is 'its influence on the human mind'[17]. Thus the connection between Hawkins's 'Science of music' and the humanities is at least justifiable from two points of view: first of all, the object of this science is an art useful to mankind, and second – as we have said – it is a science which speaks the language of the humanities (of that time), as its main tools are history and philosophy.

Hawkins's attempt to anchor the Science of music to some fixed, rational principle could be interpreted – as it often has been – as a traditional and 'antiquary' approach to music, which still looks back at the liberal arts tradition. If this is altogether likely, it is also true that, at the same time, the kind of reasoning advanced by Hawkins participates perfectly well in the modern definition of knowledge provided by Bacon and Descartes: a knowledge which interrogates its foundations and procedures of inquiry, a knowledge built on systematic principles, which lies on the assumption that the powers of reason, their exercise and their cultivation, are the characteristic feature of human beings. And in its being an 'intellectual pleasure', founded 'in general and invariable laws', music witnesses its commitment to the humanist ideal of self-improvement.

Notes

1 Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (Graz: 1969; facsimile reprint of the London 1875 edition), 'Preliminary Discourse', p. xxiii. On the life and works of Sir John Hawkins, see Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), and Bertram H. Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

2 On the debate about the conception of musicology and music history in nineteenth century German-speaking countries see Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For the birth of music history writing, see Elisabeth Hegar, *Die Anfänge der neueren Musikgeschichtsschreibung um 1770 bei Gebert, Burney und Hawkins* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1932); Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History* (New York: Dover, 1962); Werner Friedrich Kümmel, *Geschichte und Musikgeschichte* (Marburg: Görich & Weiershäuser, 1967).

3 Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, 39.

4 See the study of James Hutton, 'Some English Poems in Praise of Music', in: Rita Guerlac (ed.), *Essays on Renaissance Poetry* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1980).

5 For the discussion on music as a science of the quadrivium and its links with the arts of the trivium see the essays of H. Floris Cohen and David Cram in *The Making of the Humanities* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), vol. I., 59-71 and 263-282.

6 On music and British natural philosophy see the works of Penelope Gouk, and in particular *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven & London, 1999).

7 Sound is the object of the second and third 'centuries' of the *Sylva sylvarum*. The 'centuries' are chapters, each of which is articulated into a hundred propositions. The *Sylva* contains ten such centuries, therefore being constituted by a thousand propositions.

8 On this topic see Paolo Rossi's standard monograph *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science* (Chicago: 1968).

9 On the role played by antiquarians in the new conception of history writing, see the brilliant studies of Arnaldo Momigliano, and in particular 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), 285-315.

10 Sir John Hawkins, *A General History*, 'Preliminary Discourse', xxiii.

11 Ibidem.

12 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1776-1789] (New York: Dover, [1935] 1957), vol. I, 11.

13 Hawkins, *A General History*, xxxviii.

14 Ibidem, xxiii.

15 Ibidem, xxiv.

16 Hawkins uses here the traditional division between speculative and practical music, which dates back already to the ancient Greek tradition. Speculative music is the theoretical part of music and the one more closely linked to its quadrivial past.

17 Ibidem, xxiii.

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Bopp the Builder*

Discipline Formation as Hybridization: The Case of Comparative Linguistics

Bart Karstens

Discipline formation as hybridization

The historical study of discipline formation is a relatively underdeveloped research area in the historiography of science. It questions how the modern academic system of disciplines has emerged and how differentiation in it has taken place by investigating the factors involved in the construction or breaking down of disciplinary boundaries. This research focus is interesting for at least four reasons. First, the process of discipline formation is an ongoing process. Thus, knowledge about discipline formation in the past can help us to gain a better understanding of the process of discipline formation in the present. Second, the search for historical foundations of knowledge claims can benefit from an understanding of the frameworks in which these knowledge claims have come about. Many attempts have been made to capture this relationship for example by Toulmin (fields), Kuhn (paradigms) or Lakatos (research programmes). Preference is given here to the notion of the discipline because the term is less broad than other larger unit terms and hence offers the most concrete guiding lines for historical exploration. Third, the study of the differentiation of disciplines leads to considerations of their interactions and may point to interesting similarities between current disciplines that are often thought to be oceans apart. Fourth, taking the discipline as a space in which social and epistemic dimensions of science are deeply interwoven may provide a useful solution to the problems

* The title of this paper refers to the television programme Bo*b* the Builder. It captures the constructivist efforts behind the new form of language study of which Franz Bopp was the main leading figure. In French the title of the same programme is *Bob le Bricoleur* which reminds one of Lévi-Strauss' notion of *bricolage* which had an inroad into science studies mainly through efforts of Barry Barnes. I thank Dr Daan Wegener for suggesting me both this very apt title and the reference to the work of Lévi-Strauss after I presented an earlier version of this paper at the Descartes Centre in Utrecht.

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historiography of science started to face after the internal-external divide was given up.[1]

The present contribution to the study of discipline formation is twofold. First, a perspective on discipline formation is proposed that I have called 'hybridization'. Second, in the main part of the paper a case study is explored, namely the emergence of historical and comparative linguistics (henceforth comparative linguistics). This case study is of interest both for the study of the history of linguistics and for the understanding of the making of the humanities in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the generalizations on discipline formation were developed from the case study as well.

When we speak of discipline formation we must wonder what these disciplines are that are being formed. Defining the term 'scientific discipline' is however not an easy task. The German historian Hubert Laitko has suggested that in order to be called a scientific discipline the discipline should meet three conditions: 1) have an object of research that has to be specific enough; 'Nature' for example is too wide, the study of life and living organisms is suitable, 2) have a sophisticated level of method and theory and 3) show stability over a longer period of time. Here Laitko thinks of all aspects of institutionalization such as chairs, journals, training of students etc.[2]

This definition has some heuristic value but is hard to employ in practical historical research because of its static character. It is for example difficult to imagine a set of norms with which it can be determined whether a new field of study has achieved enough sophistication in terms of theoretical claims and methods of research to be called a discipline. Studying the stability of a discipline also requires more than just pointing at the existence of chairs and journals. In the case of Bopp we will investigate *how* his chair was created, what conditions were involved, who supported him, who objected to the new chair etc. Such dynamics are more easily studied from the perspective of discipline formation. Perhaps these dynamics should be made part of the definition of scientific disciplines themselves which are never static units but always in motion.

Laitko's definition also leaves room for the 'naive' view on discipline formation. Especially his first criterion fosters the idea that new disciplines emerge as a result of specialization in a field, for instance because certain problems proved to be so demanding that they required study of their own, yielding a separate discipline. In contrast to this naive view of discipline formation as specialization, it is argued here that new disciplines are always the result of a mixture of various elements. We may think of the interaction between aspects of existing disciplines out of which new ones emerge. These new disciplines break through existing boundaries and form new alliances consisting of parts of previously disjoint fields of study. It has been pointed out that new disciplines often start

out as interdisciplinary undertakings, and that afterwards this interdisciplinary character tends to become 'forgotten' and the discipline is seen as a separate and complete unit.[3]

The notion of hybridization however is intended to cover more than just a mixture of elements from existing scientific disciplines into new ones. My case study below shows that it is in addition essential to include social, cultural and institutional aspects as well in order to capture the new discipline in its entirety. These aspects are not just 'external' or extra-scientific factors exerting influence and steering discipline formation in particular directions but they become inextricable elements of the disciplines themselves.[4] Thus the notion of hybridization should be interpreted in the broadest sense possible.[5] The new hybrid reflects ideas from the culture in which it emerges, the values that reign supreme at the place of its emergence (including its specific institutional setting) *and* from the various fields of study it has borrowed ideas from. All these aspects are put in a mixer and the new substance coming out of it is the new discipline.[6]

We may also view the hybrid as a junction on which many roads intersect. After all a hybrid is literally a bastard: genetic lines have crossed and have created a new life form that did not previously exist. The challenge for the historian is to find out the specific mixtures per discipline, for there may be differences between the importance of the determining factors from case to case. But these distinctions can only be made afterwards. At the onset of research the historian who seeks to understand the formation of a new discipline should consider as many possible determining factors as he can think of.

This broad notion of hybridization bears strong similarities to Lévi-Strauss' idea of 'bricolage'.[7] Lévi-Strauss used the term 'bricolage' to contrast it to methodically planned research and thinking. 'Bricolage' consists of assembling given things by the environment or accumulated in the course of previous research, but not made especially for the new task at hand. The bricoleur simply makes do with what he encounters. In contrast to engineering there is much less planning going on in 'bricolage' which is much more intuitive. The engineer creates the means for the completion of his work, the bricoleur redefines the means that he already has. It is important to note that the role of the individual is central in assembling and assigning meaning to the assembled things. In our case study below it is justified to assign Franz Bopp the role of the individual doing the 'bricolage', as he was indeed the central figure in the new discipline of comparative linguistics.

For Lévi-Strauss such an analysis of Bopp would be impossible. He argued that 'bricolage' stood in sharp contrast to the scientific process: 'Science brackets out events and secondary qualities to arrive at the essentials and primary qualities.'[8] Modern science for Lévi-Strauss was a well ordered endeavour and followed

clear rational trajectories. He made a difference between Neolithic and modern science to underline this point. To him wild and magical thinking (hence the title of his work) belonged to the pre-modern era. Modern engineers and modern scientists by contrast engage in methodically planned research. 'Bricolage' therefore has no place anymore in the modernized world.

However, as Barry Barnes and others have argued, modern scientists typically do act as 'bricoleurs' and are thus still as Neolithic as ever.[9] These authors see 'bricolage', in full contrast to Lévi-Strauss, as the heart of modern science. It is fair to say that this constructivist view on science has gained the upper hand in both sociology and history of science in the past decades.[10] While Lévi-Strauss' sharp distinction between modern and pre-modern science was certainly incorrect I must add that I am not inclined to accept all the implications of the constructivist movement in historiography of science. Quite often constructivists put stress on the contingency and the discontinuity of scientific development. Hybridization is used here as a more restricted term than 'bricolage' because it is confined to discipline formation only. While disciplines are certainly not immutable they may still lend the scientific process more continuity and perhaps also more unity than many constructivists would grant it.

In another sense the notion of hybridization has a broader application than 'bricolage' in its original use which required all the elements to be perfectly clear to the persons assembling them in new ways. By contrast, in unravelling the hybrids created in the past the historian should keep an eye on the role of factors that were not directly accessible to the historical actors as well, such as the subconscious influence of certain values, concepts or ideas. It is part of the job of intellectual historiography to uncover these 'hidden' aspects of past thinking.

Still the notion of 'bricolage' captures a lot of the spirit of the persons involved in a discipline at its inception. Just as in creative thinking, which is expansive and inclusive, the discipline in its first steps is open and works in all kinds of directions.[11] Later, disciplines become more restrictive and reductionist and increasingly stronger boundaries with other disciplines are drawn.[12] In this paper, the focus will be primarily on the expansive and inclusive phase in relation to the emergence of comparative linguistics. The idea of hybridization in a broad sense is perhaps a bit vague at the moment and naturally requires further sophistication, but hopefully the case study below serves to make the idea plausible and worthwhile for further application in the study of discipline formation.[13]

Introduction to Franz Bopp, the discovery of Sanskrit and Romantic ideas

Franz Bopp (1791-1867) was born in Mainz but later moved to Aschaffenburg, soon to become part of the Kingdom of Bavaria. His most important teacher there became Karl Windischmann (1775-1839) who taught history and philosophy and who was a great admirer of Friedrich Schelling's 'Naturphilosophie'. Together with Windischmann he studied *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, by Friedrich Schlegel. This was one of the first comparative language studies after the discovery of kinship between European languages and Sanskrit.[14] The work had a profound influence on Bopp and was in part responsible for his specialization in language studies. He went to Paris and London, where the specialists in the field were situated at the time. Bopp then returned to Germany and got his doctoral degree in Göttingen for which his *Analytical Comparison* (1820) served as a thesis. Via good contacts with the influential Wilhelm von Humboldt he then moved to Berlin and obtained a professorship at the relatively young University of Berlin (founded 1810). Bopp held this position for more than four decades until his death in 1867.

During his years at the Berlin University Bopp concentrated on two things. First there were the Eastern languages, among them most importantly the Sanskrit language which needed to be fully mastered by himself and subsequently by his students. Thus Bopp wrote a *Lehrbuch des Sanskrits* and he rewrote parts of Panini's grammar of the language.[15] This study of the Eastern languages was also related to the study of Eastern culture. Original Indian texts, mainly from mythology, were read and interpreted. Such cultural interests were however no more than a side effect of Bopp's main occupation.[16] This second occupation was: to demonstrate the relations between members of the group of languages which came to be known as the Indo-European language family. This was a huge project which Bopp laid down in his *Die vergleichende Grammatik*, first published in 1833 and reworked two times in his life by adding new languages to the group, for example the Slavic languages. He also expanded the detailed comparisons between the respective grammars and lexicons in each of the new editions.[17]

Bopp was not the only person who occupied himself with these studies. Although attention waned in France and England there were a few others active in Germany namely the Schlegel brothers, the Grimm brothers and Wilhelm von Humboldt. In Denmark, the work of Rasmus Rask was prominent as well.[18] However, Bopp was the central figure for a number of reasons. First, Bopp took up everything there was to know first-hand from the specialists abroad. Second, he maintained good contacts with the other Germans who got interested in comparative linguistics. Of these the Grimm brothers and Humboldt were living in

or close to Berlin as well. Third, the other scholars, with the exception of A.W. Schlegel, never occupied a chair at the university. Bopp acquired such a chair in the early stages of his career in Berlin. It is also very significant that he obtained the first chair ever with a teaching commitment called 'Allgemeine Sprachkunde', which must be seen as the forerunner of what is now known as general linguistics.[19]

The new name indicated a disconnection of the comparative study of language from philology in which focus on textual explications is central and language is studied only in connection to historical and cultural research. The erected chair also created a platform for the continuity of Bopp's studies into future generations. One of his students was Georg Curtius, who became an important figure in the attempts to reconcile comparative linguistics with philology which will be briefly discussed at the end of this paper.

For all these reasons it is thus justified to study the rise of comparative linguistics by focusing on one scholar only. To be sure, before Bopp there had been forms of comparative study of language.[20] However, the comparative study of language came to be seen in a completely different light for two reasons. Both of these were equally instrumental in upgrading comparative linguistics to a separate academic discipline.

The first of these was the very discovery of the kinship between the Sanskrit language and European languages such as Latin, Greek, English and German. This discovery was made by the Englishman William Jones in 1785. In his efforts to obtain more control over the local population in India he started studying their language and noted similarities in words as well as in grammar between Sanskrit and his own language (pitar-father, bhratar-brother, shta-stand etc.).[21] Van Hal (this volume) points out that this discovery did not engender a radical new approach to the study of the relations between languages. At first scholars tried to incorporate the discovery of the kinship between Sanskrit and European languages within existing models such as the Scythian theory. A fundamental rethinking of the ideas about kinship between languages only came about under the aegis of Bopp's generation.

It is quite possible that the reason for this delay has to be found in the other great difference with the study of languages before the nineteenth century: the climate of Romanticism. Romanticism is an umbrella term covering many, often even contradictory ideas.[22] Several of these ideas played an important role in the study of language that Bopp undertook. Many German intellectuals at the time had a longing for the East. They had a high respect for Indian philosophy and their mythical stories. It was believed that deep wisdom could be found in these texts, deeper than Western (Greek) thinking had ever produced. *Ex oriente lux* was the slogan: light comes from the East. This so-called 'Eastern Renaissance' was an important aspect of Romanticism: it was part of it but at the same time

shaped its content and direction. The study of the Indian languages fitted these orientations well, but at the same time increased their intensity.[23]

Friedrich Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* was written in the spirit of the Eastern Renaissance. He classified languages in this work into two main groups: the inflectional and the non-inflectional languages. The inflectional languages were spoken by people of higher cultures and of higher spirit.[24] Of the latter the people from ancient India represented the highest category and the Sanskrit language was the profound expression of this. Much of the book is filled with a great appreciation of Indian mythical stories and the lessons that can be drawn from them. The analysis of kinship between the languages was not very deep and profound. It cost Bopp considerable difficulty to wrest himself free of Schlegel's authority, but eventually he had to abandon Schlegel's linguistic ideas: most notably his classification in two language groups.[25] Bopp also freed comparative study of language from speculative romantic preconceptions. The technical and empirical work he was engaged in for most of his life must in part be seen as a reaction to such ideas.

Nonetheless, several key romantic ideas played a profound role in Bopp's view on languages too. They were perhaps less 'mystical' but still became cornerstones of his research programme which he never altered later in his life. The most important of these was his view of languages as separate organisms. It has been noted that the organic metaphor provided an 'Erklärungsprinzip' in many more areas during the Romantic period, to which we still owe words in our language such as 'to organize' or 'organization'.[26] This metaphor also had a profound impact on the study of language. Whereas some had seen language as an organ of thinking and thus as part of the organism of a person, the metaphor was taken a step further by scholars like Bopp.[27] They saw the language itself as a complete organism in which all parts related to one another to create larger wholes (i.e. sentences and texts). This metaphor brought three further perspectives on language with it: the idea of decay, the notion of the inner life force and the search for primitive forms of language. These three notions are also often taken as being characteristic of Romanticism.

Since they were considered as living things, languages were believed to go through an initial period of birth and growth, followed by a period of decay. All languages would slowly become less perfect, less harmonious and finally decease. All the European languages that were part of the Indo-European language group such as German, English and French, but also Latin and Greek, were thought to be in a process of steady decay. An inner life force, the deep essence of a language, was seen as the motor of this process.[28]

This cyclical view of growth and decline of languages entailed the idea that there once had been a perfect form of language. Even Sanskrit, although much

higher rated than Latin or Greek, had already started to decay. It was thought that there must have been a Proto-Indo European language (PIE). PIE was the 'Urform' of the whole group of Indo-European languages. In it, form and meaning were related to each other in perfection, coupling simplicity to the highest form of expressivity. The goal of the whole comparative research project was to reconstruct this lost language. It was thought that if laws of decay could be found in accessible linguistic material, it would be possible to extrapolate these laws and backtrack beyond some of the Indian languages to PIE. Although every language was seen as a separate organism, the members of the Indo-European language group could also be seen as variations of one organism: PIE, only differing by distinct ways of decline. Bopp and others were not so clear about this distinction.[29]

What is clear is the effect that organicist thinking as applied to language study produced: it led to the study of language only for the sake of languages themselves. Up till then languages were always studied in relation to other concerns: cultural and historical ones as in philology, or the study of the workings of the mind and an investigation of (perfect) reasoning in philosophy, or theological considerations.[30] These were not among the primary concerns of comparative linguists. They looked at languages solely for an understanding of the life of the linguistic organism.[31] Biological metaphors were certainly not new in language study. Natural terms such as root, kinship, stem etc. had been applied to the study of language from Antiquity onwards.[32] However, the metaphor of the organism went far beyond that and brought with itself a host of ideas and conceptions which guided research in new directions. Together with the discovery of Sanskrit and the kinship of this language to European languages this was the great renewal in language studies in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[33]

It is important to note that the study of language 'an sich' also fitted the model of the new Berlin University well. Wilhelm von Humboldt, together with Friedrich Schleiermacher, was the chief architect of this new university. The key idea was the search for knowledge as an end in itself and the way to enhance this search was to create an alliance between teaching and research ('Einheit von Lehre und Forschung').[34] Modern universities follow this model, but at the time this was a novelty. Universities used to be institutions which for the most part prepared students to find a job in the higher echelons in one of the governments of the German states or as a doctor, lawyer etc.[35] The restructuring of the academic system in Berlin was unique and it is significant for the present study that Bopp very much wanted to be part of it. Thus he wrote in one of his letters to Humboldt: 'So sehr ich Baiern in anderer Beziehung liebe, so ziehe ich als Gelehrter bei weitem Preussen vor. Die Preussische Regierung weiss die Wissenschaften ohne alle Vergleichung besser zu würdigen und zu befördern. Darum ist es angenehm ihm

anzugehörn.'[36] To get to Berlin Bopp first had to convince Maximilian I Joseph, the king of Bavaria. The king argued that he had not invested so much money in Bopp's training to see Prussia walk away with the profit. Bopp replied with a long letter containing interesting arguments why the king should not feel offended. The king had to understand that knowledge obtained in Prussia was also valid in Bavaria and that, consequently, the star of the Bavarian king would always be connected to the fruits of Bopp's work no matter where this work was carried out. Secondly, Bopp offered to repay all the investments made by the Bavarian government for his professional training. Bopp also told the king he would have been willing to further his career in Munich if the circumstances there were more suitable for him. But this was not the case. He could not be offered a serious research position and found the climate hostile to the directions in which he wanted to take his research. In reply to Bopp's arguments, the king granted him a temporary occupation in Berlin, perhaps because the two states were befriended at the time. As it happened, this temporary grant was never withdrawn, and Bopp stayed in Berlin for the rest of his life.[37]

This little episode reveals how values concerning scientific research, training and the status of knowledge became inextricable parts of the new discipline Bopp created. We have already noted that Bopp was the only one who occupied a permanent chair with which comparative linguistics *de facto* got a foothold in the academic system. Iffy history is dangerous, but what if Berlin had not given him the opportunity? What if no research climate could have been found that fitted Bopp's way of studying language? It might have been much more difficult to pursue his research agenda and as a consequence, comparative linguistics would perhaps not have emerged as a distinct discipline. The conclusion I draw is that the institutional values prevalent in Berlin were a factor in the success of comparative linguistics and became part of the new hybrid itself. The first few elements of this hybrid have now been dismantled. By investigating the various interpretations of the organic metaphor we can unravel further elements; we will do so mainly by looking at the relations of comparative linguistics to other fields of study.

How to reconstruct PIE: Borrowing ideas from other disciplines

All the ideas that merged and constituted the new field of comparative linguistics found a place under one umbrella. The organic metaphor served as a guiding and overarching principle. Bopp used the metaphor in two main senses: synchronic and diachronic.[38] These will be treated separately in turn.

The synchronic interpretation and the relation to comparative anatomy

The synchronic interpretation of the organic metaphor lacks a temporal aspect. It uses the idea of the organism to constitute a whole to which the parts then relate via the functions they perform with respect to the (functioning of) the whole. Much of Bopp's technical work was of this character. He compared languages with respect to the ways in which they performed various functions. For Bopp the central aspect of the organism was the conjugation system.[39] To him, the verb was central to linguistic expressions and he attempted to study modifications of the verb's basic form. Modifications express different grammatical categories such as tense, mood, aspect, voice, person, number, gender and case. He attempted to find patterns in languages with respect to these modifying systems. This was a difficult task, because one had to find out what exactly the basic forms, and what the modifications were and which functions the modifications expressed. When the modification system or 'skeleton' of a language was established, the rest of the language could be warped around it.

It is clear that this method of decomposition and comparison came from comparative anatomy. The great master of this, also relatively young, discipline was Georg Cuvier (1769-1832) of whom the story went that he could reconstruct a whole animal on the basis of one bone. Although no direct reference to Cuvier, nor to the German anatomist Blumenbach, can be found in the work of Bopp, it is present in Schlegel's *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*. There Schlegel writes: 'Jener entscheidende Punkt aber, der hier alles aufhellen wird, ist die innre Structur der Sprachen oder die vergleichende Grammatik, welche uns ganz neue Aufschlüsse, über die Genealogie der Sprachen auf ähnliche Weise geben wird, wie die vergleichende Anatomie über die höhere Naturgeschichte Licht verbreitet hat.'[40] The modifying systems Bopp worked on were baptized here as comparative grammar by Schlegel.[41] As said Bopp was deeply influenced by Schlegel in the beginning of his career. He had to denounce some of Schlegel's theories later on, but the characteristic comparative working style was maintained throughout his career. An interesting aspect of the quote above is the connection Schlegel makes between the work of comparative anatomists and diachronic study of languages ('Genealogie der Sprachen'). These connections can indeed be found in the work op Bopp if we look at the diachronic interpretation of the organic metaphor.

The diachronic interpretation: regularities in the development of languages

In its diachronic interpretation the life cycle is central to the organic metaphor. We have already discussed this above in connection to the influence of romantic ideas on comparative linguistics. Especially interesting is the way scholars of Bopp's time tried to find regularities with which the development of languages over time could be described and understood. There are thus forms of continuity here to be found with Enlightenment thinking which can be captured by the slogan *ex occidente lex*: laws come from the West.[42] Three types of laws can be found in Bopp's work. The first is Grimm's famous law of sound change (1822). Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) found regular patterns of sound change for the German language. The development was always from voiceless to aspirative to voiced and again to voiceless. Thus p,t,k sounds became f,th,x/h later in German/Gothic.[43] The remarkable consistency of these patterns was striking indeed and Bopp was greatly impressed by them, although he did not do much work on sound change himself.[44]

Bopp devoted more effort to another regularity he found in languages over time. In a chapter of his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 'Gewichtsmechanismus der Personalendungen', he put forward the theory that the heavier the vowel in the stem of the word the shorter the affixes tended to become. Bopp thought a pull of the centre was responsible for this effect and he saw a law of gravitation at work in languages. Clearly we find Newtonian physics as an inspiration here for theoretical explanations in comparative linguistics.[45]

Another general law can be found in Bopp's agglutination theory. Where Schlegel had set inflectional languages apart Bopp no longer did so. The inflectional languages were supposed to modify the verb according to some natural inner mechanism. Bopp found no evidence for this and claimed that all modification initially had to be explained by a process of 'gluing' morphemes together, or in other words, the putting together of elements from the outside, i.e. by speakers of that language. This opened new research avenues for comparisons from the diachronic perspective, since one could try to distinguish between 'original' agglutination and later language specific forms of agglutination.[46]

Bopp did not completely part with the idea of an inner life force. He saw it operating in the relation between form and meaning. Since the Indian languages were monosyllabic, he thought that in the perfect language each syllable or morpheme had had a unique meaning. According to Bopp, this unique correspondence relationship, which yielded a fully transparent language, was the result of a harmonious inner force. Obviously, other forces must have been responsible for later decay of the transparency, but Bopp has never been explicit about the

causes for the decline. The laws he used were of a more descriptive kind. Again Bopp's empiricist attitude prevails but the 'mixed style' which combines both approaches: on the one hand painstaking empirical observation and inductive generalization and on the other hand explanation in terms of non-mechanical forces, that Elffers sees operative in Von der Gabelentz (this volume) was not at all alien to Bopp.

The heterogeneous blend exposed so far consists of aspects of Romanticism, methods and ideas borrowed from the natural sciences and a specific institutional niche that helped Bopp to carry out a threefold research programme. First, he wanted to create a coherent description of the organism of all Indo-European languages. Second, the physical and mechanical laws capturing the changes in languages over time had to be specified. Third, all this had to lead to the original forms of the language group which determined all the subsequent grammatical relations. To complete the picture, attention needs to be paid to the question how Bopp's programme related to other fields in the humanities such as philosophy, history and above all the most nearby discipline philology.[47]

Connections between comparative linguistics and the humanities

According to Olga Amsterdamska, comparative linguistics needed to legitimize itself through alignment with the natural sciences: 'Although these multiple but vague references to various natural sciences do not testify to any direct influence of physiology, anatomy, physics, or chemistry on comparative grammar, they apparently reflect a need to claim for the new discipline the methodological rigor of the natural sciences.'[48] Such claims are made more often and are possibly the result of a present-day bias towards the natural sciences as the standard of scientific scholarship.[49] During Bopp's lifetime the humanities were however still dominant and fields such as philosophy, history and philology were thought to be of prime importance. It is therefore unlikely that in order to gain credibility and legitimization the new study of language had to look like a natural science. As a matter of fact interesting and illuminating connections between comparative linguistics and the humanities can be drawn which show that acceptance of the new discipline was also related to the discipline's fitting in with views on life developed in the humanities.

Philosophy

Goethe, Schelling and others started to develop a modern kind of natural philosophy in which some of the key romantic ideas found a place. There are striking resemblances between especially Goethe's philosophy and Bopp's views on the study of language.[50] Goethe saw nature as a dynamic process that nevertheless obeyed mechanical laws. These mechanical regularities however were to be found operative *within* organic wholes. In Goethe we do not find evolutionary ideas yet. His view of nature was dynamic, but he saw the variations produced by nature limited by the primitive forms that underlay all organisms of a particular species. We found the same combination of the search for mechanical laws of development within organic wholes and the search for primitive forms in Bopp's study of the Indo-European language group. Moreover the idea of the inner life force was present in the work of Goethe too. He spoke of a 'Bildungstrieb' which was responsible for changes in the outward appearances of organisms. This is why Goethe attached great importance to the direct experience of phenomena and to the accurate description of these outward appearances. This too accorded well with Bopp's empiricist attitude: for Bopp hypotheses could only be based on factual material, he hardly speculated beyond what he could see. Finally, Goethe attached great importance to the comparative way of study as can be seen in the following quote: 'Die vergleichende Anatomie beschäftigt den Geist mannigfaltig, gibt uns Gelegenheit die organischen Naturen aus vielen Gesichtspunkten zu betrachten.'[51]

That Bopp was reluctant to enter into speculation is also shown by the fact that he rarely allowed himself to put forward theoretical, let alone philosophical comments. Thus we do not possess an explicit statement of Bopp's theoretical preoccupations.[52] This has led scholars to conclude that Bopp was merely a technician who did not work with nor towards much theory. On this view, Bopp only left a mark on linguistics through his very technical working style.[53] Since romantic ideas were prevalent and professionally elaborated in various fields at the time, and since the resemblances between above all Goethe's and Schelling's 'Naturphilosophie' and Bopp's linguistic research programme are so striking, my hypothesis is that Bopp did not feel the need to articulate his theoretical claims and underpin these philosophically, because there was such a strong philosophical system present in the background. The few hints in some letters of Bopp and the 'Vorredes' in the first two editions of the *Vergleichende Grammatik* we do find support for this hypothesis.[54]

History

'Vergleichen wir mit diesen vergangenen Zuständen die gegenwärtige Zeit, so dürfen wir uns freuen, geschichtlicher Sinn ist überall erwacht...'[55] With this sentence Friedrich Carl von Savigny perhaps captured the spirit of the times best of all. The nineteenth century is known as the century of history and I believe Koselleck rightfully indicated that a major change in thinking about time in the period between 1750 and 1850 occurred. Historical research can be carried out in various ways. At the time of Bopp three ideas stood out which were operative in his linguistic work. First, there was the idea that history follows patterns and that these can be captured in a lawlike manner. The diachronic use of the organic metaphor clearly led to the search of laws of decay in languages. Second, historical research may also be synonymous to empirical research in the sense of pure fact gathering. As some have noted, such fact 'hunting' was present in comparative linguistics.[56] Third, there is the hermeneutical approach to history, aimed at understanding specific places and periods. This approach was theoretically worked out for the first time by one of Bopp's colleague's in Berlin, Friedrich Schleiermacher.[57]

The hermeneutical approach seems most distinct to Bopp's work but it was however not fully absent from his research and teaching. He agreed with Humboldt, who started to investigate languages out of an anthropological interest, assuming that every people ('Volk') had shaped a language according to the working of their spirit.[58] In spite of the gradual process of decline from PIE the Indo-European languages were in, the working of this spirit was something to admire. Bopp was also not too dogmatic about the supposed laws and regularities that could be found in the history of languages. 'Kein Regel ist ohne Ausnahme,' and 'Mathematische Beweise können die Sprachwissenschaften nicht liefern,' are two quotes that illustrate this.[59] Moreover, we should not forget that Bopp also taught Asian literature and culture.

Philology

In this 'cultural' way of approaching history via language study Bopp appeared to be close to philology. Still, his comparative work meant a huge challenge to (classical) philology. First, the monopoly of the philologists on the study of language was challenged. Second, and more importantly, the cornerstone of the world view of the philologists was overthrown. They had always worked with the idea that the cradle of humanity lay in Greece and the Roman Empire, and they saw it as their business to show that German culture was a worthy heir to this tradition. The comparativists however shifted the focus of attention, and also of apprecia-

tion, towards the Far East. Thus we could expect conflicts in Berlin where philology was a strong discipline, guided by scholars such as August Boeckh (1785-1867) and Karl Lachmann (1793-1851).

Comparative linguistics was indeed met with a hostile attitude among philologists. For a number of reasons they believed that if language was studied in the new way, scholarship would give way to dilettantism.[60] First, the comparativist working style was descriptive rather than normative. Where philologists sought to establish standards for good language use, the comparativists merely described the data they could find. Second, it was argued that one could not possibly master so many languages in sufficient detail to make sophisticated comparisons. Both morphological comparisons and etymological derivations appeared to be speculative and full of mistakes. Furthermore, syntax, one of the cherished fields of study of the philologist, was neglected by the comparativists. Not everyone was happy with the Eastern Renaissance either, since some thought the East was dark and dangerous rather than enlightening.[61]

Bopp personally had to deal with a few sharp reactions. One commentator wrote: 'Die Boppard ist ein Ort am Rhein, die Bopp-art sind Pedanterein,'[62] and as we can infer from a letter of Bopp to Humboldt at the beginning of his professorship his lecture series 'Lateinische und Griechische Etymologie' was blocked.[63] Students were discouraged to visit his lectures and indeed did not show up. It lasted until 1835 before Bopp offered another course in etymology: 'Griechische Etymologie mit Vergleichung des Sanskrits.'[64] Some of these sharp reactions can possibly be explained by the fact that philology itself was still busy finding its proper place in the academic system and hence was very sensitive to legitimatization challenges.[65] It may therefore seem surprising that a real clash between Bopp and the classical philologists did not come about. On deeper inspection, a number of reasons can be found to explain this.

First, Bopp enjoyed support by the dean of the faculty: August Boeckh. Boeckh saw philology as the mother discipline of all disciplines and in this broad conception any new 'science' that could contribute to the understanding of the workings of human culture and above all human spirit was welcome. Moreover, Boeckh had a strong historical interest and thus he highly valued the historical aspect of comparative studies of language.[66] Bopp could initially also lean on the support of Wilhelm von Humboldt and ministers of the government with whom he got acquainted via Humboldt. As a person, he was very capable of building and maintaining good social contacts.[67] Gentleman-like conduct was also in part dictated by the social rules of behaviour of the Prussian elite, to which university professors belonged. The boundaries between formal meetings and informal club gatherings were not strict at the time. This meant that Bopp and his 'opponents' met each other regularly, sometimes several times a week at

lectures, banquets and the like outside university walls.[68] Polite behaviour was needed to keep occupying a place in these club meetings. Personal characters suited for this obviously helped but behaviour was also shaped to fit the social demands.[69]

Apart from these social considerations, recognition of the usefulness of comparative linguistics grew with the years. Bopp was a serious and hard-working man who proved to be a fine scholar not just in Eastern languages but also in the classical ones. Further, it is interesting that Lachmann developed a system for finding original texts ('Urtexts') out of later distorted versions and interpretations. This bears a similarity to Bopp's attempts to reconstruct an undistorted PIE.[70] Philologists noted that there was a normative element in comparative studies after all since the whole project was aimed at finding a perfect language that presumably had existed a long time ago. Lachmann eventually even contributed to this research project when he developed a sound law for Latin! The original hostility had in most cases given way to an appreciation of two forms of studying language. Although this appreciation was not always easy to deal with, as Grimm noted: 'Es gibt zwei Arten von Sprachstudiums, die auch wohl in mir zu Zwiespalt gekommen sind.'[71]

While legitimatization for the new discipline was achieved by hard work within a favourable environment, engendering respect for the achievements of the new discipline and showing its usefulness for the rest of philology, a tension remained between two distinct styles of research, in which language was treated in fundamentally different ways. This tension came about during the second stage of institutionalization of the discipline, when disciplinary boundaries became much more contested than under Bopp.[72] A student of Bopp's, Georg Curtius (1820-1885), pleaded on several occasions, in Boekchian style, for intense cooperation between the study of language for its own sake and the study of language for cultural understanding.[73] August Schleicher (1821-1868) on the other hand, advocated a complete division between the two fields. For him comparative linguistics should be seen as a natural science which he called Glottik, in analogy with Physik and Botanik. The methods and theoretical claims of Glottik belonged to natural science and should not be mixed with philological methods at all.[74]

Both Curtius and Schleicher came up with reasons for the decline of language, an issue neglected by Bopp. They explained this with reference to economic principles. Humans invariably prefer simplification and abbreviation of expressions. However, in Schleicher's theory the role of individual speakers in language change came to reside far in the background, whereas Curtius allowed more room for the psychology of individual speakers or groups of speakers in his explanations of language development. Curtius' approach was thus closer to the cultural study of

language than Schleicher's. The latter's position is striking from a Humboldtian perspective, in which the study of the development of languages is the prime target for humanistic studies. To hold the position that this development is not due to the actions of individual speakers, but should be seen as completely natural scientific phenomenon appears very strange indeed. This is a good point to stop our account of the formation of the discipline of comparative linguistics since with Schleicher general linguistics has nothing to do anymore with the making of humanities! How it could have come about that such a radical position was taken up, can however only be understood by appreciating the hybrid formed by Bopp in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[75]

Conclusions

A lot of issues have merely been touched upon in the present paper and much more can be said about all of them. Still, I believe it is possible to draw a number of conclusions from the material presented here. First, the thesis of discipline formation as hybridization has been underpinned by a case study. The hybrid that came to be known as comparative linguistics consisted of ideas stemming from Romanticism, most notably the metaphor of the organism, and ideas borrowed from natural science fields such as comparative anatomy and physics. It had strong connections to philosophy and the awakening of modern historical understanding. It also shared the new academic values of the Berlin university model. All these aspects somehow united into one whole. It is difficult to describe this whole otherwise than by using the word 'discipline'.

Three interpretation issues that stand out with respect to Bopp in the secondary literature can also be applied to the hybrid comparative linguistics. Was the work done in this discipline of a purely technical kind or did it have a theoretical side as well? Was the research done just comparative or really historical comparative? And should we place the new discipline firmly within the period of Romanticism or was it no more than a continuation of many ideas that were already formed in the Enlightenment?

With respect to all three issues I believe it was a bit of both. First, Bopp used the organic metaphor in both synchronic (pure comparisons) and diachronic (adding the historical dimension) ways. Second, his work does indeed look very technical but that does not mean a theoretical background was absent. Third, there was indeed continuity with the Enlightenment, but Romanticism brought new elements to the study of language: the idea of language as an organism, the view on historical development as a process of decay and the use of the concept of an inner life force deeply influencing language change. These ideas retained a

firm hold on general linguistics, at least throughout the nineteenth century in Germany. No attention has been paid to an assessment of these novelties. I have suggested that the level of disciplines as a category of historical analysis may lend just enough structure to study the development of knowledge claims over longer periods of time. With sufficient care further analysis of the knowledge claims made in Bopp's time in light of the current state of the art in comparative linguistics should be possible.[76]

Finally, I would like to draw some generalizations with respect to discipline formation from the case study of comparative linguistics. What circumstances or what factors are needed to make the discipline get a hold in the academic system? From this study three of these factors stand out.[77] First, there was relatively little pressure on the new discipline and therefore not much time was lost in fighting for legitimization. Bopp could set himself to work on the comparisons and the scholarship he showed in doing so earned him respect and as a consequence the new discipline gained credibility.[78] This total devotion of a leading scholar to one field of study is a second factor in the success of a discipline.[79] For the period that has been discussed, the focus on one individual to study the genesis of a discipline is justified. We have not just unravelled an artifact because in Bopp's work ideas of others were incorporated and because of the institutionalization of comparative linguistics continuity of this form of language study into future generations was guaranteed. But there is no need to be dogmatic about this. In many other periods it might be more useful to look at groups of scholars when the formation of disciplines is studied. Third, Bopp had a strong overarching concept at his disposal, namely the idea to view language as an organism. Almost all ideas of the hybrid he created could be arranged under the umbrella of this broad concept. Such a sense of coherence is perhaps necessary for a new discipline to succeed.[80]

However, the organic metaphor, and the comparative method as well, were extremely broad and flexible. The application of them by Bopp therefore left tensions and unresolved issues which came strongly to the fore in the work of his successors. Perhaps the fight between a broad and a narrow conception of a field of study is a more recurrent pattern in the formation of disciplines.[81] It is striking that in the case of comparative linguistics this type of debate was conducted in terms of an opposition between natural sciences and humanities. The narrow conception defended by Schleicher made comparative linguistics a pure natural science while the broad conception defended by Curtius was aimed to fit comparative research in with philology. To which of these fields, the natural sciences or the humanities, the study of language belongs is an old question that goes back to Plato which was put into new light in the nineteenth century. Since this is such a perennial issue the history of linguistics may prove to be a useful field to study

the interaction between various disciplines from both the humanities and the natural sciences in further depth. Much of such research still has to be done. The same holds in general for many cases of discipline formation. I have argued that for such research a broad hybridization perspective is needed. If this at present may still seem to be a 'wild' idea, I can only hope future research will tame it and channel it in fruitful directions.

Notes

1 This is demonstrated in a recent study: E. Suárez-Diaz, 'Molecular Evolution: Concepts and the Origin of Disciplines', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biology and Biomedical Sciences* 40-1 (2009) 43-53. Breaking down the barriers between internal and external historiography is most forcefully argued for in: S. Shapin, 'Discipline and Bounding: The History and Sociology of Science as Seen through the Externalism-Internalism debate', *History of Science* 30 (1992) 333-69. Shapin argues that the internalism-externalism debate should be about the factors that determine *change* in science. The emphasis on discipline *formation* squares well with that argument.

2 Hubert Laitko, 'Disziplingeschichte und Disziplinverständnis,' in: V. Peckhaus & C. Tiel (eds.), *Disziplinen im Kontext. Perspektiven der Disziplingeschichtsschreibung* (Munich, 1999) 21-60. An important study on institutionalization is: Timothy Lenoir, *Instituting Science: The Cultural Production of Scientific Disciplines* (Stanford, 1997).

3 G. Darvas and A. Haraszthy, 'The Tendency of Fields of Science to Form Interdisciplinary Relationships', in: S. R. Epton, R.L. Payne and A.W. Pearson (eds.), *Managing Interdisciplinary Research* (1984) 66-71.

4 R. McCormmach, 'Editor's Foreword', *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences* 3 (1971), ix-xxiv points to the influence prevailing institutions and culture can have on scientists' thinking. The discipline in this sense acts as a mediator between these factors and individual scientists. This idea of mediation, however, reflects Robert K. Merton's sociology of institutions in which a divide between internal and external realms of science is still maintained. Here we want to proceed by looking at disciplines without that distinction, see also note 1.

5 The term hybridization is not new in science studies. Ben David has even used it in the context of discipline formation: Joseph Ben David, 'Social Factors in the Origins of a New Science. The Case of Psychology,' in: *Scientific Growth, Essays on the Social Organization and Ethos of Science* (Los Angeles, 1991). Ben David applies the term differently, however, and focuses on individual scientists that create new roles by fusing parts of known roles together which he calls role-hybridization.

6 This may remind one of Pickering's idea of the mangle put forward in: *The Mangle of Practice: Time, Agency and Science* (Chicago 1995). However, in Pickering's own words the mangle has an *anti*-disciplinary tendency. Indeed what the exact products of the mangle are, is vague, perhaps deliberately so.

7 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago & London, 1962) original: *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1962).

8 Lévi-Strauss quoted from: Panagiotis Loridas, 'Design as Bricolage: Anthropology meets Design Thinking', *Design Studies* 20-6 (1999) 517-535. Loridas endorses Lévi-Strauss' views unconditionally.

9 A good survey of the arguments can be found in: Cornelis Disco and Barend van der Meulen (eds.), *Getting New Technologies Together: Studies in Making Sociotechnical Order* (Berlin & New York, 1998).

10 Jan Golinksi, *Making Natural Knowledge: Constructivism and the History of Science* (Chicago & London, 1998) offers the best survey of this development.

11 On creative thinking, see Sybren Polet, *De creatieve factor: kleine kritiek der creatieve (on) rede* (Amsterdam, 1993). He refers explicitly to Lévi-Strauss in this context.

12 This aspect was of course what mostly interested Foucault about disciplines.

13 In Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: een geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010) 420 and 436 short references to the notion of hybridization can be found.

14 F. Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier: ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Althertumskunde* (Heidelberg, 1808).

15 Salomon Lefmann, *Franz Bopp, sein Leben und seine Wissenschaft: mit dem Bildnis Franz Bopp's und einem Anhang: aus Briefen und andere Schriften*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1891-97), 129.

16 We can see this from the list of Bopp's lectures. In the appendix by Reinhard Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und die vergleichende indoeuropäische Sprachwissenschaft: Beobachtungen zum Boppschen Sprachvergleich aus Anlaß irriger Interpretationen in der linguistischen Literatur', *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33 (1984), a complete survey of Bopp's lectures can be found.

17 Franz Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Gothischen und Deutschen, 6 Abtheilungen* (Berlin, 1833-1852).

18 See Anna Morpurgo-Davies, *Nineteenth-century Linguistics*, Vol. 4 of Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of Linguistics* (London, New York 1998). Why Germany took over the momentum from England and France is a question that cannot be dealt with here. A comparison between the countries around 1800 can be found in Erika Hültenschmidt, 'Tendenzen und Entwicklungen der Sprachwissenschaft um 1800: ein Vergleich zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland,' in: Bernard Cerquilini and Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht (eds.), *Der Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachhistorie: Wissenschaftsgeschichte als Innovationsvorgabe* (Frankfurt, 1983), 135-167.

19 The full title of the chair Bopp obtained in 1825 was 'Orientalistische Literatur und Allgemeine Sprachkunde.' In her contribution on Von der Gabelentz in this volume Elffers points out that initally general linguistics was equated to comparative linguistics. It referred to research not confined to a single language but generalizing over languages, hence the term. As she demonstrates the notion general linguistics acquired different interpretations later on as language study developed.

20 Rafaela Simone, *Renaissance and Early Modern Linguistics*, Vol. 3 of Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of Linguistics* (London & New York, 1998), Rulon S. Wells, 'Linguistics as a Science: the Case of the Comparative Method,' in: H. Hoenigswald (ed.), *The European Background of American Linguistics* (Dordrecht, 1979), 23-61 and P.A. Verburg, 'The Background to the Linguistic Conceptions of Bopp,' *Lingua II* (1950), 438-468 emphasize the continuity between Bopp's work and eighteenth-century linguistic research. Van Hal highlights interest in differences between languages and their historical genesis before the nineteenth century in this volume.

21 See William Jones, *Discourses Delivered at the Asiatic Society and Miscellaneous Papers* (London, 1824).

22 Herbert Uerlings, *Theorie der Romantik* (Stuttgart, 2000) is a good exposition of Romanticism in Germany.

23 Herder, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Goethe, August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Hegel, Schiller and Novalis were all occupied with the rebirth of Eastern culture in the West. See Uerlings, *Theorie der Romantik* for this but also Peter Watson, *Ideas: A History of Thought and Invention from Fire to Freud* (New York, 2005).

24 This idea of the working of a 'Sprachgeist' or 'Sprachgefühl' with which people shape the language they speak played a profound role in German linguistic thinking throughout the nineteenth century. Humboldt is well known for it but the second generation of comparativists, Curtius and Schleicher, used it for their explanations of language change too. Even in the work of Von der Gabelentz at the end of the century the idea figures prominently. See the contribution of Elffers in this volume.

25 Only in 1820 in the *Analytical Comparison* (and not in 1816's *Conjugationssytem*) did Bopp really depart from Schlegel according to Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und die vergleichende indoeuropäische Sprachwissenschaft'.

26 Kerstin Kucharczik, *Der Organismusbegriff in der Sprachwissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1998).

27 Ibidem 16-30.

28 In the next section we deal with the question of how Bopp interpreted this 'inner life force'.

29 Discussion of the laws Bopp used can also be found in the next section. The irony of the project is that PIE was never reached. Much research got stuck in the enormously elaborate comparisons of known languages. The prevalent empiricist attitude in Bopp was in conflict with hypothesizing about a lost PIE of which no data were available.

30 The Tower of Babel as an explanation of the diversity of languages was in use until well into the nineteenth century. Van Hal argues in this volume that before the nineteenth century relations between languages were mainly studied from an etymological angle.

31 Much of this research was based on extensive comparisons between the grammar and lexicons of supposedly closely related languages. Note that all these relations were not fully understood when Bopp started his work on them. Wolfgang Morgenroth, 'Franz Bopp als Indologe und die Anfänge der Sanskrit-Lexikographie in Europa,' in: Reinhard Sternemann (ed.), *Bopp Symposium 1992 der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Akten der Konferenz vom 24-3-26-3 1992 aus Anlass von Franz Bopps zweihundertjährigem Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1994) 162-172 and Gertrud Pätsch, 'Franz Bopp und die historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft', in: *Forschen und Wirken: Festschrift zur 150-Jahr-Feier der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 1810-1960*, vol. I (Berlin, 1960) 211-228 demonstrate the crucial role of Bopp in these early stages.

32 See Henry M. Hoenigswald and Linda F. Wiener (eds.), *Biological Metaphor and Cladistic Classification: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1987) and also Oswald Panagl, 'Figurative Elemente in der Wissenschaftssprache von Franz Bopp,' in: Reinhard Sternemann (ed.), *Bopp Symposium 1992 der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Akten der Konferenz vom 24-3-26-3 1992 aus Anlass von Franz Bopps zweihundertjährigem Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1994), 195-207.

33 Van Hal's paper in this volume clearly shows that before the nineteenth century genealogical study of languages had to be legitimized with arguments that this research would be fruitful for other domains of learning.

34 Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Über die innere und äußere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin', in: Ernst Müller (ed.), *Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten von Engel, Erhard, Wolf, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Savigny, v. Humboldt und, Hegel* (Leipzig, 1990 [1810]).

35 On the expansion of the Humboldt model see Christoph Rainer Schwinges (ed.), *Humboldt International. Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 2001).

36 Bopp to Humboldt, 16 July 1823. The correspondence between the two can be found in Salomon Lefmann, *Franz Bopp, sein Leben und seine Wissenschaft* (Berlin, 1891-97).

37 Pätsch, 'Franz Bopp und die historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft', 214.

38 The exact use of the metaphor is one of the thorny interpretation issues with respect to Bopp. Both Van Hal and Elffers in this volume connect him to the diachronic approach only. I side here with Reinard Sternemann, a distinguished Bopp scholar, who writes: '"Organisch" ist bei Bopp fraglos in mehrfachen Sinn zu verstehen.' Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und die vergleichende indoeuropäische Sprachwissenschaft', 30. Morpurgo-Davies seems to be of the same opinion when she calls Bopp's use of the organic metaphor 'ill defined'. This is explained from the fact that it was such an omnipresent principle of explanation: Anna Morpurgo Davies, '"Organic" and "Organism" in Franz Bopp', in: Henry M. Hoenigswald & Linda F.Wiener (eds.), *Biological Metaphor and Cladistic Classification: an Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1987), 96.

39 Hence the title of his earliest work: *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Verbindung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprachen, Nebst Episoden des Ramayan und Mahabharat in genauen metrischen Übersetzungen aus dem Originaltexte und einigen Abschnitten aus den Veda's* (Frankfurt, 1816).

40 Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, 28.

41 In fact his brother August Wilhelm coined the term in 1803: Kuzarchik, *Der Organismusbegriff*, 164.

42 I have pointed out that Romanticism brought a lot of new things to the study of language. Others have been sceptical about this. For example P.A. Verburg, 'The background to the linguistic conceptions of Bopp,' stresses continuity with the Enlightenment and explains Bopp's 'failure' by the romantic conceptions which guided his research in the background. Although I am inclined to see much continuity between the Enlightenment and Romanticism as well, Verburg's analysis is at odds with the present one since he denies any profound effects of Romanticism on linguistics.

43 See John T. Waterman, *Perspectives in Linguistics: An Account of the Background of Modern Linguistics* (Chicago, 1963) and F. P. Dinneen, *An Introduction to General Linguistics* (New York, 1967).

44 Lefmann, *Franz Bopp*, 241.

45 Newton also used the word 'inflection' for bending of light beams. It might be the case that the use of this term in linguistics is also due to influence of physics. Note that the current consensus is that the contraction phenomenon Bopp observed is genuine but has to be explained by differences in stress.

46 Reinhard Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und seine *Analytical Comparison*', in: Reinhard Sternemann (ed.), *Bopp symposium 1992 der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Akten der Konferenz vom 24.3.-26.3. 1992 aus Anlass von Franz Bopps zweihundertjährigem Geburtstag am 14.9.1991* (Heidelberg, 1994), 254-269.

47 The terms 'natural sciences' and 'humanities' are anachronistic as there was no sharp divide between them at the time of Bopp. In Berlin both were represented in the same Faculty of Philosophy. It was not until the twentieth century that physics and chemistry dissociated themselves from it. On the other hand, the term 'Geisteswissenschaften' was already current at the time. But 'Wissenschaft' should not be confused with the notion of a scientific discipline. It could also be used to indicate some form of knowledge. For

example, 'die Boppsche Wissenschaft' was used on occasion to refer to Bopp's work and scholarship.

48 Olga Amsterdamska, *Schools of Thought: The Development of Linguistics from Bopp to Saussure* (Dordrecht, 1987). As we have seen above, the references to the natural sciences were not vague but quite concrete.

49 Roy Harris, 'History and Comparative Philology', in: Nigel Love (ed.), *Language and History: Integrationist Perspectives* (Routledge, 2006), 41-59 is a good example. He is also one of the sceptics about the novelty of comparative linguistics, see note 42.

50 Bopp knew Schelling and corresponded with him. He must have known Goethe's work, perhaps through Windischmann, but Bopp probably never met him. Goethe visited Berlin only one time in his life and Bopp did not leave the city very often. The ideas of Goethe are taken from J.W. von Goethe, *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen* (1790), B. Mueller, *Goethe's Botanical Writings* (Honolulu, 1952), Dorothea Kuhn, *Goethe und die Chemie* (Goethe-Studien, Marbach 1988).

51 Quoted in Kuzarchik, *Der Organismusbegriff*, 168.

52 Wilhelm von Humboldt for example produced a great abundance of philosophical writing.

53 Morpurgo Davies sees him as 'first and foremost of the technicians.' Morpurgo Davies, '"Organic" and "Organism" in Franz Bopp', 92. Pätsch, 'Franz Bopp und die historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft', 218 supports this characterization.

54 We might not agree with Verburg's ultimate assessment of Bopp (notes 20 and 42), but the main point of his analysis, that a Romantically inspired natural philosophy figured in the background to Bopp's linguistic work supports the idea of a covert philosophical backing put forward here.

55 Friedrich von Savigny, *Vom Beruf unsrer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft* (Heidelberg 1814).

56 Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und die vergleichende indoeuropäische Sprachwissenschaft'.

57 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Allgemeine Hermeneutik* (1809/10) can be found in Kurt-Victor Selge (ed.), *Internationaler Schleiermacher-Kongreß Berlin 1984* (Berlin & New York, 1985), 1268-1310.

58 See also note 24. Famous is Humboldt's saying 'Der Mensch ist nur Mensch durch Sprache.' (Lecture 'Berliner Akademie' 20 July 1820).

59 Lefmann, *Franz Bopp*, 242 and 252.

60 Ludo Rocher, 'Klassieke Filologie contra Vergelijkende Taalwetenschap,' *Handboek 23e Vlaamse Filologencongres* (Brussels, 1959), 119-125.

61 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) deals with all stereotyped Western pictures of the East.

62 According to Lefmann, *Franz Bopp*, 174, Heinrich Ewald wrote this in a devastating criticism of *Die Vergleichende Grammatik* in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Juliheft (1833).

63 Lefmann, *Franz Bopp*, 245.

64 In the appendix to Reinhard Sternemann, 'Franz Bopp und die vergleichende indoeuropäische Sprachwissenschaft. Beobachtungen zum Boppschen Sprachvergleich aus Anlaß irriger Interpretationen in der linguistischen Literatur', *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33 (Innsbruck, 1984), a complete survey of Bopp's lectures can be found.

65 Kurt R. Jankowsky, 'The Renewal of the Study of Classical Languages within the University System, Notably in Germany,' in: Sylvain Auroux et al. (eds.), *History of the Language*

Sciences: an International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present 3 vols. (Berlin, 2000-2006), 1164-1181.

66 Boeckh's visionary overview of philology is: August Boeckh, *Encyclopedie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1877), note the plural!

67 Lefmann, *Franz Bopp*, 103.

68 Rüdiger vom Bruch, 'Die Stadt als Stätte der Begegnung. Gelehrte Geselligkeit im Berlin des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts', in: Horst Kant (ed.), *Fixpunkte. Wissenschaft in der Stadt und der Region. Festschrift für Hubert Laitko anlasslich seines 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1996), 1-30.

69 Lachmann, the key representative of classical philology, reportedly also had excellent social skills: Martin Herz, *Karl Lachmann. Eine Biographie* (Osnabrück, 1972 [1851]).

70 Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Le Monnier, 1963).

71 Third edition, *Deutsche Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1840).

72 The division, accompanied by a feeling of deep resemblance, continued to be problematic: Ludwig Jäger,'Philologie und Linguistik: Historische Notizen zu einem gestörten Verhältnis', in: Peter Schmitter (ed.), *Zur Theorie und Methode der Geschichtsschreibung der Linguistik: Analysen und Reflexionen* (Tübingen, 1987) 198-223, E.F.K. Koerner, 'On the Historical Roots of the Philology vs. Linguistics Controversy', in: E.F.K. Koerner, *Practising Linguistics Historiography. Selected essays* (Amsterdam, 1989), 233-244, Hiroyuki Eto, *Philologie vs. Sprachwissenschaft. Historiographie einer Begriffsbestimmung im Rahmen der Wissenschaftsgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 2003). Renate Bartsch and Theo Vennemann (eds.), *Linguistik und Nachbarwissenschaften* (Kronberg, 1973) offers a contemporary overview of the tense relations between all the disciplines and subdisciplines in language studies *and* the relevant adjacent disciplines.

73 Georg Curtius, *Die Sprachvergleichung und ihrem Verhältniss zur classischen Philologie* (Berlin, 1845) and *Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (inaugural lecture, Leipzig, 1862).

74 Highly interesting is August Schleicher, *Die Darwinische Theorie und die Sprachwissenschaft. Offenes Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. Ernst Häckel, Professor der Zoologie und Director des zoologischen Museums an der Universität Jena* (Weimar, 1863).

75 In Schleicher we can also see the 'career' that metaphors often follow. From a useful label that covers things that cannot be expressed in more exact terms, the metaphor 'exactifies' and comes to be seen as something real. Both Christina Brandt, *Metapher und Experiment: von der Virusforschung zum genetischen Code* (Göttingen, 2004) and Christina Brandt, 'Die kodifizierte Ordnung der Dinge. Zum Gebrauch von Metaphern in den Wissenschaften,' in: Matthias Michel (ed.), *Wissenschaft und Welterzählung: Die narrative Ordnung der Dinge : Fakt & Fiktion 7.0* (Zürich, 2003) provide interesting material to illustrate this phenomenon.

76 Heiner Eichner, 'Zur Frage der Gültigkeit Boppscher sprachgeschichtlicher Deutungen aus der Sicht der modernen Indogermanistik', in: Reinhard Sternemann (ed.), *Bopp Symposium 1992 der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Akten der Konferenz vom 24-3-26-3 1992 aus Anlass von Franz Bopps zweihundertjährigem Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1994) 72-90 is an example of such an analysis.

77 In Lenoir, *Instituting Science*, a broader discussion on the success factors can be found.

78 This is also noted for the early stages of genetics by Prof. Ida Stamhuis. She calls a discipline a weak structure. Especially at its inception too much pressure may break such a weak structure down. I thank her for pointing this out to me and also for references to some of the secondary material used in this paper.

79 It may be one of the reasons why musicology under Helmholtz did not become institutionalized since Helmholtz devoted his attention to a wide variety of scientific fields, as Prof. H.F. Cohen pointed out in his contribution to the conference.

80 In R.E. Kohler, *Lords of the Fly: Drosophila Genetics and the Experimental Life* (Chicago, 1994) it is argued that disciplines are not monolithic structures and that they may contain several disciplinary programmes. This might be the case in later stages of its development but at the very beginning it appears that there is no room yet for such diversity.

81 In Thomas Schlich, 'Making Mistakes in Science: Eduard Pflüger, his Scientific and Professional Concept of Physiology, and his Unsuccessful Theory of Diabetes,' *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 24-3 (1993), 411-441 such a type of debate, within the discipline of physiology, is described in detail.

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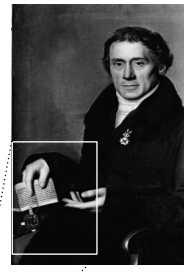
III

Writing History and Intellectual History



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Nineteenth-Century Historicism and Its Predecessors

Historical Experience, Historical Ontology and Historical Method

Jacques Bos

The term 'historicism' has a wide variety of meanings. Karl Popper used this word to denote the view that the course of history is determined by transparent general laws and that knowledge of these laws makes it possible to predict social developments.[1] Popper's determinist notion of historicism is, however, highly idiosyncratic. It is more customary to use the term 'historicism' as a label for a specific strand of historical writing that emerged in Germany in the early nineteenth century and subsequently became a leading perspective in the academic historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, primarily in Germany, but also in other countries. It should be noted, however, that the word *Historismus* was not frequently used in German until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when it gained currency in a debate on the historical relativity of values.[2] In this debate, which continued in the first decades of the twentieth century, the historicist perspective on human culture as a fundamentally historical phenomenon became connected with the idea that human values were subject to change. For intellectuals such as Ernst Troeltsch this was a reason to speak of a 'crisis of historicism'.[3]

It is disputed what exactly is involved in nineteenth-century historicism, but two core aspects could be singled out. The first is the belief in the fundamental historicity of man and culture, the idea that the essence of social and cultural phenomena lies in their history. This is the ontological dimension of historicism, which involves its fundamental assumptions about the nature of the historical process and the kind of things that matter in historical reality. The second central aspect of historicism is the conviction that the study of history should be an empirical discipline, or a *Wissenschaft* – the English term 'science' is not quite applicable here, as it has a much stronger association with the natural sciences than its German equivalent. This is the methodological core of historicism, which was elaborated in a distinctive approach to historical research centred on the ideal of objectivity and the critical analysis of sources. It should be noted, though, that method and ontology are not two strictly separated domains. On the one hand,

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ideas on historical method have an effect on the ontological construction of objects in the past. On the other hand, assumptions about the fundamental building blocks of historical reality impinge on views about the methods that should be employed in studying the past.

Research on historicism has been done from a wide variety of approaches, resulting in a broad spectre of interpretations. One of the earliest examinations of the basic ideas determining the character of historicism was undertaken by Friedrich Meinecke in the 1930s, partly in reaction to the discussions on the crisis of historicism in the previous decades.[4] Meinecke's analysis of historicism has two interconnected dimensions: he regards it as a specific mode of historical consciousness, and he points out that it is based on certain ontological assumptions concerning the entities that determine the course of history. According to Meinecke, the emergence of historicism is one of the defining moments in Western intellectual history, since it involves a new kind of historical consciousness in which man, society and culture no longer have timeless essences, but should be understood in terms of their historical development. A similar view is brought forward by Karl Mannheim, who also claims that the acknowledgement of the fundamental historicity of human affairs is the core of the historicist *Weltanschauung*.[5] Meinecke furthermore argues that historicism involves the adoption of an individualizing instead of a generalizing perspective. This is connected with the ontological notion that the historical process is shaped by individualities. These individualities can be persons, but also higher-order phenomena such as states, which are regarded as individual entities governed by unique principles.[6]

In more recent studies other aspects of nineteenth-century historicism have come to occupy a central place. A very influential point of view is Jörn Rüsen's analysis of historicism as a scientific practice that developed within a specific disciplinary matrix – or a paradigm, in Kuhnian terms. The fact that Rüsen focuses on the development of historicism as an academic discipline does not mean, however, that he is only interested in its research programmes and methodologies. The institutional and political context in which historicism emerged and developed is just as important in Rüsen's work and in that of the scholars who share his orientation.[7] A different interpretation is suggested by Wolfgang Hardtwig, who criticizes the tendency in the work of Rüsen and others to make a strict distinction between epistemology and historical ontology in the analysis of nineteenth-century historicism. By characterizing historicism as a *Geschichtsreligion* Hardtwig tries to bring these two dimensions together. In the work of historicists such as Humboldt and Ranke 'ideas' are the metaphysical heart of the historical process, where God's plan with the world becomes visible. At the same time, they are objects of knowledge, which give rise to a specific epistemology.[8] Daniel Fulda emphasizes the aesthetic dimension of historicism. In his book on the rise of

historicism he argues that the scientific historiography of the nineteenth century had its roots in the poetical theories of the late eighteenth century. What matters most, in his opinion, are the literary means by which historians create an image of the past.[9] In a recent article Fulda modifies his position by describing historicism as a 'cultural pattern', a combination of interpretative schemes and practices that acquires durability through habituation. According to Fulda, the core of the cultural pattern of historicism is 'historicization'. This term denotes the meaningful integration of individual entities, such as periods of time, actors or beliefs, into a greater whole, such as history, society or culture. By looking at historicization as a cultural practice Fulda extends its scope beyond the narrow boundaries of academic historiography.[10] This is not unlike Mannheim's notion of historicism as a worldview that is of fundamental importance in modern culture as a whole, and not just in the limited setting of academic historiography. This wider proliferation of historicism has been examined in a range of recent studies, dealing with various aspects of nineteenth-century culture.[11]

A frequently made observation in the literature on historicism is that it does not emerge in the early nineteenth century as a completely new phenomenon, but that it is rooted in previous strands of historical thought and historical writing. Meinecke, for instance, extensively discusses the antecedents of historicism in eighteenth-century philosophy, and Rüsen emphasizes that important aspects of historicism can already be observed in German academic historiography in the second half of the eighteenth century.[12] In this essay I shall argue that many central features of nineteenth-century historicism should indeed be seen as the product of earlier developments, but that the roots of historicism can be traced back further than the eighteenth century.[13] Key aspects of the historicist conception of method developed out of humanist philology and its resonances in the early modern *ars historica* tradition. Furthermore, the philological perspective on sources involved a basic mode of historical consciousness, which was deepened in the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns of the late seventeenth century and in the Enlightenment, and was eventually transformed into a more radical kind of historicization in the later eighteenth century.

In the first volume of *The Making of the Humanities* I discussed how in the Italian Renaissance Machiavelli and Guicciardini turned the past into an object of study.[14] The starting point for this essay was Frank Ankersmit's discussion of modern historical consciousness in his book *Sublime Historical Experience*. Ankersmit argues that the dramatic events that took place in Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were catalysts for the emergence of a new kind of relation to the past. Due to the wars starting with the invasion of Italy by the French in 1494 and the sack of Rome by the German emperor Charles V in 1527 authors such as Machiavelli and Guicciardini had the traumatic experience

that the old world of the Italian city-states in which they had played important roles was irretrievably lost. This is what Ankersmit calls a 'sublime dissociation of the past'. A gap between past and present comes into being, and as a result the past becomes a potential object of study. According to Ankersmit, the French Revolution caused a similar sense of loss and rupture among historians in the years around 1800 as the events in Italy did 300 years earlier.[15] In the present essay I intend to connect the emergence of historicism in the early nineteenth century with the historical revolution of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in two ways. In the first place, by showing that there are certain continuities in the field of historical method and historical thought between 1500 and 1800. In the second place, by examining whether the emergence of historicism can be meaningfully linked to Ankersmit's claim about the radical modification of historical consciousness after the French Revolution. This would mean that, despite the continuities with the previous centuries, there is also something radically new in historicism, akin to the surfacing of a new way of relating to the past in the work of Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

Historiography from humanism to historicism

The humanist historiography of the Renaissance was strongly oriented towards rhetoric. This involved in the first place an emphasis on stylistic matters and things such as the use of fictive speeches in the representation of the past. The historical writing of the humanists was also rhetorical in a different sense, drawing on the practical dimension of rhetoric as a way of dealing with ethical and political ambivalences. Seen from this perspective, past and present were a continuous space filled with immediately relevant practical problems and moral examples. The tragic historical consciousness of Machiavelli and Guicciardini broke up this continuous space; they came to see the past as an object of study that differs from the present in important ways. In their view of history human agency played a central role, causing the historical process to take dramatic turns, such as the developments they observed in Italy in their own days. This did not involve, however, a radical historicization of the world as would emerge in the years around 1800. For Machiavelli and Guicciardini, the past differs from the present, but not to the extent that it becomes so fundamentally foreign that it can only be understood in its own terms. As a consequence, they did not experience the problem of historical interpretation as intensely as nineteenth-century historians. What we do observe, however, is a certain methodological consciousness, although mainly in Guicciardini's work and far less in Machiavelli's writings.[16]

A more explicit kind of reflection on historical method comes up in the second half of the sixteenth century, when the genre of the *ars historica* rapidly gains a considerable popularity, first in Italy, but almost immediately also in other European countries. There were no classical models of treatises dealing with the rules for writing history apart from a letter by Lucian, but fragmentary observations on this theme by classical authors could also serve as a starting point for the theoretical discussions in the *artes historicae* of the Renaissance. Especially influential were Cicero's remarks that history is to be valued as *magistra vitae* and that the primary task of historians is to tell the truth and to be impartial. Cicero discussed historiography in the framework of rhetorical theory, and this perspective also dominated the early modern *artes historicae*. This meant that history was primarily seen as an instrument of moral and political education, and that narrative structure and style were central themes in the discussion of how history should be written. It could be argued that the pre-eminence of this rhetorical approach to historiography involves a return to the humanist tradition that Machiavelli and Guicciardini had began to dismantle. Yet, in many *artes historicae* – though perhaps more in later treatises written in northern Europe than in sixteenth-century Italian texts – we also find theoretical considerations of a different kind, focusing on the critical methods necessary to arrive at a true description of the past.[17]

On the one hand, these methods were embedded in the rhetorical perspective on history. They were the instruments of historical *inventio*, the ways of gathering material that would enable the historian to comply with the Ciceronian demand to give a true account of the past.[18] Another source of inspiration for the development of critical historical methods was humanist philology, which brought about a new sense of historicity ensuing from the linguistic analysis of ancient texts. Lorenzo Valla was an important figure in this development. In 1440 Valla had shown that the *Donatio Constantini* was a forgery by pointing out that the language and the style of this text precluded its being written in the fourth century. Establishing the authenticity of ancient texts and reconstructing their original versions were the central concerns of humanist philology. This involved a view of texts and language that was fundamentally historical, in the sense that texts were seen as the products of specific periods, characterized by specific modes of writing. Seen from a philological perspective, the past was not primarily an unproblematic source of moral and political examples, as in the rhetorical tradition, but rather a terrain that differed from the present in important ways and that could only be accessed through meticulous critical work. Thus, the deployment of philological methods gave rise to a more historical view of the world involving an awareness of the context dependency of human thoughts and actions.[19]

The influence of the philological approach on the genre of the *ars historica* is very clearly visible in the writings of the French scholars François Baudouin (1520-1573) and Jean Bodin (1530-1596). Both were trained as lawyers, and characteristic of their *artes historicae* is that the study of history is discussed in conjunction with the study of the law, which they regarded as a historically variable phenomenon. In his *Institutio historiae universae* (1561) Baudouin dutifully repeats the Ciceronian stock phrases of the rhetorical theory of history, but in reality he is interested in other matters. A central concern of his treatise is the methodology of historical investigation, explored in extensive discussions of the ways in which historians are to handle their sources. Eyewitness accounts and accounts by later historians are assessed, and in an explicit comparison of the value of primary and secondary sources Baudouin argues that historians should always turn to the former.[20] Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566) is probably the best known treatise in the *ars historica* tradition, in the sixteenth century as well as in the modern period. Bodin attempts to turn the philological criticism of sources, elaborated by Baudouin and others, into a more or less formalized historical methodology, resembling the efforts of Petrus Ramus to build a structured framework for the organization of knowledge. In Bodin's *Methodus* the emphasis on the writing of historical treatises of the early *artes historicae* is replaced by a focus on reading and critically assessing historical material. His theoretical ambitions are higher than those of his predecessors, which is visible in, for instance, his efforts to relate the historical development of a people to its national character – in Bodin's opinion mainly determined by geographical factors, but also susceptible to the effects of cultural habituation.[21]

In his *Discours de la méthode* Descartes expresses strong doubts about the value of historical knowledge. He argues that people who are too much involved with history tend to know next to nothing of the present. Furthermore, even the best historical works are necessarily perspectival. As a consequence, Descartes considers the traditional view that the study of the past is a source of examples for the present to be untenable.[22] This kind of scepticism about historical knowledge was an important challenge for historical theorists, who tried to meet this challenge by looking at historical writing in terms of the methods needed to arrive at reliable knowledge of the past.[23] This happened in the genre of the *ars historica*, but a more significant turn towards methodical research can be found in the fields that would later be called the auxiliary sciences of history – chronology, diplomatics, palaeography, genealogy and other disciplines. Important contributions to chronology were already made around 1600 by Joseph Scaliger, who used philological methods to question received views about the dating of events in ancient and biblical history.[24] A landmark in the development of historical methods at the end of the seventeenth century was the publication of *De re diplomatica* in 1681 by the

French Benedictine monk Jean Mabillon. This book, which continued to be used by historians until the nineteenth century, provided an overview of the ways of examining the origin and authenticity of medieval manuscripts, extracting clues from things such as the material on which the document in question was written, the type of handwriting and the linguistic characteristics of the text.[25]

Mabillon's work on medieval documents coincided with a rise of interest in medieval matters in France, connected with the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. In this dispute a new perspective on the past emerged that broke away from the humanist assumption that classical models could be unproblematically imitated in later periods. The position of the Moderns involved the idea that the literary and artistic norms of the ancient world were not necessarily applicable in the cultural context of the present. The present, in other words, is fundamentally different from the past. Here, we already find the traces of one of the core notions of the Enlightenment: the view that the historical process was characterized by progress, culminating in the rational outlook of the modern age.[26] Medievalism is not something that we would normally associate with the position of the Moderns in the Quarrel or with the Enlightenment, but in fact it is based on the same reorientation towards history. The humanists of the Renaissance regarded the Middle Ages as culturally inferior in comparison with both classical antiquity and their own age. In the late seventeenth century, however, some authors began to defend the view that the Middle Ages should be regarded as a historical period in its own right, with cultural standards that could not simply be discarded in the light of classical norms. As a consequence, in the eighteenth century the Middle Ages became an object of intensive research, informed by the view of the Moderns that the literary and artistic models of classical antiquity were products of a specific time and therefore not universally applicable.[27]

The notions of progress and modernity played a crucial role in the historiography of the Enlightenment, especially in its French and Scottish versions. Authors such as Voltaire, Turgot and Ferguson described the historical process as a continuous increase of rationality and knowledge, culminating in the Enlightened culture of their own days. The mode of historical consciousness lying behind this historiographical approach has its roots in the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, and assumes that various periods in history have their own character, but can nevertheless be critically assessed from the advanced perspective of the present. Not unlike the historical writing of the Renaissance, Enlightenment historiography primarily has a pragmatic and didactic aim. It could be characterized as 'philosophical history', which means that historical writing is primarily seen as a critical analysis of society and culture. In comparison with earlier forms of historical writing the scope of Enlightenment historiography is significantly broader: it is not limited to political or religious history, but also covers areas

such as customs, social relations and modes of production – fields that we would nowadays regard as the objects of social and cultural history. Another important aspect of Enlightenment historiography is its emphasis on wide-ranging causal explanations and general patterns. Furthermore, it intends to be universal, in the sense that it expands the spatio-temporal horizon of historiography beyond the boundaries of biblical chronology and the world of Europe and the Mediterranean.[28] By engaging history in this particular way the Enlightenment inaugurated a new conception of time, or a new 'regime of historicity', in which the past could no longer serve as a source of examples for the present but came to be seen in the light of the privileged condition of the present and the even more magnificent future.[29]

It is sometimes argued that the historians of the Enlightenment were only interested in theoretical and philosophical generalizations and neglected the methodical examination of sources. When we take a closer look at the historical works produced in the Enlightenment, this view seems to be rather biased, possibly as an effect of the negative stance towards Enlightenment historiography that was part of the self-definition of nineteenth-century historicism. The critical analysis of sources is a crucial element in the work of most Enlightenment historians. Especially in Germany, the Enlightened perspective on the past was strongly entangled with the tradition of historical research that had developed on the basis of philological methods in the previous centuries. In contrast with the situation in other European countries, where historians tended to be private scholars, in Germany historiography was primarily practised at the universities. In the course of the eighteenth century, the University of Göttingen, founded in the 1730s, became the centre of a highly developed historiographical practice that combined the new sense of historicity of the Enlightenment with a thorough methodological orientation. A key figure in the Göttingen school was Johann Christoph Gatterer, professor of history in the second half of the eighteenth century. Gatterer systematically instructed his students in the methods of historical research, and made important contributions to the development of the auxiliary disciplines of history, such as diplomatics and genealogy. We also find a certain hermeneutical consciousness in his work, visible in the way he tried to take account of the point of view of the historian in his theorizing about historical research and historical writing. At the same time, he shared the Enlightened preference for a broad cultural history in which causal explanations played a central role. Gatterer also played an important role in the institutionalization of academic historiography, by initiating the publication of historical journals and by establishing a historical institute at the University of Göttingen.[30]

Historicism, individuality and the modern regime of historicity

It could be argued that in late eighteenth-century Göttingen history was already established as an academic discipline. It was institutionalized in an academic school, in chairs and in journals, and it had a clear set of empirical methods, developed in the course of three centuries. Therefore, the view that history only became a discipline with the emergence of historicism in the early nineteenth century does not seem to be justified, although it could be argued that the development of institutions and methods in the field of history greatly accelerated after 1800. The academic and cultural prominence of history in the nineteenth century was significantly greater than in the centuries before, but a renewal in the field of methods and institutions does not seem to be the crucial explanatory factor in this matter. A broader cultural modification and intensification of historical consciousness, connected with the rise of the nation state, is more likely to be the cause of this increase in the status of historiography.[31]

In the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns the view emerged that each period in history has its own specific character. This view shaped the perspective on the past of the Enlightenment, but not to the extent that it was deemed impossible to express normative judgements about earlier periods in history. A deepened historical consciousness that also embraces a sense of moral relativity can be found in the work of Johann Gottfried Herder, who is often seen as an important philosophical precursor of historicism.[32] In *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774) Herder polemically rejects the idea that history is a trajectory of progress to be measured against a universal standard of rationality. In his opinion, each historical period can only be judged in its own terms. The central entities in Herder's view of history are nations, which have their own organic principles of development that cannot be subsumed under a global pattern, as was claimed by the leading historians of the Enlightenment.[33] It should be noted, though, that these historicist elements in Herder's thought are balanced by more Enlightened views, such as an emphasis on a universal humanity and a cosmopolitan orientation.[34]

Frank Ankersmit argues that the Renaissance and the French Revolution were the two crucial moments in the development of historical consciousness in Europe. In the Renaissance Machiavelli and Guicciardini experienced a tragic sense of loss due to the dramatic events in Italy in their days, which made them see the past as an object of research dissociated from the present. Without exception nineteenth-century historians regarded the French Revolution as a major rupture in the course of history. Ranke, for instance, speaks of the Revolution as the 'weltbeherrschende Ereignis unsers Jahrhunderts', inaugurating a modern period that is totally different from the past.[35] The political impact that the French Revolu-

tion had on Germany is usually regarded as an important factor in the emergence of historicism. Iggers argues that the events between 1789 and 1815 shattered the Enlightened belief in universal values and transformed the cultural and cosmopolitan nationalism of the late eighteenth century into a political nationalism that had the state as its focal point.[36] To the German historians of the nineteenth century the world of the *ancien régime* was irreversibly lost, though without the tragic sense of personal culpability felt by Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

Historicism can be seen as a way of making sense of this loss by choosing a new way to turn the past into an object of research. This does not mean that older ideas about historicity and historical method were totally abandoned. In fact, the innovative character of historicism is not primarily situated in these domains, but in the realm of historical ontology. At the core of the historicist perspective on the past was a dual notion of individuality that made it possible to think of history as on the one hand a process shaped by intentional actions of individual people and on the other hand a coherent whole structured by the development of higher-order individualities, which nineteenth-century historicists almost exclusively identified with nation states. This dual notion of individuality was closely connected with what François Hartog calls the 'modern regime of historicity'. In this new perspective on historical time the present and the future became the point of orientation from which the past was to be understood. This means that the past was no longer seen as a source of examples for the present; instead, past events acquired a meaning by connecting them with the present situation and possible future stages of development of the historical process. To a certain extent, the modern regime of historicity already started to emerge in the Enlightenment. Historicism gave a different shape to the modern regime of historicity by postulating individual entities in the historical process that were conceived as developing from an origin to an inherent *telos*.[37] Usually, this involved studying the history of a nation state in the light of a conception of its full development. This historical ontology made it possible to overcome the experience of rupture brought about by the French Revolution without recurring to things as the universal notion of rationality of the Enlightenment or Hegel's overarching historical teleology – what mattered was the continuity between origin and *telos* of the individualities in the historical process. Concurrently, historical time became populated with objects of an inherently historical nature that could be turned into objects of historical research.

Wilhelm von Humboldt was not a practising historian, but he was nevertheless one of the main theorists of historicism in the early nineteenth century. Two short texts by Humboldt, 'Betrachtungen über die Weltgeschichte' (1814) and 'Über die Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibers' (1821), contain an early and influential formulation of the dual notion of individuality characteristic of historicism.

Humboldt rejects Hegel's teleological philosophy of history, because it eventually reduces the richness of individual phenomena to the abstract end of the historical process. This does not mean, however, that he does not see any coherence in history, but this coherence is not a matter of rational teleology, but of organic development. In their study of the past historians should focus on individual people and individual nations. In Humboldt's opinion, each person and each nation has a unique organic principle of development, but people and nations are also organically connected, like leaves are connected to trees. These organic connections constrict historical developments and explain their coherence, but just as in nature the interplay of forces can result in unexpected novelties.[38]

According to Humboldt, individualities such as persons and nations should be understood as manifestations of ideas. He distinguishes three layers in the historical process: first of all there are events, these events are caused by physical and psychological forces, and these forces get their direction from certain ideas that are not immediately visible. These ideas are the immaterial and timeless factors behind the dynamics of history and manifest themselves primarily in individualities such as persons and nations. Historians should in the first place describe what happened in the past on the basis of critical and methodical research. Humboldt argues, however, that a mere description of events is not all that there is to historical writing. In addition, historians should try to understand the ideas behind the historical process that shape its course. For the understanding of ideas Humboldt uses the term *ahnden*, which indicates that ideas are to be grasped intuitively rather than analyzed rationally.[39] Humboldt remarks that in this respect the activity of the historian bears some resemblance to that of the poet, but more important is that with his notion of *ahnden* he proposes a method of historical interpretation that anticipates the more elaborated methodologies of authors such as Johann Gustav Droysen.[40]

In the preface to his first major work, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker* (1824), Leopold von Ranke argues that it is the task of the historian to show 'wie es eigentlich gewesen'.[41] With this statement Ranke rejects both the explicitly moralizing style of the Enlightenment and the abstract speculation of Hegelian philosophy of history. It does not imply, as is often claimed, that Ranke proposes a kind of historiography that merely consists of empirical descriptions of past states of affairs. With the word *eigentlich* Ranke also points to the essence of the past, and not just to the reality of observable facts.[42] Particular events play an important role in Ranke's historical work, but describing them is not a goal in itself. In a debate with the Hegelian historian Heinrich Leo on the *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker* he defends his emphasis on particular events as a more effective route to discover essential truths about the past than speculative philosophy.[43]

Just as Humboldt, Ranke understands the essence of the past in terms of a dual notion of individuality, although in a way that is more implicit and more open to various interpretations. According to Ranke the historical process is shaped by different kinds of individualities, persons and states in particular. These individualities should be regarded as embodiments of ideas. It is not quite clear, though, how Ranke conceives the relation between individualities of different levels. Meinecke argues that states, conceived as higher-order individualities, are the primary entities in Ranke's historical ontology. This means that the actions of individual people are eventually shaped by the inner principles governing the development of the state to which they belong.[44] Yet, at various places in his work Ranke also describes cases in which free choices by individual persons are decisive factors in the course of the historical process, without relating these choices to the ideas embodied in individualities of a higher order.[45]

Ranke's writings contain many paradoxes, but it could be the case that it is exactly the paradoxical nature of his work that explains its appeal to its nineteenth-century audience as an exemplary way of dealing with historical reality. Ranke claimed that his approach to the past was radically new, but, as Anthony Grafton has shown, the source criticism that he regards as a fundamental innovation is actually indebted to a much older philological tradition. What was without precedent, though, was Ranke's ability 'to bring the flavour and the texture of the documents into his own text'.[46] Ranke claims to be objective, but it is not obvious what he means by that.[47] Impartiality is definitely part of Ranke's notion of objectivity, but it should be noted that Cicero already regarded impartiality as one of the key virtues of the historian. On the one hand, Ranke's notion of objectivity seems to imply a strictly empirical orientation towards sources and particular events, but on the other hand, there is undeniably a strong metaphysical dimension in his work. In the end, Ranke believes that the course of history is determined by God, but this belief evokes new tensions, for instance between necessity and freedom and between universality and particularity.[48] Ranke's dual notion of individuality is his way of addressing these tensions. This ontological assumption enables him to turn the past into an object of historical research.

Johann Gustav Droysen is the principal methodologist of nineteenth-century historicism. Partly in reaction to the rise of positivism in historical studies he develops an elaborate theory of historical interpretation. Droysen strongly opposes the positivist ideal of lawlike explanation; instead, he describes the task of historiography as 'forschend zu verstehen'.[49] According to Droysen, historical research consists of *Heuristik* and *Kritik* – the methods of finding sources and of critically assessing their value. His views on these matters do not entail a total departure from the philologically oriented tradition that also informs the work of other nineteenth-century historicists. Droysen's views of interpretation, however,

can be seen as a major advance in historical methodology. Where earlier authors spoke of an intuitive process of *ahnden*, Droysen develops a systematic model of the various operations involved in historical interpretation. Droysen calls the first of these operations pragmatic interpretation, by which he means the reconstruction of past events on the basis of the sources available to the historian. The interpretation of conditions establishes a connection between events and the circumstances in which they took place, such as the geographical setting or the mentality of a certain period. Psychological interpretation uncovers the intentions of the individual historical actors who initiate a particular course of events. The fourth modality of interpretation is the interpretation of the ideas behind the *sittliche Mächte* playing a role in the historical process. With the term *sittliche Mächte* Droysen refers to things that we would now call institutions, such as the family, the state and the law. Each of these *sittliche Mächte* is the expression of an idea that determines the collective action of a group of individuals.[50]

Droysen's methodology of historical research evidently depends on the dual notion of individuality characteristic of historicism, but it also reinforces this notion and makes it more precise. Here we see, perhaps much more clearly than in the work of Humboldt and Ranke, how ontology and methodology are mutually interdependent. What the past is like and how it should be studied are questions that in the end cannot be answered separately. Droysen's systematic outline of the process of historical interpretation seems to suggest that it would be possible to eliminate the metaphysical dimension from historical research. Nevertheless, Droysen holds the view that knowledge of the historical process is only meaningful in relation to a comprehension of God's intentions with the world. Just as in the case of Ranke and other historicists, Droysen's metaphysics has an important religious component.[51] Yet, we might abstract from this aspect of nineteenth-century historicism, and still maintain that ontology and method are two dimensions of a research practice that cannot be separated. As I have tried to show in this essay, working in an academic discipline does not only involve devising a set of methods, but also creating an object.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century historicism is a complicated phenomenon that has been approached from a multitude of angles. In this essay I have analyzed historicism as a complex of ideas about historical ontology and historical method fed by a specific kind of historical experience. In the work of Machiavelli and Guicciardini the tragic sense of loss caused by the dramatic events occurring in Italy around 1500 is clearly visible. In the writings of the historicists of the early nineteenth century we do not

directly observe a similar dissociation of the past in the wake of the no less dramatic events of the French Revolution. Ankersmit's thesis about the role of such dissociations in the development of historical consciousness seems to be more compelling in the case of Renaissance Italy than in the case of the French Revolution.

Yet, the French Revolution does play a role in the emergence of historicism, although in a more hidden and less personally relevant way. In fact, nineteenth-century historicism could be interpreted as an effort to overcome the gap in the historical process caused by the Revolution by positing individualities that develop towards an inherent *telos*. As a consequence, the past got populated with all kinds of individualities satiated with reality that could become the object of historical research. Often, historicism is seen as the breeding ground of historical methodology. Yet, as we have seen, most research methods used by nineteenth-century historicists already existed in the context of early modern philology and historical theory. The truly innovative aspect of historicism is its ontology. Its dual notion of individuality entailed a conception of historical reality that made it possible to see both the coherence of the historical process and the irreducible uniqueness of particular events. Michel Foucault developed a related argument in *Les mots et les choses*, although in more general terms and saying almost nothing about the field of historiography. At the heart of Foucault's analysis is the claim that in the years around 1800 a substantial ontological shift took place, resulting in a perception of the world as fundamentally historical.[52]

Historicism rapidly acquired a dominant position in nineteenth-century academic historiography, and deeply influenced the other disciplines of the humanities as well. In fact, it could be argued that the entire domain of the humanities in the nineteenth century largely adopted a historicist approach. This involved a rearrangement of earlier hierarchical relations between the various disciplines of the humanities. As we have seen, in the early modern period history turned to philology in order to define its methods. In the nineteenth century, however, other disciplines turned to history, and the use of historical methods became a defining trait of the humanities as a whole. Behind this development lay a fundamental ontological reorientation. The world was not merely examined from a historical perspective, reality had become a space populated by individualities with an essentially historical character.

Notes

1 Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957).

2 Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Die Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus: Bemerkungen zum Standort der Geschichtsforschung,' *Historische Zeitschrift* 238 (1984),

17-55; Georg G. Iggers, 'Historicism: The History and Meaning of the Term,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995), 129-152.

3 Ernst Troeltsch, 'Die Krisis des Historismus,' *Die neue Rundschau* 33 (1922), 572-590; idem, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1922). For modern discussions of the crisis of historicism, see Annette Wittkau, *Historismus: zur Geschichte des Begriffs und des Problems* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992) and Charles R. Bambach, *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

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Fact and Fancy in Nineteenth-Century Historiography and Fiction
The Case of Macaulay and Roidis

Foteini Lika

Every 'zone of contact',[1] in Bakhtin's terms, is a grey territory open to the interplay of a variety of genres and forms of discourse. The understanding and representation of reality has been a zone between the competing disciplines of historiography and fiction. As a result, the defining space between the two has been slippery. As Angela Keane and many others before her have observed, this ambivalence about the limits and domains of these two disciplines was mirrored in the crisis about historical representation in the early nineteenth century, when the 'Romantic models of literary production [...] disturbed this always fragile equilibrium and produced an ethical and representational dilemma for historiographers'.[2] In order to investigate deeper into this intricate relationship during the making of the humanities in the nineteenth century, I examine the work of two contemporary writers: the English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay and the Modern Greek novelist Emmanouil Roidis. My choice is not random because both writers experimented with the uses of fiction in history and with the possibilities of interweaving narrative order with historical fact. On the one hand, Macaulay, with his *History of England* (1848-1861), wanted to give to history those attractions which had been usurped by fiction and wished to supersede 'the last fashionable novel on the tables of young ladies'.[3] On the other hand, Roidis, in his *Pope Joan* (1866),[4] an alleged 'medieval study' that examined the story of the purported she-Pope who ruled Christendom in the middle of the ninth century, ingeniously combined history and legend, as well as brilliant wit, only to unmask the illusion of verisimilitude on which realist fiction is based.[5] Bearing this in mind, it comes as no surprise that Macaulay's work aroused Roidis' interest to such an extent that he undertook the prodigious task of translating it into Greek.[6] When Roidis' translation of Macaulay's *History* was published in 1898, thirty-two years separated the writing of this translation's preface from his *Pope Joan*. Some of Macaulay's views on the writing of history, as distilled in Roidis' preface of the

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work, bear a striking resemblance to the ideas that Roidis, many years earlier, had himself expounded in the preface and the introduction to his *Pope Joan*.[7] This is to be expected given that Roidis is the author of both texts, but even so, a comparative examination can be quite revealing of the ways he blurred the boundaries between history and fiction.

First, let us examine how Roidis perceived Macaulay's history writing and which of the work's features he adumbrated in his translation preface. Taking the work's popularity as a starting point, Roidis judges Macaulay as an excellent craftsman, owing to the way he managed to blend history with other realms of human interest. In particular, Macaulay is praised because:

> he managed to mix into his narration of historical events and political matters artistic descriptions of places, morals and customs, diverse anecdotes, the finest psychological studies and precise information on almost every thing thus successfully proving to be not only a historian but also a man of politics, an economist, a scholar, a moralist, a statistician and a jurist.[8]

This notion of the historian as a multi-scientist or a *homo universalis* is not far from Macaulay's own idea about the ideal historian. In his essay entitled 'History' which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1828 and was ostensibly a review of *The Romance of History* by Henry Neele,[9] he propounds his own view on historiography:

> The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no fact, he attributes no expression to his characters, which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. But by judicious selection, rejection, and arrangement, he gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction. [...] He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant for his notice, which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind.[10]

This particular viewpoint is not far from what Roidis himself had in mind when it first occurred to him to write down the curious story of the female Pope. In particular he admits: 'Initially having as my purpose [...] the faithful and precise illustration of ninth-century religion, morals and customs, I made Joan the core of my narrative, because her life was the most curious episode of that era'.[11]

Furthermore, Macaulay's preoccupation with wide-ranging projects distinguishes him from contemporary historians, and even though many English historians had attempted to write the history of their country before him, his is peer-

less – according to Roidis – because of its encyclopaedic character: 'Many other English historians attempted to write a similar encyclopaedic history of their country before he did, but none of them succeeded in creating a narrative whole out of the varied material, because they treated the political, moral, intellectual and social matters of the country in different chapters'.[12]

This concept of the encyclopaedia is of crucial importance to our understanding of Roidis' theoretical repertoire, since it is recurrent in his work and, more importantly, since he drew on it to classify his *Pope Joan*:

> As soon as I started writing, I immediately realised how dry and unpleasant the plain historical narration of Joan's story would be for most readers, the majority of whom are ignorant of her existence. For this reason, I kept this part of the story for the introduction and made a narrative encyclopaedia of the middle ages, and the ninth century in particular, out of the rest of the book.[13]

Next in line in Roidis' account of Macaulay's history comes the praise for the historian's descriptive faculties: 'Before the narration of the illustrious deeds of the Scottish Highlanders comes an exceptionally vivid description not only of the country but also of the garb, diet and psychological disposition of this belligerent Celtic race'.[14]

In this respect, the following extract from the *History of England* is an excellent example of Macaulay's descriptive artistry:

> There could not be equality between men who lived in houses and men who lived in sties, between men who were fed on bread and men who were fed on potatoes, between men who spoke the noble tongue of great philosophers and poets, and men who, with a perverted pride, boasted that they could not writhe their mouths into chattering such a jargon as that in which the Advancement of Learning and the Paradise Lost were written.[15]

This passage makes palpable the differences between the English and the Irish by focusing on details, or what Macaulay himself called 'the minute touches'.[16] It also demonstrates his predilection for a 'chequered narrative', a mode of writing that suited his conception of the past as an alternation of light and shade.[17]

This penetrating aspect of the historian's art is once more highlighted by Macaulay in his *History*, in which he preached the necessity for a 'total' view of the past, for a historiographical model that would combine political history with social anthropology and topography:

> Readers who take an interest in the progress of civilisation and of the useful arts will be grateful to the humble topographer who has recorded these facts, and will perhaps wish that historians of far higher pretensions had sometimes spared a few pages from military evolutions and political intrigues, for the purpose of letting us know how the parlours and bedchambers of our ancestors looked.[18]

Macaulay had previously communicated this view in his essay on 'History', where he specified those cultural aspects of past reality which should become objects of historical study:

> To make the past present, to bring the distant near, [...] to call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb, to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, to explain the uses of their ponderous furniture, these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian have been appropriated by the historical novelist.[19]

Needless to say, the historical novelist Macaulay referred to in this case is Sir Walter Scott, as the next extract makes plain:

> Sir Walter Scott, in the same manner, has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them, in a manner which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs. But a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which the novelist has appropriated.[20]

Roidis, following in the footsteps of Scott and Macaulay, adopted an identical practice regarding the depiction of long gone eras and manners, as he explains in the preface of his *Pope Joan*:

> thus I took as a token from each one of those volumes doomed to eternal oblivion extracts describing obsolete customs, weird beliefs, vulgar superstitions, remnants of paganism and anything else that eluded the attention of modern historians, who, dabbling in general theories, do not have time nor space for such details, and they do not aspire to anything other than the justification of history through the aims and leanings of the political party they belong to.[21]

To return to Macaulay, a brief illustration of what he might have meant when conveying his notions on historiography can be found in the next extract taken from the well-known third chapter of his *History*, on the 'State of England in 1685', in which he fleshes out the image of the average squire of the seventeenth century:

> He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcomed to it.[22]

Roidis also ventured a similar intrusion into the medieval bedchamber, but whereas Macaulay supplemented the picture from his recollection of historical sources and his imagination,[23] he raided his collection of available historical material for the picturesque details:

> When the festival ended I was led by the Emperor himself to the finest bedchamber of the palace, giving onto the [garden] by a glass door. Awakening in the middle of the night, I opened this door in order to lessen the odour of the aloe and myrrh which Charles's sisters had sprinkled about the room to honour me.[24]

More specifically, in the relevant endnote he explains that during the Middle Ages rich people burned Arabic balsam in silver lamps instead of oil,[25] and we in turn can see that – even though he kept the gist of the original in his narrative – he slightly altered the source text in the endnotes, substituting the form 'erigatur' (erigo: raise, erect) occurring in the original by 'ungatur' (ungo: smear, dab): 'Arabumque messe pinguis, Petat alta tecta fumus. Veniente nocte necnon, Numerosus erigatur, Laquearibus coruscis, Camera[e] in superna lychnus'.[26] In this way, it becomes evident that both writers took liberties in their work, but whereas Macaulay posed few limits to his artistic licence, Roidis' account was triggered by and closely followed his readings. The perfumed atmosphere in the chamber had already been created by Sidonius, all Roidis did was open the door to let some fresh air in. His creative contribution, in other words, consisted in the successful perusal of a vast corpus of medieval literature and in the seamless weaving of his findings into his own text. As can be expected, Roidis' critical theory on imagination did not differ much from his historiographical practice. When it came to the uses of memory and imagination, whether in historiography or fiction, his views were quite radical. In his aphoristic essay on 'Why modern

Greece does not have literature' (1900), he stated that 'there is not an essential difference between reminiscence and imagination' and claimed that 'it is an obvious misuse to talk about the creative power of an author, when in fact he never actually creates anything, but only feels, remembers and combines'.[27] As we have seen, Macaulay also employed his selective and combinatory logic while at work and the resulting description was more picturesque than Roidis' was. In this sense the historian proved to be more liberal than the novelist.

It is worth mentioning though, that this whole emphasis on imagination was not a personal whim of Roidis but was completely consistent with needs presented in the early nineteenth century. As Mark Phillips noted, during that period 'Romantic theories of the artistic imagination and the growing prestige of the novel, particularly the historical novel, posed a direct challenge to the traditional forms of historical narrative and understanding'.[28] Leopold von Ranke, in particular, related in his autobiography that, after reading Scott's *Quentin Durward*, he 'took the resolution to avoid, in [his] works, all imagination and all invention and to restrict [himself] severely to the facts'.[29] This very anxiety to establish the distinction between anything invented and anything based on fact is in itself proof of Ranke's desire to repress the rhetorical status of historical writing.[30] As can be easily surmised, the path represented by Ranke – this new more scientific and objective mimesis as opposed to the one offered by the eighteenth-century historians, which was at the same time truthful, instructing and pleasing – was not the only direction for nineteenth-century historiography. Macaulay, as we have already seen in his descriptions, took it for granted that: 'A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque'.[31] Macaulay's aspiration that history should appeal to the imagination was a defence of the eighteenth-century perception of the historical narrative as both instructive and pleasing and at the same time an intimation of a new sense of history in which imagination would take a central place.[32]

This was – broadly speaking – equally true of Scott, although he allowed his imagination more liberty only when he thought that it would not seriously compromise his historical research.[33] This perfect symmetry made Scott extremely successful as a historical novelist and therefore quite daunting for Macaulay as a popularity-craving historian: 'Sir Walter Scott [...] united to the fire of a great poet the minute curiosity and patient diligence of a great antiquary'.[34] Such was Macaulay's faith in Scott's meticulousness and effectiveness as a researcher that he admitted in a footnote: 'It is said that the D. of Y. was reminded of the duty which he owed to his brother by P. M. A. C. F. I must own myself quite unable to decipher the last five letters. It is some consolation that Sir Walter Scott was equally unsuccessful'.[35]

What is more, this was not the only time that Scott figured prominently in Macaulay's history. Apart from being an implicit point of constant comparison he is also a reliable point of reference. For instance, Macaulay more than once cites Scott as the primary source of his narration:

> The whole clan met under the roof of an ancient church. Every one in turn laid his hand on the dead man's scalp, and vowed to defend the slayers. [Footnote:] Proclamation of the Privy Council of Scotland, Feb. 4, 1589. I give this reference on the authority of Sir Walter Scott. See the preface to the Legend of Montrose.[36]

Given that Macaulay's research consisted chiefly of readings, heavily literary in nature, because they brought the lives and times of the past vividly before his imagination,[37] it is not surprising that he consulted other novelists as well. Apart from Scott, Swift and Sterne are also among the authorities he invokes, and so does Roidis in his *Pope Joan*, albeit for different (mostly satirical) reasons. More specifically, Swift's *Journal to Stella* provides Macaulay with crucial information on the characterization of Princess Anne,[38] and *Gulliver's Travels* supports a statement he wishes to make about William the Third's custom of counting the English population by sects.[39]

On the other hand, Sterne, and his *Tristram Shandy* in particular, assisted Macaulay in presenting the history from below or the 'under current'[40] – as he himself phrased it in his essay on 'History' – as it was illustrated by ballads, popular sayings and political tracts.[41] In addition, Sterne proved to be a valuable authority regarding everyday matters of life and death in the army. Therefore, where other historians offered charts or tables as supporting evidence, Macaulay offered as an authenticating footnote a ready-made and clearly delineated character, Corporal Trim himself:

> The reader will remember Corporal Trim's explanation of radical heat and radical moisture. Sterne is an authority not to be despised on these subjects. His boyhood was passed in barracks; he was constantly listening to the talk of old soldiers who had served under King William, and has used their stories like a man of true genius.[42]

This cavalier and casual way of citing authorities was not unknown to Roidis. He too 'mixes heterogeneous things in the same sentence, referring to writers of fiction along with writers of history, fictional characters and historical personages'.[43] More specifically, when he wants to describe the festival at St. Angeles monastery that Joan and Frumentius attended, he parallels it with the ancient festival of

Parilia (Παλήλια) held in honour of the deity Pales. For this reason, his dialogue with the work of three Latin elegiac poets – Tibullus (*Elegies*), Ovid (*Fasti*) and Propertius (*Elegies*) – seems almost natural. In this way, not only does he deploy literary sources in his depiction of the Christian customs of the Middle Ages, but he also – by a clever subterfuge – ends up describing the pagan customs of Ancient Rome instead.[44]

Nevertheless, Macaulay did not restrict himself to citing literary sources but also thought of his history as a form of fiction/romance, as the next extract shows:

> With a person of my turn [...] the minute touches are of as great interest and perhaps greater, than the most important events. [...] Precision in dates, the day or hour in which a man was born or died, becomes absolutely necessary. A slight fact, a sentence, a word, are of importance in my romance.[45]

This was not only his own opinion but also what contemporary critics thought of his work. Hence in order to fully grasp Macaulay's innovation, we have to ascertain what he meant by using the term 'romance'. Romance in Macaulay's work had a threefold meaning. The first two uses of the word coincide with the meanings that the word 'fiction' has today: a) it meant something utterly invented/fictitious and b) it denoted a type of literature that describes imaginary people and events. The first meaning is at use in the next extract: 'Among the upper and middle classes Gates had scarcely a friend left. All intelligent Whigs were now convinced that, even if his narrative had some foundation in fact, he had erected on that foundation a vast superstructure of romance'.[46] The second meaning, that of fictional literature, is used in the following extract:

> [Lord Mordaunt's] life was a wild romance made up of mysterious intrigues, both political and amorous, of violent and rapid changes of scene and fortune, and of victories resembling those of Amadis and Launcelot rather than those of Luxemburg and Eugene.[47]

Furthermore, in the last example we can see how the third meaning of the word – that of an amorous relationship – gets intertwined with the second in Macaulay's work: Lord Mordaunt's life becomes a fictional tale of amorous exploits like those of Lancelot and Amadis.[48]

Roidis on the other hand, who wrote a story on the amorous exploits of a mythic Popess, was adamant that he was writing a history and not a romance. Even the love letter that Frumentius wrote to Joan while they were together at the monastery of Fulda was not a product of love and affection of a romantic soul,

but a pastiche of paraphrased biblical sources (*Psalms*, *Song of Songs*, *Jeremiah* and *Isaiah*), as the relevant footnotes in the text explicitly clarify:

> As the hart panteth after the water-brooks so panteth my soul after thee, my sister. [...] The hungry dream of bread but I saw thee asleep, Joanna, yet waking found thee not. Going up then to my black ass I approached thy holy tabernacle. By the grave of St Bona I wait thee. Come, my love, chosen of the sun, come with thy rays overshadowing the moon.[49]

What is more, Roidis vindicated this unorthodox epistolary practice by following a 'historical' argumentation: it was customary among lovers of those times to copy the *Psalms* and the Prophets in their letters, therefore were his account to be historically accurate, not only was he justified to follow the same practice but also bound to do so.

Consequently, if we are to take both Macaulay's and Roidis' generic characterizations at face value, we face a paradox: in the context of the mid-nineteenth century a novelist professed that he wrote a history and a historian claimed that he wrote a romance/novel. Faced with a paradox like this, every reasonable investigator would naturally wonder: 'Which, if any, of these claims are true?' The concept of truth as an extrinsic criterion is what actually differentiates the two approaches, or in the words of Macaulay himself:

> The talent which is required to write history thus bears a considerable affinity to the talent of a great dramatist. There is one obvious distinction. The dramatist creates, the historian only disposes. The difference is not in the mode of execution, but in the mode of conception. Shak[e]speare is guided by a model which exists in his imagination; Tacitus, by a model furnished from without.[50]

In this sense, true stories and fictional stories differ not only in their extrinsic relationship to the real world but in their intrinsic imaginative structure, which invites and requires the assumption of factuality or fictionality.[51] During the nineteenth century this intrinsic structure became blurred, but the extrinsic criterion remained intact and kept the boundaries between factual and fictional narrative constructions.[52]

To recapitulate briefly, we have seen so far that Macaulay's interest was primarily in the descriptive and engaging manner in which a historical work is written.[53] In view of this, it is no wonder that the mature Macaulay defined his historical method along these lines:

> I try to get as fast as I can over what is dull, and I dwell as long as I can on what can be made picturesque and dramatic. I believe this to be the most instructive, as well as the most popular way to write history.[54]

Moreover, the instructive character of Macaulay's history did not allow room for misunderstandings. According to his precepts, the historian's style ought to be clear-cut and unambiguous and this preference is manifest in Macaulay's disapproval of Gibbon's ironic style: 'We have also here and there remarked a little of that unpleasant trick which Gibbon brought into fashion – the trick, we mean, of narrating by implication and allusion'.[55]

Notwithstanding Macaulay's overt distaste for Gibbon's ironical techniques, in his translation preface Roidis seems to agree with Taine, who is able to discern a latent enlightening streak, an eighteenth-century ring, in Macaulay's approach:

> According to the most acute of the French critics, Macaulay seems to be making a bet with his reader, telling him: 'Be as much inattentive, dumb and ignorant as you like, but no matter how inattentive you are, I will make you take notice of what I say; no matter how dumb, I will make you understand; and no matter how ignorant, I will instruct you. I will go to great pains to enlighten you, so, even if you do not want to be, you will'.[56]

Furthermore, Roidis' ambivalent description of Macaulay's style as sonorous and overemphatic conspicuously echoes the characterization of his own method in *Pope Joan* as a quasi-swiftian one.[57] In particular, he writes about Macaulay's style:

> I cannot say whether the author's bent for contrasts, sonorous adjectives, well-wrought phrases and the abundance of sometimes peculiar similes in his work is a virtue or a flaw of his style. It suffices to notice that such decorative elements are liked by many and are likely to have increased the popularity of his work. One thing for certain, though, is that no other English historian managed to make such an instructive but also likable reading out of history.[58]

And then Roidis goes on to describe his own stylistic method in *Pope Joan* in the following way:

> A British writer, I think it was Swift, recounts that the inhabitants of a place that eludes me now are so apathetic and inattentive that whenever somebody speaks to them he/she must flap their heads from time to time with a blown pumpkin bladder so as to keep them awake. I myself devised

> a similar anti-soporific remedy against the apathy of the Modern Greek reader, but, not having a pumpkin bladder at hand, I tried to exorcise their yawns by having recourse to unexpected digressions, peculiar similes and incongruous groupings of words on every page.[59]

After all, it is not coincidental that both writers were attacked on account of their repetitive and monotonous style.[60] Carlyle called Macaulay's oratory like 'living under Niagara' while Lytton Strachey mocked its 'metallic exactness' and its 'fatal efficiency' as 'one of the most remarkable products of the Industrial Revolution'.[61] His repetitions and antitheses resemble 'revolving cog-wheels; and indeed the total result produces an effect which suggests the operations of a machine more than anything else a comparison which, no doubt, would have delighted Macaulay'.[62] This connection between style and the repetitive bang effect as a wake-up call to the reader makes the connection between the two writers even more intricate. The essential difference between them, however, is that Macaulay used his style complacently, whereas Roidis used it self-mockingly, as is shown by the following extracts, both of which describe a hurried flight.[63] Macaulay, by his cumulative use of gerunds, stresses the fact that the women had their hands full: 'Great numbers of women, many of them leading, carrying, suckling their infants, covered all the roads which led to the place of embarkation';[64] whereas Roidis achieves the same effect by a combination of past participles and prepositional phrases: 'The scared monk slung a wallet over his arm and, taking his wife by the right hand, his staff in the left, and firmly clutching a prayer book under his armpit, followed the frowning men'.[65] The playful tone in Roidis' text becomes apparent, first, by the incongruous grouping of objects and people and second, by the change of preposition; instead of the expected 'διὰ' [by/in] comes 'ὑπὸ' [under] in order to highlight the fact that Joan's father was only human and therefore had only two hands.

Consequently, to recapitulate what we have seen so far, both in the preface and the introduction of *Pope Joan* Roidis seems to agree with Macaulay's basic precepts for historiography. He adopts in his own work Macaulay's encyclopaedic scope and follows his picturesque and affective narrative example. Furthermore, he favours literary works as sources for the medieval study he writes. Roidis, however, has a different view on the uses of imagination in historiography and fiction and his work is considerably more self-conscious, ironic and subversive than Macaulay's, both in terms of rhetoric and internal coherence. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Macaulay was the historian who introduced romance into history, whereas Roidis was the novelist who parodically introduced historiography into romance. For this reason, Macaulay pleased his readers so as to instruct them, whereas Roidis instructed them so as to please them.

Notes

1 M. M. Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel,' in: *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 259-422: 345. Bakhtin uses the term in order to describe the merging that occurs when: 'one's own discourse is gradually and slowly wrought out of others' words that have been acknowledged and assimilated, and the boundaries between the two are at first scarcely perceptible'.

2 Angela Keane, 'The Importance of Elsewhere: Romantic Subjectivity and the Romance of History,' *Wordsworth Circle* 27, no. 1 (1996), 16-21: 17. For a valuable exploration of how each discipline both challenges and undermines the other's absolutist pretensions, see Lionel Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990).

3 Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols., ed. George Otto Trevelyan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), vol. II, 52. For this reason his work has been heavily criticized by twentieth-century historians who deem it 'too fictional, too subjective, too dramatic, too highly plotted, and partisan'. For more on this subject, see Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and 'the Woman Question'* (London: Routledge, 1991), 46.

4 Emmanouil Roidis, *Ἡ Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα: Μεσαιωνική μελέτη* (Athens: Typois Io. Kassandreos, 1866). For reasons of convenience, from now on I will refer both to the first edition of *Pope Joan* (1866) and to the most recent, and thus most easily accessible, 2005 edition by Dimiroulis [Emmanouil Roidis, *Η Πάπισσα Ιωάννα: Το αυθεντικό κείμενο του 1866*, ed. Dimitris Dimiroulis (Athens: Metaichmio, 2005)]. The references to the first edition will be given first while the relevant pages in the later edition will be denoted by numbers in brackets.

5 Roderick Beaton, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 61.

6 Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἰακώβου Β΄*, 6 vols., trans. Emmanouil Roidis (Athens: Typois P. D. Sakellariou, 1898-1902).

7 We do not know for sure whether Roidis had read Macaulay's *History* before he had written his *Pope Joan* and the evidence that we can gather from his personal library, now kept in the Academy of Athens, is not revealing either. More specifically, among the contents of the library one can find an 1870 edition of Macaulay's work as well as a French translation of the English original dating back to 1854. Nevertheless, there is no information as to when Roidis acquired the latter and there is a strong possibility that he had acquired it in order to facilitate his own work as a translator, since he did consult it in order to see how specific English juridical concepts and terms were rendered into French (all English translations are mine, unless otherwise specified): 'In order to appreciate the magnitude of this difficulty, it is sufficient to say that the European translators not being able to find equal or similar terms in their own language and country and taking advantage of the Latin alphabet, instead of translating the difficult bits, often quote them in English. The French translations in particular are rife with such English phrases, for example, bill of attainder, warrant, misdimenour [sic], quo warranto, poll, gentry, Covenant, recorder, writ, attorney, etc.', Emmanouil Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἰακώβου Β΄*, by Thomas Babington Macaulay (Athens: Typois P. D. Sakellariou 1898), vol. I, *α΄- ζ΄: ς΄* and Emmanouil Roidis, *Άπαντα*, 5 vols., ed. Alkis Angelou (Athens: Ermis, 1978), vol. V, 271. In any case, it is still important to compare *Pope Joan* to Roidis' own

preface in the translated edition of Macaulay's work, because in the preface Roidis seems to project his own historiographical agenda on Macaulay and approaches Macaulay's history through the theoretical prism he had introduced in *Pope Joan*.

8 Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας, α΄* and Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 267.

9 For more on Macaulay's 'romance of history', see also G.K. Chesterton, *The Victorian Age in Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 11.

10 Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols., (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1857), vol. I, 184 and, for Macaulay's theory of history, cf. Richmond Croom Beatty, *Lord Macaulay: Victorian Liberal* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1971), 307.

11 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 3 [21].

12 Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας, α΄* and Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 267.

13 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα, ζ΄- η΄* [9-10].

14 Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας, β΄* and Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 268 and cf. John Clive, 'Macaulay's Historical Imagination,' *A Review of English Literature* 1, no. 4 (1960), 20-28: 28, about Macaulay's imaginative powers.

15 Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, 5 vols., (Philadelphia, Chicago, Toronto: John C. Winston, 1849), vol. II, 130.

16 Macaulay, *Life and Letters*, vol. I, 171.

17 Margaret Cruikshank, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 120. This contrasting narrative, however, resulted in a simple morality of good and evil, as Catherine Hall argued ('At Home with History: Macaulay and the History of England,' in: *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 32-52: 35). For the implications of anaphora and antithesis in Macaulay's historiography, see also Peter Gay, 'Macaulay: Intellectual Voluptuary,' in *Style in History* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 95-138: 111: 'The profusion of parallel clauses in Macaulay's writings suggests that he perceived history as a succession of dilemmas, debates and combats [...]. For Macaulay, history was a vast antithesis' and cf. Mario Praz, 'Macaulay,' in: *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 102-17: 115: 'the subordinate clauses are subdivided into new pairs and parallels, marked by antitheses of language coupled with repetitions of rhythm'.

18 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, 317-18 and see also Roidis' rendition of Macaulay's text (Macaulay, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας*, vol. I, 382).

19 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 188-89.

20 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 184-85. In other words, Macaulay sought to restore in history what he found in novels: 'all the charm of memoirs, biography, and autobiography, with all the excitement and interest of a good story. These qualities were essential [...] because they are indispensable to making history attractive to its public; and because without them history would be false to the reality it attempts to recreate' (George Levine, 'Macaulay: Progress and Retreat,' in: *The Boundaries of Fiction: Carlyle, Macaulay, Newman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 79-163: 114). This emphasis on the history behind the scenes, or what Macaulay in his essay 'The Task of the Modern Historian' phrased as 'noiseless revolutions', is what true history is all about: 'A history in which every particular incident may be true, may on the whole be false. The circumstances which have most influence on the happiness of mankind, the changes of manners and morals, the transition of communities from poverty to wealth, from knowledge to ignorance, from ferocity to humanity these are, for the most part, noiseless revolu-

tions. Their progress is rarely indicated by what historians are pleased to call important events. They are not achieved by armies, or enacted by senates. They are sanctioned by no treaties, and recorded in no archives. They are carried on in every school, in every church, behind ten thousand counters, at ten thousand firesides. The upper current of society presents no certain criterion by which we can judge of the direction in which the under current flows. We read of defeats and victories. But we know that nations may be miserable amidst victories, and prosperous amidst defeats' (Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 182).

21 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, *θ΄* [11].

22 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, 293.

23 Macaulay claimed in a footnote he placed at the end of the said section that his notion of the country gentleman of the seventeenth century had been derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated. For this reason he left his description to the judgment of those who had studied the history and the lighter literature of that age (Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. I, 296n). For Macaulay's unorthodox method of citing authorities, see Charles Firth, *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), 78.

24 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 86-87 [104-05]. The translation is by Laurence Durrell, *Pope Joan: A Romantic Biography by Emmanuel Royidis* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1960), 31.

25 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 296 [314]: '*ἀντὶ ἐλαίου ἐκαίετο παρὰ τοῖς πλουσίοις κατὰ τὸν μεσαιῶνα βάλσαμον τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐντὸς ἀργυρῶν λυχνιῶν*'.

26 Apollinaris Sidonius, *Œuvres*, 2 vols., trans. J. F. Grégoire and François-Zénon Collombet (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1836), vol. II, 438. For an English translation of the Latin original, see Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, 2 vols., trans. O. M. Dalton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), vol. I, 203: '[L]et frankincense of Araby smoke to the lofty roof. Come the dark, let many a light be hung from the glittering ceiling, high in the chamber's upper space; innocent of oil and clammy grease, let each lamp's bowl yield flame from Eastern balms alone'.

27 Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 302: '*Προφανὴς κατάχρησις τῶν λέξεων εἶναι νὰ ὁμιλῶμεν περὶ τῆς δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅστις οὐδὲν πράγματι δημιουργεῖ, ἀλλὰ μόνον αἰσθάνεται, ἐνθυμεῖται καὶ συνδυάζει*'.

28 Mark Phillips, 'Macaulay, Scott, and the Literary Challenge to Historiography,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50, no. 1 (1989), 117-33: 117.

29 Quoted in Antoine Guilland, *L'Allemagne Nouvelle et ses Historiens: Niebuhr – Ranke – Mommsen – Sybel – Treitschke* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1900), 71: 'je pris la résolution d'éviter, dans mes travaux, toute imagination et toute invention et de m'en tenir sévèrement aux faits'.

30 Stephen Bann, 'The Historian as Taxidermist: Ranke, Barante, Waterton,' *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 8-31: 23.

31 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 146.

32 Phillips, 'Macaulay, Scott, and the Literary Challenge to Historiography,' 119. For more on Macaulay's theory of imagination, see Terry Otten, 'Macaulay's Critical Theory of Imagination and Reason,' *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 28, no. 1 (1969), 33-43.

33 According to D.D. Devlin, *The Author of Waverley: A Critical Study of Walter Scott* (London: Macmillan, 1971), 36, Scott took liberties in matters of detail and was unwilling to make changes when these minor and sometimes unintentional inaccuracies increased the dramatic interest in a scene: 'In *The Abbot* Queen Mary watches the defeat of her

army from Crookstone Castle. Scott was later informed that he had mistaken Crookstone Castle for Cathcart Castle. He made no change in the subsequent editions of the novel, but acknowledged the correction in a note'.

34 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. IV, 266 and cf. Frank Palmeri, 'The Capacity of Narrative: Scott and Macaulay on Scottish Highlanders,' *Clio* 22, no. 1 (1992), 37-52: 37: 'Scott comes to embody a standard of accomplishment against which Macaulay measures the historian'.

35 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, 397n.

36 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. IV, 283n.

37 This method has also been attributed to Scott: 'to treat every document as the record of a conversation, and [to] go on reading till you hear people talking' (William A. Madden, 'Macaulay's Style,' in: George Levine and William Madden (eds.), *The Art of Victorian Prose* (New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 127-53: 140) and cf. Rosemary Jann, 'Thomas Babington Macaulay: History as Whig via Media,' in: *The Art and Science of Victorian History* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 66-104: 82.

38 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. III, 502.

39 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, 261. For more on Macaulay's use of literary sources, see Antoinette Blum, 'The Uses of Literature in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Historiography,' *Literature and History* 11, no. 2 (1985), 176-201.

40 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 182. Modern intellectual history also favoured this kind of analysis 'from below' which concentrated on the world view of the members of the 'subaltern classes'. For more information on this kind of 'micro-history', see Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980). Nevertheless, as John Burrow noticed in his review of Macaulay's *History*, Macaulay was not a 'social historian', since, for the most part of his work, he 'remained chiefly focused on royal politics, parliamentary debates and state trials, and the appraisal of the intentions and qualities of public men.' John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 370.

41 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. II, 389.

42 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. IV, 64n.

43 Ruth Macrides, 'The Fabrication of the Middle Ages: Roides's *Pope Joan*,' *Kambos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 4 (1996), 29-40: 36.

44 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 133-34 [151-53], 308 [326].

45 Macaulay, *Life and Letters*, vol. I, 171 and see also Edward Adams, 'Macaulay's *History of England* and the Dilemmas of Liberal Epic,' *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 33, no. 2 (2006), 149-74: 161: 'Macaulay's loaded word "minute" captures both his brief illustrative purpose and that his lively account will give its novelistic attention to small details'.

46 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, 435 and see also vol. III, 247n: 'About the early relation between William and Dundee, some Jacobite, many years after they were both dead, invented a story which by successive embellishments was at last improved into a romance such as it seems strange that even a child should believe to be true'.

47 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. II, 179.

48 Another instance where 'romance' is used with the third sense of the love affair is the next example: 'He [Lewis] had been more than two years secretly married to Frances de Maintenon, the governess of his natural children. It would be hard to name any woman who, with so little romance in her temper, has had so much in her life' (Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. III, 121).

49 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 122 [140]. The translation is by Laurence Durrell, *Pope Joan*, 54-55.

50 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 169.

51 Ralph W. Rader, 'The Concept of Genre and Eighteenth-Century Literature,' in: Philip Harth (ed.), *New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Literature*, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), 79-115: 107. For the epistemic implications of historiography, see Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), ix and cf. Macaulay's own view on the subject in his essay on 'History': 'In fiction, the principles are given to find the facts; in history, the facts are given to find the principles' (Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 155).

52 This positivistic direction in historiography is in marked contrast with contemporary discussions on the validity of a historical text. Today's historians mostly discover the meaning of a historical work in its textuality (its internal coherency) and not in its referentiality (the truth of its referential statements). For this 'linguistic turn' in historiography, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

53 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 180: 'While our historians are practising all the arts of controversy, they miserably neglect the art of narration, the art of interesting the affections and presenting pictures to the imagination'. In a discussion of Macaulay's essay on 'History', Sir Charles Firth noted that the tendency of the modern historians is to 'enlarge upon the difficulty of finding out the truth, whereas Macaulay enlarges upon the difficulty of stating it' (Firth, *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England*, 28-29) and cf. also Robert Livingston Schuyler, 'Macaulay and his History,' *Political Science Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1948), 161-93: 180-81: 'There are, of course, two sides to historianship – intake and outgo, research and presentation. Macaulay, conceiving of history as essentially a branch of literature and anxious above everything else to be read, was more greatly concerned with historical composition and its problems than with historical research and its problems'. For Macaulay's casual way with historical evidence, see also Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Lord Macaulay: *The History of England*,' in *History and the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 192-222: 214.

54 Quoted in John Clive, 'Macaulay, History and the Historians,' *History Today* 9, no. 12 (1959), 830-36: 834.

55 Macaulay, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, 190 and cf. John Clive, 'Amusement and Instruction: Gibbon and Macaulay,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 87 (1975), 45-56: 52: 'For Macaulay as for Gibbon the purpose of written history was certainly, in part, to amuse. [...] For Macaulay clarity of style, readability, and entertainment were prime virtues; but they were means to an end, and that end was instruction'.

56 Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας, δ΄* and Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 269-70 and cf. Hippolyte Taine, 'M. Macaulay,' in *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire* (Paris : Hachette, 1858), 1-54 : 21: 'M. Macaulay porte la lumière dans les esprits inattentifs, comme il porte la conviction dans les esprits rebelles [...] Il est impossible de ne pas le comprendre; il aborde son sujet par toutes les faces, il le retourne de toutes des côtés; il semble qui s'occupe de tous les spectateurs, et songe à se faire entendre de chacun en particulier; [...] il nous prend tous par la main et nous conduit tour à tour au but qu'il se marqué'. For a more detailed account of Macaulay's wavering disposition towards the heritage of the Enlightenment, see P. R. Ghosh, 'Macaulay and the Heritage of the Enlightenment,' *English Historical Review* 112, no. 446 (1997), 358-95.

57 For a comprehensive analysis of Macaulay's rhetorical devices, and especially his use of similes and contrasts, see David Arthur Hughes, *Thomas Babington Macaulay the Rhetorician: An Examination of his Structural Devices in the History of England* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1898).

58 Roidis, Preface to *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀγγλίας, ε΄* and Roidis, *Ἅπαντα*, vol. V, 271. For the effectiveness of Macaulay's style, see also Frederic Harrison, *Studies in Early Victorian Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1895), 85: 'By clothing his historical judgments and his critical reflections in these cutting and sonorous periods, he has forced them on the attention of a vast body of readers wherever English is read at all'.

59 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα, ι΄- ια΄* [12-13].

60 Kleon Paraschos, *Εμμανουήλ Ροΐδης: Η ζωή, το έργο, η εποχή του*, 2 vols. (Athens: Aetos), vol. I, 45 and Sheridan W. Gilley, 'Macaulay as Historian,' *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 29, no. 2 (1983), 328-43: 334.

61 David Alec Wilson, *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others (1837-48)* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1925), 49 and Lytton Strachey, *Portraits in Miniature: And Other Essays* (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), 55.

62 Strachey, *Portraits in Miniature*, 175.

63 On Macaulay's delight in exercising his own rhetorical powers, see John Paget, *The New 'Examen' or an Inquiry into the Evidence Relating to Certain Passages in Lord Macaulay's History* (Edinburg and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861), 197.

64 Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. IV, 209.

65 Roidis, *Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα*, 65 [83]: *Ἔντρομος ὁ καλόγηρος ἀναρτήσας τὸ δισάκκιον εἰς τοὺς ὤμους, λαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς, τὴν βακτηρίαν διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς καὶ τὸ εὐχολόγιον ὑπὸ μάλλης ἠκολούθησε τοὺς σκυθρωποὺς ὁδηγούς*'.

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The Humanities as the Stronghold of Freedom
John Milton's Areopagitica *and John Stuart Mill's* On Liberty

Hilary Gatti

The concept of liberty goes back to classical Greece and Rome, and is closely linked to the humanistic revival of classical letters in the Renaissance. The problem of liberty, however, became more acute with the invention of the printing press, that lead to a diffusion of texts far wider than anything known to the classical or the medieval worlds. The sixteenth century, during which the new techniques of printing became widely established throughout Europe, also coincides with an increasingly rigorous exercise of censorship on the part of both the political and the ecclesiastical authorities of the time. It is also necessary to bear in mind the collapse of the Roman Catholic Church as the unique religious authority throughout Europe at precisely this time. The rise of fragmented and aggressively Protestant forms of Christianity in the north of Europe led to a new religious pluralism, but also to widespread forms of intolerance on the part of most, if not all, the religious authorities, both Catholic and Protestant, involved in often violent forms of conflict.

Further developments served to exasperate the problem of liberty from the sixteenth century onwards. One was the rise of the so-called Scientific Revolution that often, as in the case of the post-Copernican cosmology, defied orthodox readings of the Bible. Indeed, the exercise of biblical criticism itself had already been subjected to a radical upheaval by the new philological and historical investigations into biblical antiquity by Lorenzo Valla, which, after being developed in different directions by a series of major sixteenth-century scholars such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Joseph Justus Scaliger and Giordano Bruno, would reach a dramatic climax in the works of Spinoza. Furthermore, the gradual development of new forms of parliamentary debate often questioned the traditional centres of both political and ecclesiastical power, which tended to react with severe forms of oppression. In this complex cultural environment of early modern Europe, a number of prestigious humanists assumed the task of defenders of liberty, putting their pens at the service of their communities in order to ensure that the citi-

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zens' rights and liberties should not be completely erased. Such a tendency would be long-lived, and become embedded in the humanistic culture of the Western world, where, even today, the humanist intellectual tends to assume it as a duty to raise her or his voice in the name of the liberties of a whole society.

The contribution of Dutch intellectual centres such as Leiden or Amsterdam as places of particularly liberal printing practices and intellectual debate, especially in the course of the seventeenth century – or its 'Golden Century' as it is often called – has long been recognized. It has been the subject of numerous studies on the part of distinguished scholars such as Paul Dibon and Jonathan Israel, among many others.[1] My own paper, however, will discuss the contributions made by two English essays of particular power and influence, John Milton's *Areopagitica* of 1644 and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* of 1859. The paper will take into consideration two aspects which link these appeals for liberty, historically widely separate in time:

1 Their common insistence on Parliament as the proper framework for providing guarantees of liberty of discussion and debate;
2 The emphasis on the individual as the proper subject of liberty, as well as the limits which any society should impose on the individual's rights and freedom.

Finally the paper will enquire into the strengths or weaknesses of these authors with respect to two aspects of the discussion of liberty that particularly concern us today: the question of women's liberties and rights on the one hand, and the problem of colonial liberties and rights on the other.

Starting with the first major theme of this paper – the importance of Parliament as the proper context in which to develop a discourse on liberty of thought and speech – Milton emphasizes just this theme on the original frontispiece of his pamphlet, printed in London in 1644.[2] Milton describes his *Areopagitica* as a 'Speech' to the Parliament of England for the liberty of unlicensed printing. In reality, the speech was never made, but is rather a rhetorical device: a speech that Milton, who was not a member of the English Parliament, imagines himself as delivering to that august audience while he is in fact only writing it down in his study at home. This situation poses a problem that Milton faces up to, and answers, in the opening pages of his text. Does the common citizen have the right to address his representatives in Parliament, expressing criticisms of their laws, and offering advice on how they should proceed? We might want to see an analogy between Milton's position in 1644 and that of the political commentator or journalist in our own times. Milton, who lived when political journalism was still in its infancy, makes the important claim that he does have such a right. He supports his argument in still humanistic terms with a classical reference. He is only doing

what the ancient Greek rhetorician Isocrates did in Athens in the fourth century B.C., in the time of Plato, when he addressed an imaginary speech to the Greek Areopagus, or political meeting place, pleading for a return to more democratic government. This Greek root to Milton's idea of liberty is further stressed on the frontispiece by a quotation from Euripides, written in Greek but translated into English by Milton himself: 'true liberty is when freeborn men having to advise the public may speak free'. This quotation, from Euripides' play *The Suppliants*, comes from a speech where Theseus is praising the rights of the people in Athens to speak their criticisms freely, while comparing them with the restrictions against free speech imposed by the oligarchy that ruled ancient Thebes.

Although he remains silent on the subject in *Areopagitica*, Milton was clearly aware that the English Parliament, dating from its origins in the Middle Ages as a form of defence against the unlimited power of the King and his feudal lords, had made important progress in the sixteenth century towards becoming a forum for free speech. Two canonical moments are commonly recognized in that progress: the first when Sir Thomas More, as Speaker of the House of Commons, made a famous appeal to Henry VIII in 1523 to let every member of Parliament declare himself as he thought fit, beseeching the King 'to take all in good parte, interpreting every man's word [...] to proceed yeat of good zeal towards the profit of your realm'. Later, in the reign of Elizabeth I, the lesser known Peter Wentworth of Cornwall developed in the House of Commons a seven-point defence of freedom of speech beginning: 'Sweet is the name of Liberty, but the thing itself a value beyond all inestimable Treasure'. Sir Thomas More, as everyone knows, ended up by being beheaded by Henry VIII for defending his liberty to remain within the Roman Catholic church rather than swearing his loyalty to the new Anglican faith. Wentworth, for his part, was immediately arrested and imprisoned on orders from the Queen.[3] Nevertheless, these sixteenth-century stands for Parliamentary freedom of speech remained as guiding lights for those, like Milton, who supported Parliament in the following century in its struggle against the absolutist tendencies of Charles I. They lie behind Milton's own claim in the opening pages of *Areopagitica* that when complaints are freely heard in Parliament, deeply considered, and speedily reformed: 'then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for'.[4]

The irony of Milton's situation lay in the fact that, although an ardent supporter of the so-called Long Parliament that in 1642 had ousted the King from power, exiled him from London, and taken over the government of the country, he was indignantly protesting against that same Parliament for introducing, only a year later, a stringent law of censorship. Such a law, in Milton's opinion, threatened to drag England back into the dark shadows of those parts of Europe dominated by the threat of the Roman Catholic Inquisition. How could a radi-

cally Protestant, liberal-minded, anti-monarchical Parliament do such a thing? It is in his answer to this question that Milton introduces the idea of the individual person as the proper subject of a liberty that Parliament should not humiliate but defend. For the text of *Areopagitica* makes it quite clear that Milton considered the new law reintroducing censorship to Britain as deriving from the corporate interests of the Presbyterians, or the radical Protestants of Scottish derivation who held a majority in the Long Parliament of 1642. Against such corporate interests, Milton celebrates the rights of the individual, and particularly of the individual author whose book, although legitimately subject to condemnation or praise after its publication, should never be the subject of preventive censorship by authorities interested only in propagating their own faith or ideology. 'For a good book,' Milton writes in a much celebrated passage of English prose, 'is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit.' For Milton it is worse to kill a good book than to kill a man: 'who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good Booke, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye'.[5]

A sensitive subject with respect to any treatise on liberty is always the question of what limits are to be placed on the liberty that is being so eloquently extolled. For it is clear that no reasonable defence of liberty will go so far as to tolerate actions that Milton himself calls 'absolutely evil', or against the most basic natural laws. However, much recent critical attention has been focused on another passage towards the end of his text in which Milton claims that a law concerning censorship is a betrayal of the very values underlying the parliamentary idea itself. For if all cannot be of one mind (and, Milton asks, why should they be?), then he finds it more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather than all compelled. But then he goes on to add the much discussed distinction: 'I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civill supremacies, so itself should be extirpat'.[6] So is Milton in the end, underneath all his remarkable rhetoric, just another religious extremist, concerned to stamp out all remnants of Roman Catholicism from an increasingly Protestant Britain?[7]

Although a number of commentators have dismissed Milton as being far from a true liberal on the basis of this passage, it can, and in my opinion, should be argued that this part of his text needs to be read with particular care. For in the very next sentence Milton states quite clearly that he is not referring to differences in points of faith or doctrine, on which (although himself always Protestant in his own convictions) he believes it is possible to arrive at what he calls 'a bond of Peace'. This, indeed, would be a coherent position in the light of Milton's important journey to Italy some years previously. For in Italy, Milton had met a number of Italian humanists whose Catholicism had not impeded him from considering

them as colleagues and friends, and for whom he publicly expressed his respect.[8] It is true that the great Italian rebels against the intolerance of the Roman Catholic church in its long years of militant inquisitorial dominion, Galileo in Florence and Paolo Sarpi in Venice, are explicitly remembered and praised by Milton in the *Areopagitica*. Galileo is remembered as 'a pris'ner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought', while Sarpi is present as 'Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine Councel'. Yet Milton knew that neither Galileo nor Sarpi, in spite of their differences of opinion with the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome, had renounced their Catholic faith; and there is no sign in his text that he wished to criticize them for that. So it seems that the key word in the phrase quoted above is 'to extirpate', meaning to eliminate or to destroy. What Milton is complaining about is the mission of the Catholic Church in its militant inquisitorial phase to destroy ('extirpate') all those authorities, civil as well as religious, which refused to recognize its dominion. Some groups of fundamentalist Protestants were similarly inclined, and Milton, in other parts of his text, had been harsh in his judgement of them as well. Indeed the Long Parliament itself, in which Milton had placed so many hopes, is being roundly criticized in the *Areopagitica* for introducing a law of censorship that he saw as compromising all the new freedoms it had recently attained. So the problem that is being raised here is not so much one of Catholics versus Protestants, but rather the perennial problem of how a free society should behave when faced by groups in its midst intent on destroying it precisely because it *is* a free society. And that is certainly a problem that is still engaging our attention today.

If we now turn to the two final subjects proposed in the abstract – that is, the specific problems of women's liberty, and of colonial liberties – it becomes more difficult to defend Milton from criticism. He was certainly not alone in the early modern world in simply assuming, without any need of excuse, that to write about liberty meant writing primarily if not exclusively about male liberty. In this context the classical influence on early modern discussions of liberty may be seen as an impediment rather than a support. Quentin Skinner, in a chapter on 'Republican Virtues in an Age of Princes', where he is discussing the pervading influence of Cicero on early modern writings on liberty, has remarked that 'although the humanists liked to boast that they spoke for humanity, the qualities they most of all valued and celebrated were associated in their own minds with only one half of humankind': meaning, of course, the male half.[9]

Women simply make no appearance in the *Areopagitica*, as indeed they are equally absent from the treatise on education that Milton was writing at this time. As for his numerous publications pleading for the introduction of divorce laws into England, which also date from this period, they undoubtedly present an advanced concept of matrimony as concerned primarily with 'civil conversation'

between spouses, and only in a secondary sense with reproduction of the species. Nevertheless, Milton makes it quite clear that the law he envisages should be orientated towards freeing the husband from an unhappy marriage, rather than allowing a similar initiative to the wife.[10] The later Milton of the great Biblical epic poems such as *Paradise Lost*, in which the protagonist becomes womanhood itself represented by the figure of Eve, has been the subject of much recent discussion, especially on the part of feminist critics.[11] But it is too complex – and Milton's treatment of Eve too ambiguous – to be treated here in any depth. Suffice it to say, as many critics have pointed out, that the arguments in favour of free thought and expression elaborated by Milton in *Areopagitica* reappear there in the mouth of Satan. They become the voice of the Devil, precisely when he is tempting Eve to rise above the station assigned to her by God by eating the fruit of the tree of good and evil. Female liberty, it would seem, is seen by Milton as dangerous indeed.

Coming to the problem of colonial liberties, it may be noted that they too are nowhere mentioned explicitly in the *Areopagitica*. Milton starts off with a powerful criticism of the specific law of censorship introduced into England by the Long parliament in 1643. However, he then goes on to universalize his theme; and the books whose existence he is concerned to defend against unjust laws of censorship are seen implicitly to be in need of defence always and everywhere. For it is the concept of censorship itself that Milton is attacking here, whether at home or abroad. This clearly does not mean that Milton was at no time in his life concerned with colonial dominion, or the problems relating to the liberty of the subjects living in those territories; although it seems fair to claim that his primary political concern was always with England herself. Quentin Skinner's important pages on 'John Milton and the Politics of Slavery' in the second volume of his *Visions of Politics* show quite clearly that slavery for Milton meant the submission of the English people to the arbitrary rule of kings rather than colonial slavery.[12]

It is, of course, impossible to ignore the question of the English Parliament's dominion of Catholic Ireland, or of the terrible violence with which it would proceed in the following years to crush the Irish rebellions against its rule. Milton would become directly involved in this during his period of active political collaboration with Oliver Cromwell and his followers, when, in 1649, he was asked to write a series of *Observations* on the Irish question. He has been bitterly criticized by some, both for a number of extremely unpleasant remarks he makes about the Irish in that text, as well as for his later silence on the brutal massacres in Ireland that would stain the reputation of England's standing army during the final period of the interregnum.[13] This brings us back once more to the militant religious struggles of those times, which Milton, in the *Areopagitica*, had been trying to rise above. Clearly even he was unable to do this with complete success.

Nevertheless, it is perhaps only fair to him to conclude on this subject with two comments that show him at least trying to do so. Firstly, in his *Observations* on the Irish question, Milton makes it clear that he considers it a right of the English Parliament to defend itself against the armed rebellion of the Irish Catholics, but he does not think that this includes a right to oppress them in their individual religious beliefs. Finally, it is of some interest to note an undated comment in his personal diary, or *Commonplace Book*, where, quoting Machiavelli, Milton writes: 'It is not the duty of every state to enlarge the boundaries of its power to bring other nations under its rule. On the contrary, Machiavelli wisely shows that it is dangerous to do so unless that state is wisely ordered and unless the addition of that new realm is justly administered.'[14]

As we have seen, consideration of sensitive subjects for us today, such as women's liberties or colonial liberties, has led us inevitably to consider Milton in his historical dimension, as a man caught up in the turmoil of his times. But an essential part of Milton's defence of books in the *Areopagitica* is his claim that a good book looks above and beyond the life of its author. If we consider Milton's text within its times, it does not seem to have enjoyed a very brilliant reception. It was published in defiance of the licensing laws it attacks, without approval from the new boards of censorship, and with no publisher's name on the frontispiece. Milton was called to Parliament to defend himself, and was reprimanded, although neither arrested nor detained. On the other hand, the licensing laws were not repealed as he had hoped – at least not at once – nor does the text seem to have been widely read. Yet the afterlife of this brief pamphlet, only forty pages long, has been prestigious indeed. We have documented evidence that it was on the desks of the men who wrote the text of the American Declaration of Independence. We know that on the eve of the French revolution it circulated in a translation by Mirabeau. An important edition was published in India in the late years of the nineteenth century when the movement for independence against British occupation and oppression was beginning to gather strength.[15]

Finally, it is of interest to note that the first Italian translation of Milton's *Areopagitica* was published in 1933 at the height of the fascist era. The name of the translator, Salvatore Breglia, is relatively unknown: he studied and taught Italian literature, and had finished up in England, far from the fascist regime. But he was a brother-in-law of the prestigious philosopher Guido de Ruggiero who proposed the translation to the publisher Giuseppe Laterza of Bari.[16] Laterza was closely linked to the internationally famous figure of Benedetto Croce, who, in the Italy of those years, was opposing the fascist ideology with a determination and a literary fervour of which Milton would surely have approved. Croce's private correspondence with Guido de Ruggiero shows that he was aware of Breglia's translation of the *Areopagitica*, and even attempted (unsuccessfully, it seems) to

find a suitable reviewer for this Italian publication of Milton's text.[17] The book apparently never caught the attention of the fascist censors, in spite of the fact that their power had been much increased in 1930 by a new penal code, known as the 'Codice Rocco' after the name of the Minister of Justice at that time. Had the censors paid more attention to the slim volume quietly released by Laterza in Bari in 1933, they would have found themselves faced by a powerful attack against laws of censorship of a kind that they themselves were applying in Italy with increasing severity. But with the help of De Ruggiero and Croce, Milton broke free, in 1933 as in 1644, raising his voice to claim that: 'many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life'.[18]

The essays on liberty by John Milton and John Stuart Mill are separated by just over two centuries of European history rich in both political and cultural developments, as well as being fraught with new problems and forms of intolerance. Above all, in the context of this enquiry, a far more mature parliamentary form of governance in most European countries during the nineteenth century renders the situation in which the two men were writing significantly divergent, although not to an extent that prevents some comparison between the two essays from being meaningful, especially with respect to the aspects of the liberty discourse that are here being subjected to particular emphasis.

It needs to be borne in mind that, after the restoration of the British monarchy in 1660, the centrality of Parliament as the principal governing body of the country had been forcefully sanctioned by the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688. In that year, Parliament had intervened in the tense political situation created by the death of Charles II, ousting his brother, the Catholic James II, from the throne and replacing him with the Dutch William of Orange and his English wife Mary. After this successful initiative, parliamentary rule went on to develop significantly in Britain, boosted as it was by a famous *Letter* on toleration published by John Locke in 1689.[19] Parliamentary rule strengthened throughout the eighteenth century, surviving the trauma of the French revolution, although not without difficulty. Indeed it was the rigid period of conservative and stringently repressive policy with which Britain responded first to the revolution in France and then to the Napoleonic hegemony of Europe that finally gave rise to the Reform Act of 1832, long requested by the more progressive part of the population. Designed to right the numerous corrupt practices and outdated traditions that were by then hindering the development of parliamentary rule in Britain, the Reform Act extended and modified male representation in Parliament, significantly shifting it from a predominantly rural representation to an urban one, in recognition of the increasingly evident effects of the industrial revolution. In the following decades, Britain became a prosperous and modern parliamentary democracy,

inducing some of John Stuart Mill's contemporaries to ask whether his *Essay on Liberty* of 1859 was really to be considered necessary.[20]

Mill however, for his part, had at once become an enthusiastic reader of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, of which he wrote detailed reviews immediately after the publication of its two parts in 1835 and 1840.[21] Mill is concerned to point out that Tocqueville is writing as an admirer of American democracy, declaring that from the moment of its constitution, power in America 'was divided among many hands, to the end that the office might be powerful and the officer insignificant, and that the community should be at once regulated and free'. On the other hand, democracy, according to Tocqueville, has not ensured the freedom of the individual, and at times has even impeded it, because the individual is expected to bow down to the opinion of a majority. 'In America,' he writes in a significant passage quoted by Mill in his review, 'the majority traces a formidable circle around the province of thought. Within that boundary the writer is free, but woe to him if he dare to overstep it'. And Mill, who clearly has Britain in mind as well as America, goes on to note that the courtier-spirit does not disappear in democracies. Rather, it tends to become universal because the sovereign majority is everywhere to be felt, and freedom easily degenerates into intellectual forms of servitude. In the *Essay on Liberty*, Mill quotes Tocqueville on precisely this subject of the standardization of individuality in democracies which, according to Mill, tend to render the European and American individual as much a servant of conformity as those of Eastern populations (he mentions specifically China) where democracy is still unknown.[22] Mill's *Essay on Liberty* thus proposes to establish the fitting adjustment between individual independence and political as well as social control – a subject, he claims, on which nearly everything remains to be done.

Like Milton before him, Mill also takes ancient models as examples of political excellence, in particular Athenian democracy, with Socrates as his philosophical hero. Mill shared Milton's admiration of the agonistic and deliberative character of the institutions and political practice of ancient Athens, as well as its assertion of the sovereignty of individual judgement.[23] That an Athenian tribunal should have condemned Socrates – the philosopher who had accepted it as his mission to teach his society the art of reasoned discussion and debate – to be put to death as a criminal for corrupting its youth, seemed to Mill an example of judicial iniquity, within one of the most admirable political systems yet devised, that needed to be constantly remembered as a warning. Individual liberty then, as the example of Socrates shows, stands in need of support and protection even within a democratic society. This is the principal theme of Mill's *Essay on Liberty*.

The subject is treated by Mill in terms defined by Isaiah Berlin as 'negative liberty': the idea that there must be an area of individual freedom in which the indi-

vidual need obey no law but his own.[24] This idea clearly raises the pressing question: where and how are the limits to such an area to be defined? Mill is intent on finding an abstract principle that answers this question, and he finds it in the idea of 'acts injurious to others'. For as long as one contains one's behaviour within an area where any harm done is limited only to oneself, there must be complete individual liberty and moral responsibility. Only outside such an area is society justified in intervening, either legally or through the pressure of public opinion. Mill recognizes that such a principle will inevitably mean that, for example, if someone wants to put themselves to death in a way that does no harm to others, there will ultimately be no way of stopping it. However, he also claims that such an area of 'negative liberty', if well administered by the individuals concerned, will give rise to the development of exceptional gifts and on occasions to acts of genius, to the undoubted benefit of the society as a whole. It is this freedom to develop one's specific individuality without interference from outside that Mill sees as lacking in the modern world. He prefaces his *Essay on Liberty* with a quote from Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Sphere and Duties of Government*: 'The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity'.[25]

As well as freedom of action, Mill's essay is also intimately concerned with freedom of opinion and of speech, which he considers in the light of what has become known as his 'assumption of infallibility argument'.[26] In its simplest form this states that attempts to restrict, or to silence altogether, public debate on any subject necessarily involve an assumption of infallibility on the part of the silencer, whether an individual or a public authority. Mill sees such an assumption of infallibility as conflicting with the possibility of the human faculties of reaching any valid conviction of being in the right, which can only be obtained through rational discussion and debate. Freedom of opinion and freedom of the expression of that opinion are therefore seen by Mill as necessary to the well-being of the individual and of society. Indeed, it is on them that all their other forms of well-being depend.

Mill's beliefs, then, to use the words of Stefan Collini, 'were those of an advanced Radical – secular, democratic, egalitarian'. Furthermore, his hostility to privilege, injustice and moral callousness led Mill to write a number of militantly polemical pages in favour of both the equality of women's rights and the equality of the rights of colonial populations, especially those still subjected to the injustices of slavery. In particular two major essays signed by Mill are relevant here: *The Negro Question* of 1850 and *The Subjection of Women* of 1869.[27]

The Negro Question, in spite of its use of a terminology that today would be considered politically incorrect, was actually the title of a spirited letter of pro-

test sent by Mill to the Editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, which had just published an essay by Thomas Carlyle entitled *Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question*. In his youth, Mill had been a friend and admirer of Carlyle, who shared his belief in the decadent uniformity of the masses in modern democratic societies. But Mill was soon frightened off by Carlyle's conviction that the rule of the strongest was sanctioned by Divine decree. This conviction led Carlyle to consider coloured slaves as an inferior race justly ruled over and exploited by white populations. This opinion is rejected indignantly by Mill who attacks the cruelty, tyranny and wanton repression of slave-owning societies: 'I have yet to learn that anything more detestable than this has been done by human beings towards human beings in any part of the earth'. Later, in 1862, during the American civil war, Mill would write in favour of the abolitionist north, launching another indignant protest against those who enjoy 'the spectacle of irresponsible power exercised by one person over others, which has no moral repugnance to the thought of human beings born to servitude for life'.[28]

This decisive refusal of any form of colonial slavery is not necessarily to be seen as a refusal of all forms of imperial occupation or government. Mill's life spanned the period of maximum expansion achieved by the British Empire; and it is well known that he was employed by the East India Company, the administrative body of the British Raj. His father James Mill had published in 1818 a major work on *The History of British India* that his son praises in his celebrated *Autobiography* as extremely instructive, and a book that had an important influence on his education. Mill describes his father's book as 'saturated with the opinions and modes of judgement of a democratic radicalism then regarded as extreme; and treating with a severity, at that time most unusual, the English Constitution, the English law, and all parties who possessed any considerable influence in the country'.[29] Surprisingly, it nevertheless obtained for Mill's father a remunerative post in the East India Company, which Mill himself would later enter in his wake. Mill remained there until 1858 when the Company handed over the rule of the Raj to the government in the name of the Crown. In Mill's opinion, nothing good came of this change. The East India Company had enjoyed considerable autonomy with respect to government pressure, and it is generally conceded that both Mill and his father had attempted, within its confines, to implement a policy of enlightened colonial administration.[30] Mill states quite clearly in the introductory chapter to his essay on *Liberty* that he believes in the necessity for colonial rule while a society remains underdeveloped in its political institutions, although he was equally convinced of the necessity for emancipation once political maturity had been attained. Today we are likely to consider such an attitude as an enlightened form of colonial paternalism, falling far short of the rigorous anti-colonialism in all its forms professed by more modern progressive opinion. However, added

to Mill's decided refusal of all forms of slavery, it shows him at least moving in the direction of full freedom from colonial rule. It is significant that in his years as a Member of Parliament, from 1865 to 1868, Mill voted repeatedly in favour of Irish interests, roundly denouncing, from his earliest parliamentary speeches, the English mode of governing the island, and proposing a settlement of the land question by giving existing tenants a permanent tenure.[31] Mill may thus be seen in this context as proclaiming in enlightened terms opinions on colonial liberty with respect to which Milton had been considerably more reticent.

However, the context in which Mill most satisfactorily fills a glaring gap in Milton's discourse on liberty is undoubtedly that of women's subjection and rights. Here it becomes necessary to refer to the important influence on Mill's private life and personality, but also on his intellectual views, exercised by the figure of Harriet Taylor, an ardently radical thinker and the great love of his life. Between 1832 and 1833, Harriet wrote some manuscript notes on 'Marriage'. They represent a vibrant protest against the legal restrictions on the liberty of wives sanctioned by the British laws of the period. Later on, between 1847 and 1851, Harriet and Mill together wrote at length on 'Women's Rights'. These writings, which also remained in manuscript, were dedicated to Queen Victoria, and include an important section on 'Enfranchisment of Women', written by Harriet herself.[32] It contains a bitter denunciation of the majority mentality of the time that claimed: 'The proper sphere of women is private life'. The text then goes on to claim that 'one reason why there is scarcely any social feeling in England, but every man, entrenched within his family, feels a kind of dislike and repugnance to every other, is because there is hardly any concern in England for great ideas and the larger interests of humanity'. Harriet then goes on to ask whether votes are not given as a means of fostering the intelligence of the voters, and enlarging their feelings by directing them to a wider class of interests. That being so, the reason is particularly strong in the case of women, who should be able to vote because otherwise they will never be the equals but always the inferiors of men.

Harriet significantly influenced the essay on *Liberty*, as Mill himself unashamedly declares in an introductory note to his text. Published only shortly after Harriet's death, commentators have long been discussing the extent and nature of this influence, which is not easy to assess. In the case of the *Subjection of Women*, although published some years later, the presence behind the text of Harriet and her militant views on female emancipation is clearly of primary importance.[33] Much of the text echoes the ideas on women's rights already present in the manuscripts discussed above, beginning with Mill's succinct statement of his purpose in writing the essay: his intention of claiming 'that the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes – the legal subordination of one sex to the other – is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to

human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other'.[34]

With the combined efforts of Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill, the discourse on liberty introduced into the early modern world by the sixteenth-century humanists is emphatically extended to include the other half of humanity, at least in gender-orientated terms. Their achievement is in no way diminished by the fact that they could found their discourse on a number of distinguished precedents. In the eighteenth century, the French revolutionaries had already dedicated attention to the problem of women's rights, and in England Mary Wollstonecraft's classic *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, first published in 1792, had advocated the necessity to include women in programmes of national education. Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill for their part placed the question of women's right to the parliamentary vote at the centre of their polemic with a traditional male-dominated culture: a development neither of them would live to see, but which would become a major subject of animated discussion from the second part of the nineteenth century until universal suffrage for all women was finally granted by the British parliament in 1928. The problem of colonial liberties would also build up into one of the major issues of the late nineteenth century, given the energetic imperial impetus of most of the major European powers of the time, and would be passed on to the twentieth century and even beyond. Milton, and to some extent also John Stuart Mill, may have failed to give a definitive answer to this particular aspect of the liberty discourse; but there can be no doubt that whenever liberty, in its wider connotations, is in danger in the modern and contemporary world, their voices continue to command attention and respect.

Notes

1 See the many references to the concept of *libertas philosophica* in Paul Dibon, *Regards sur la Hollande du siècle d'or* (Naples: Vivarium, 1990), and Jonathan Israel, *Monarchy, Orangism, and Republicanism in the Later Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam University Press, 2004). Also the many pages on the Dutch radicals in Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2010).

2 The text used here throughout is in *Areopagitica and other Political Writings of John Milton* (Liberty Fund, Indianapolis 1999), 3-51.

3 For the full texts of More and Wentworth on freedom of speech, see Documents IV (557-558) and IX (593-601) in Gordon Griffiths, *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

4 See *Areopagitica*, 4.

5 *Areopagitica*, 7.

6 *Areopagitica*, 47.

7 A bizarre but influential interpretation of Milton as ultimately not interested in liberty at all can be found in Stanley Fish, *How Milton Works* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001). However, even more recent and more favourable readings of Milton claim that it is 'well attested' that Milton was 'consistently opposed to Catholicism'. See Andrew Hadfield, 'Milton and Catholicism', in: Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Milton and Toleration* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 186-199.

8 On Milton's important journey to Italy, see the essays in Mario di Cesare (ed.), *Milton in Italy* (Binghampton NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991).

9 See Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics: Vol. II, Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 126.

10 Milton published a total of five tracts pleading for the introduction of divorce into England. They were published between 1643 and 1645, and were one of the principal causes of his problems with the Presbyterian majority in parliament.

11 One of the first books to challenge the traditional image of Milton as an outright misogynist was Joseph A. Wittreich, *Feminist Milton* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1988). For a more recent discussion of diverse aspects of the problem, see Catherine Gimelli Martin (ed.), *Milton and Gender* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

12 See Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, II, 286-307.

13 The *Observations* on the Irish question are in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-1982), vol. III. For a balanced attempt to defend Milton from such criticisms, see the biography by Barbara K. Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 240-241.

14 Milton's *Commonplace Book* is in Don M. Wolfe (ed.), *Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Vol. I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 344-513. For the above quote, see p. 499.

15 The importance of Thomas Jefferson's reading of Milton's *Areopagitica* was first underlined by George S. Sensabaugh in a book on *Milton in Early America* published in 1964. For the first French translation, see Mirabeau, *Tract sur la liberté de la presse, imité de l'Anglois de Milton* (Paris, 1787). The Indian edition of *Areopagitica* mentioned here was published in Calcutta in 1872, edited by S. Lobb.

16 See the catalogue of the *Mostra storica della casa editrice Laterza: Milano, 16 novembre, 1961* (Bari: Laterza, 1961), 22.

17 See Croce's letter to De Ruggiero of December 30, 1932, in: Angela Schinaia and Nunzio Ruggiero (eds.), *Carteggio Croce-De Ruggiero* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008), 184

18 *Areopagitica*, 7.

19 See John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2003).

20 For example F. Max Müller wrote in the *Contemporary Review* (vol. 36, 1879), 'Look through the whole of history [...] and you will not find one single period in which the measure of Liberty accorded to each individual was larger than it is at present'. See Andrew Pyle (ed.), *Liberty: Contemporary Responses to John Stuart Mill* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), 350.

21 Both reviews are published in John M. Robson (ed.), Alexander Brady (introd.), *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XVIII - Essays on Politics and Society Part I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

22 For the *Essay on Liberty*, see ibidem. The reference to Tocqueville is in Chapter III: 'Of Individuality, as one of the Elements of Well-Being'.

23 See Nadia Urbinati, *Mill on Democracy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), in particular Chap. I: 'The Modernity of Athens'.
24 See Isaiah Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in: *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1990). This classic book on liberty, first published in 1969, also contains 'John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life', the text of a famous lecture delivered by Isaiah Berlin in 1959 celebrating the centenary of the first publication of Mill's *Essay on Liberty*.
25 See the translation of Humboldt's text by Joseph Coulthard (London: Chapman, 1854), 65.
26 For a detailed discussion of this argument, see Alexander Brown, 'On Behalf of J.S. Mill's "Assumption of Infallibility Argument"', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 18, no. 5 (2010), 857-873.
27 The two essays mentioned, and Collini's 'Introduction' to them, are in *The Collected Works*, vol. XXI, 85-95 and 259-340.
28 See 'The Contest in America', also in *Collected Works*, vol. XXI, 125-142.
29 Mill's *Autobiography* is in *Collected Works*, vol. I. On his father's *History*, see 29.
30 See the Introduction by Martin Moir to vol. XXX of the *Collected Works* containing Mill's official and unofficial documents concerning British rule in India.
31 Mill's public and parliamentary speeches are in *The Collected Works*, vols. XXVIII and XXIX.
32 These manuscripts have been published as Appendix A and Appendix C in vol. XXI of Mill's *Collected Works*.
33 On this subject, see Jo Ellen Jacobs, *The Voice of Harriet Taylor Mill* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002).
34 See *The Collected Works*, vol. XXI, 261.

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IV

The Impact of the East

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The Impact on the European Humanities of Early Reports from Catholic Missionaries from China, Tibet and Japan between 1600 and 1700

Gerhard F. Strasser

At a time when the countries of the Far East are rapidly becoming future world powers, when China is surpassing Germany as the most important export nation in the world and India is vying to rise up from the level of a developing country, it is sometimes necessary to remind us of the paucity of information on this part of the world in the not so distant past. And while the travelogue of the Venetian Marco Polo stands out as the one account that became widely known in the Middle Ages as it chronicled the journeys of the members of Marco Polo's family to the Middle Kingdom under Kublai Chan during their two separate voyages from 1260 to 1266 and anew from 1271 to 1295, there were rare earlier official contacts with this empire apart from trade relations that followed the silk routes: Chinese sources report of a Roman 'mission' that reached China in 166 A.D. There is a record in the *Hou Hanshu* ('History of the Later Han Chinese Dynasty') that a Roman delegation arrived at the Chinese capital Luoyang in 166 – during the reign of Marc Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) – and was greeted by Emperor Huan of the Han Dynasty.[1]

In an analysis that focuses on the impact on the European humanities of early reports from missionaries in the Far East, there is one discovery that more than anything else strengthened the resolve of the Catholic Church to pursue its mission: In 1625 a stele was unearthed that miraculously documented the presence of early Christian congregations in China. It chronicled that in 635 Alopen (or Aluoben), a Syrian monk and a group of other religious men from Persia were officially escorted from the Western outposts to the court of the T'ang dynasty at its capital, Ch'ang-an (= Xi'an) on the Yellow River.[2] Alopen and his fellow travellers were Nestorian Christians, members of a religious group that the Roman church considered heretic until Pope John Paul II readmitted them in 1994. They came to a court that was surprisingly open to foreign influences as the Chinese empire enjoyed a period of peace that is now called the Buddhist Golden Age. For over two centuries Nestorians gained a strong foothold in China until severe

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domestic and foreign problems toward the end of the T'ang dynasty resulted in virulent anti-foreign sentiments, and in 845 an edict dissolved all monasteries – primarily Buddhist but also Nestorian congregations. And for hundreds of years this early Christianization of China was all but forgotten until the 'Nestorian Stone' – as the stele is sometimes called – gave new impetus to the Jesuits in their efforts to convert the Chinese, as we shall see.

While the mission of Alopen was thus virtually unknown in the West in the Middle Ages, there were several other Christian travellers whose accounts were documented toward the end of this period, such as those of the Franciscan Plano Carpini to the Mongol ruler from 1245 to 1247; of Friar William of Rubruck's travels to the Great Khan at his new capital, Karakorum, from 1253 to 1255; of Friar John of Montecorvino's journey to Beijing via Madras, India, at the end of the thirteenth century; or of the travels of Odoric of Pordenone and his party, who reached their destination in 1342. Most of them were Franciscans, and they all profited from the relative openness of the ruling Mongols to religious beliefs, be they Buddhist or Christian. In their reports back to Rome the friars mentioned that they had to contend with Nestorian Christians among the Mongol elite whose way of life they seriously questioned. Nonetheless the Franciscans managed to establish small footholds in the vast Mongol empire before the Mongols were ousted by the Ming dynasty between 1368 and 1387, which for all practical purposes ended the second flowering of Christianity in China. And while the reports of these early missionaries back to the Vatican and European courts were taken rather seriously, it is surprising that the narratives that reached the public were often met with the same disbelief that Marco Polo's account evoked after he had dictated it in a Genovese jail to a fellow prisoner in 1298 – and after it became widely known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3]

The Portuguese Empire: Trade and secrecy

The renewed Chinese hostility toward most foreigners – trade was still allowed with Persian merchants along the Silk Road – was the most serious stumbling block when the new era of sea voyages began at the end of the fifteenth century. Columbus's westward exploration in 1492 intensified the rivalry between Spain and Portugal over the allocation of new territories, which culminated in 1494 in the Treaty of Tordesillas. It promulgated that all undiscovered non-Christian lands to the West of the Cape Verde islands were to become Spanish possessions while those to the East belonged to Portugal. Vasco da Gama's discovery of the maritime route to the Indian subcontinent around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 not only ushered in the establishment of Portuguese settlements in India

– Portugal's spice monopoly greatly contributed to the country's wealth in the sixteenth century – but also meant that Portuguese ships were the only means of transportation for the renewed missionary efforts in India, China and Japan.

For such efforts began as the Spaniards and Portuguese discovered or occupied more and more lands on both sides of the globe. Portugal, in particular, tried to prevent the dissemination of information on its exploits in the Far East, and little relevant information became known in print for decades. In 1540, after successive appeals to the Pope asking for missionaries for the Portuguese East Indies, Francis Xavier – one of the founding members of the Society of Jesus created in 1534 – decided to heed this call. He established missions in India and Japan and died in 1552 on an island off the coast of the Chinese mainland. And while Franciscan monks continued missionary work in Japan with some success, it took another half a century until the first Catholic priests – again Jesuit fathers – were finally allowed to present themselves in Beijing.

The Jesuit mission and the rise of Oriental studies

It is fair to say that the advent of Jesuit missionaries in China more than any other element left a lasting imprint on the European humanities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and ushered in the curiosity and increasing awareness of this enormous realm among Western scholars. One of the earliest Jesuits to receive permission to set foot on the Chinese mainland and the first to gain access to the imperial court in Beijing was the Italian Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Despite all his intellectual prowess, his linguistic skills and technical know-how Ricci owed much of his success to the inordinate amount of time he devoted to the preparation of his journey to Beijing beginning with his arrival at Goa in 1578. When he reached the Jesuit mission in the Portuguese trading port of Macao four years later, some of his peers were still overcoming their objections to the kind of accommodation that the total immersion in the Chinese language and customs of the newly arrived, progressive Jesuits proposed.[4] Surprisingly enough some of these progressive missionaries received permission to establish residence in the city of Chao ch'ing (Zhaoquing) upstream from the Portuguese trading port of Macao, and Ricci was one of the four fathers whose letters to the Jesuit General in Rome catalogued the years 1583 and 1584 in this outpost. The missionaries were well received, in part at least since they assented to wearing robes that resembled those of Buddhist monks – which blurred the differences between the two religions, of course. (Nonetheless this 'assimilation' marks the beginning of the so-called accommodation with Chinese customs and cults that was to dominate missionary efforts a century later and ended with the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773.)

The texts of the communications of these four priests were published in a 1586 Jesuit letterbook[5] and were certainly used for propaganda purposes by the order as they contained valuable information on the Chinese people and their political system. Returning to Macao when the outpost was closed by Chinese authorities a couple of years later, Ricci not only spent the next decade perfecting his mastery of the Chinese language and customs but published extensively. Balancing his skills in the sciences with his training in the humanities, Ricci produced his earliest version of a Chinese world map in 1584 and in 1595 his first book in Chinese, *On Friendship*. In this way he set a pattern that many of the later Jesuits tried to follow: Their extensive training both in Europe and in Jesuit stations on the fringe of the Middle Kingdom meant that upon having gained access to the imperial court their ultimate goal of converting the Chinese, especially the ruling class, involved their engagement both in the natural sciences and in the humanities. Many publications in both areas can be taken as proof of this approach that of course never lost sight of the ultimate goal, the Christianization of China.

Ricci's initial visit to Beijing in 1598 failed after a few months as the Japanese invasion of Korea made foreigners suspect. Only after the publication of a greatly improved second world map in 1600 was Ricci finally permitted by decree to submit his credentials – and priceless presents – to representatives of Emperor Wan-li (1563-1620). (Ricci never met the reclusive ruler face to face.) The Jesuit was elevated to the rank of an imperial mandarin and spent the remaining nine years of his life in the house on the palace grounds that the Emperor made available for him and his companions.

Ricci's publications during this period are highly informative; one of the later versions of his world map, produced at the behest of Wan-li, reveals the astute graphic adjustment of the representation of China during the two decades Ricci devoted to the improvement of his geographical knowledge of the host country [Fig. 6 (pages 190-191)]. When he died in mid-1610, the Emperor donated a piece of land for the burial plot and stele of the one foreigner the Chinese have revered to this day. In 1615, five years after his death, a fellow Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault, translated the Italian text of Ricci's *Journals* into Latin.[6] This voluminous material, together with a growing number of similar publications on China, undercut Portugal's efforts to limit information on the Far East: As early as 1586, two years before Valignani's collection of letters, the first book illustrating the Chinese writing system with reproductions of ideographs appeared. Juan Pedro González de Mendoza (1545-1618), a Spanish Augustinian monk in the service of Philipp II, spent three years in China. His experience – based on earlier accounts by Martin Ignacio de Loyola – provided material for the *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costu[m]bres del gran reyno de la China*,[7] the first history of China

in the West. It was almost immediately translated into English by Robert Parke as *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China*. The second edition of Richard Hakluyt's widely read *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiqves, and Discoveries of the English Nation* of 1599 relied heavily on these sources in the section dealing with the Middle Kingdom.[8] By the end of the sixteenth century, European scholars began to discuss some of the intriguing aspects of this remote part of the world. One of the earliest was Sir Francis Bacon, who in his 1605 *Of the Proficience and Aduancement of Learning*[9] analyzed the tonal language of the Chinese and proposed to build a universal language on 'real characters' that could be similar to what he mistakenly considered the 'hieroglyphs' of Chinese writing. Despite these somewhat erroneous assumptions Bacon's ideas influenced linguistic discussions for the rest of the century.

Beyond early factual accounts it was again the Jesuits who tried to make available to the West some important Confucian works – which Ricci had already described in his *Journal* – and translate them into European languages. (In fact the Italian saw the greatest Chinese philosopher, Confucius, at the same level as the European philosophers of Greek and Roman antiquity, but he explicitly favoured the 'original Confucianism,' which lacked the religious elements found in the later neo-Confucianism that conflicted with Christianity.)[10] There were also attempts at translating the *Four Books*, the introduction to the Confucian canon; they culminated in 1687, when several Jesuit fathers published *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*[11] ('Confucius, the Philosopher of the Chinese') in Paris. Along with further Jesuit accounts of the so-called Eight Trigrams used in Taoist cosmology to represent the fundamental principles of reality and their relationship with the Yin/Yang principles this body of information had a considerable impact on European philosophers of the later seventeenth century, such as Leibniz. More perhaps than any other material on China such newly acquired insight into the philosophical and linguistic world of thought of this ancient civilization influenced pre-Enlightenment discussions in the humanities of the West.

While Ricci had suspected that the mystical Cathay of Marco Polo and other earlier writers was identical with the China he was now describing, the ultimate proof only came when Trigault's edition of Ricci's *Journals* narrated the 1602-1605 journey of Brother Bento de Goës. This fellow Jesuit died on the far western borders of China, which he reached in search of the mysterious Cathay following orders from his superior in Agra, India. Fortunately de Goës managed to send his travelogue on to Ricci in Beijing. This account greatly contributed to the identification of Marco Polo's mysterious Cathay with the China that was now being discovered.[12]

For the West, this was perhaps the most intriguing piece of information on China, the elusive realm in the East for centuries. More than his various suc-

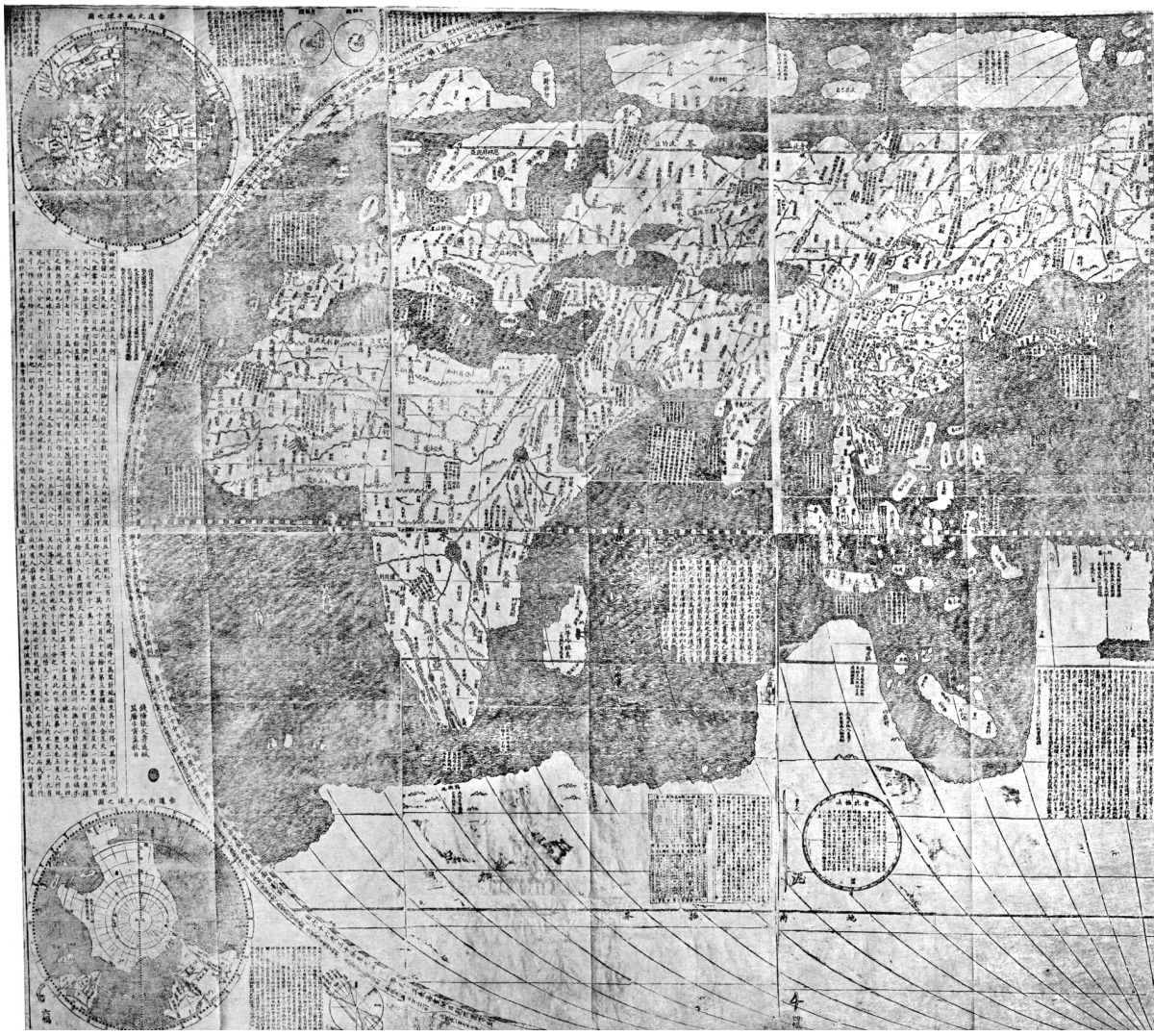
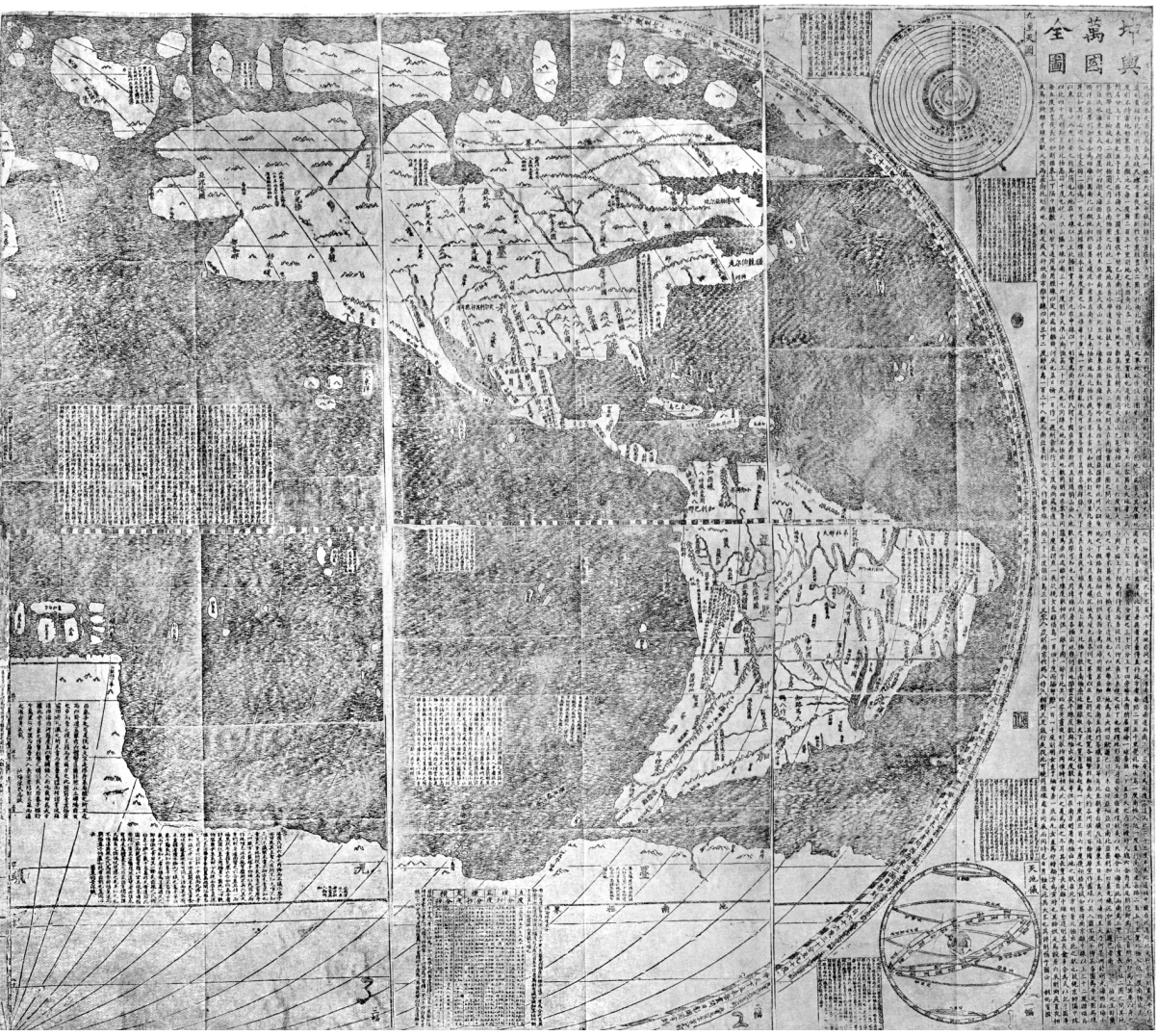


Fig. 6: Matteo Ricci, with Zhong Wentao and Li Zhizao, Six-part map of China (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*), 1602, woodblock print, 152 x 366 cm, Vatican Library, Rome

cessors, Ricci's extensive stay in China allowed him to characterize the men and women of his host country as 'a people both intelligent and learned,' as Ricci wrote in 1609 in his last letter to Rome. The Jesuit described the written Chinese language as one consisting of 'ideographs resembling the hieroglyphic figures of



the ancient Egyptians,'[13] an incorrect comparison by modern standards that another Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), would dramatically exploit when he proposed a direct linkage between these two systems in his 1667 standard work on the Far East, *China* [...] *illvstrata*.[14] Ricci identified 'the use of accents and tones [...] to lessen [...] the difficulty of equivocation or doubtful meaning' and properly spoke of 'five different tones or inflections.' Much of this linguis-

tic information – while not unknown by the time Trigault published it in 1615 – led to intense discussions of the Chinese system and was used by European scholars ranging from Francis Bacon to Descartes, Mersenne, Hermann Hugo all the way to Kircher and Leibniz in their attempts at creating some sort of universal written communication.[15] Overall the most striking characteristics of the Chinese, Ricci summarized, were their peaceableness; their efficient means of self-control; the strict hierarchization of government and society; isolationism; and xenophobia.[16] Yet despite these various contrasting identifications and their discussions in learned circles, it may be true – as Nigel Cameron put it some twenty years ago – that 'the Western world remained obstinately faithful to the China of Marco Polo and of that inspired literary robber and romancer Sir John Mandeville.'[17]

Ricci – who relied heavily on Western know-how and technical expertise when he tried to gain access to the highest levels of Chinese bureaucracy – early on identified areas where Jesuit fathers whose schooling initially would focus on the humanities were then to be especially trained in the natural sciences in order to demonstrate the superiority of the West and thereby promote their missionary work. Such points of attack were Chinese astronomy, which used an obsolete lunar-solar calendar system whose inadequacy Ricci's Jesuit assistant proved a few months after his master's death when his calculations pinpointed a solar eclipse much more precisely than the Chinese astronomers. Another area where the Jesuits enjoyed absolute mastery was the production and/or repair of watches and technical instruments, such as telescopes – for more than a century they literally held the monopoly in these skills. Ricci's own expertise in cartography made him indispensable; later generations of Jesuits trained in surveying and mapmaking were similarly highly regarded. In return, Ricci's and later missionaries' reports from China greatly influenced European humanities in areas such as comparative religion, philosophy, or linguistics, as we have seen. However, the court appointments of Ricci or, after him, Johann Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest, meant that the oaths of allegiance to the Emperor they had to swear automatically entailed a promise to remain in China for the rest of their lives. All three of them died there and were buried with high honours.[18]

Early Jesuit assessments of the potential success of their China mission

One letter sent to the Jesuit General Aquaviva and printed in 1601 may serve as a representative assessment of the chances a Catholic mission would have in China,

as seen in the very beginning of such efforts. Nicolò Longobardi listed a number of points in his 1598 communication:[19] (1) The Chinese realm is built on the highest degree of unity and conformity – an important factor in any future missionary work as top-down conversion should facilitate mass baptisms. (2) Uniformity of written language, which should also facilitate proselytization. (3, 4) The Chinese work hard, are rich, highly civilized and educated. (5) Even the common man knows how to read and write – which should facilitate the preaching of the gospel. (6) The numerous laws are strictly observed; government follows the teachings of Confucius. Christianity should be able to step right in. (7) The Chinese are immune to idleness. (8) But the people do not easily accept innovation. Longobardi fears that Confucianism might remain deeply rooted among the people. (9) The Chinese love domestic peace and tranquility; they live up to high moral standards and worship their ancestors. (10) But they are atheists, especially the scholars. Nonetheless this latter group, in particular, should be open to the acceptance of a single God and of the gospel.

This catalogue of information, and similar reports reaching the Jesuit General in Rome, clearly determined some of the missionary tactics that the order identified over the following years. Overall such lists may have been self-serving and too optimistic – at least when judged by modern standards. One of the Jesuits' prime goals was the conversion of high mandarins, something that Ricci had been attempting in vain; pandering to the common people, however, such as wearing Buddhist-type robes, was soon abandoned as the newly chosen garments of the literati put the Jesuits in a much higher social class, much closer to the target groups of the intelligentsia.[20] It is ironic that the potential conversion of the last Ming Emperor Chong Zhen (1611-1644) in the beginning of his short reign (1627-1644) may have been due to gratitude that he felt for the Jesuits who – much against their liking – were drafted into the production of Western-style cannons that proved superior in the repulsion of a Tartar attack on Beijing in 1629.[21] And while later Jesuits elevated to the rank of Mandarins enjoyed excellent working relationships with the respective emperors, their conversion remained an elusive goal.

Jesuit missionary efforts gained tremendous credibility in a different, totally unexpected way: In 1625 a nine-foot tall marble stone tablet or stele was unearthed in the outskirts of Xi'an.[22] Its inscription told the story about a group of early Christians in China for whom the Jesuits had been searching ever since their arrival. There were legendary reports of an evangelization of St Thomas the Apostle in these lands, and Marco Polo and some of the thirteenth-century Franciscan travellers had talked about many sightings of the Nestorian Christians. But now this stele – engraved with a large Syrian cross and dated 781 – described the 'Luminous Teaching,' in other words, Christianity, in Syriac and

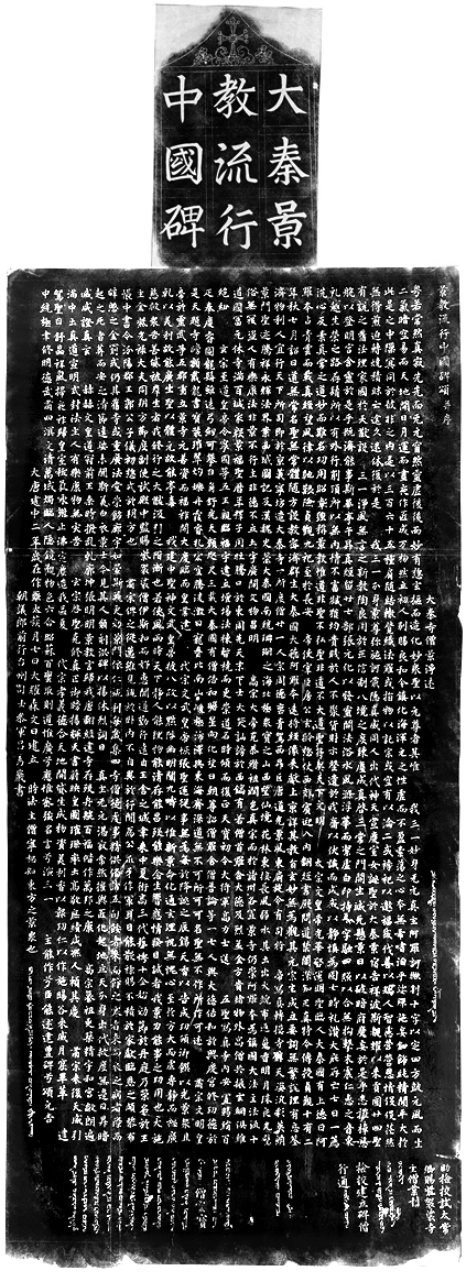


Fig. 7: The Nestorian Tablet or Stele, dating back to 781, found near the former capital of Xi'an in 1625, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (rubbing)

Chinese [Figs. 7-8]. It chronicled the arrival of Alopen and his group of Syriac-speaking missionaries in 635 and recorded an imperial edict of 638 granting permission for the building of a church in Xi'an. The stone tablet – still preserved in the so-called Forest of Steles in this former Chinese capital – established proof of the existence of the Catholic faith in a land that the Jesuits were therefore now trying to re-Christianize. Within a decade Athanasius Kircher, the most prolific Jesuit writer of the seventeenth century, published a first translation in his work on the Coptic language, *Prodromus Coptvs sive Ægyptiacvs*;[23] in 1667, he returned to this material in his handbook on the Middle Kingdom, *China* [...] *illvstrata*, where he reproduced the stele on a stunning fold-out page [Fig. 9 (pages 196-197)]. In many ways this large folio work is part of the Jesuit propaganda aimed at demonstrating how the Jesuit order with all the expertise at its disposal was privileged to spread the gospel in this land – more than some of the other, competing Catholic congregations that had entered on the Chinese scene.

Fig. 8: Detail of Fig. 7: Crucifix on top of the nine Chinese ideograms

Jesuit success at the Imperial Court due to their expertise in technical disciplines

One of the experts in the fields of mathematics and astronomy that the Jesuit superiors sent to Beijing on Ricci's request one generation later was Schall von Bell (1592-1666). Like Ricci before him, he spent several years in Macao preparing for this arrival in Beijing in 1622, and like Ricci he had undergone a thorough training in the humanities but was specifically 'groomed' in the sciences in order to maintain the Jesuit foothold at the imperial court. Thus he published the first description of the Galilean telescope in Chinese in 1626 that the Italian had begun to assemble in 1609. Never at a loss for words, Schall claimed that 'now with the telescope there is no longer either small object or distant object. [...] Both heaven and earth become part of our visual field.'[24] The ultimate proof of this new technology came when the Jesuits predicted a 1629 eclipse of the sun to the very minute while the Chinese Bureau of Astronomy missed it by a full hour. A few months later an imperial edict entrusted the calendar reform to the Jesuits, and in 1638 Schall assumed complete responsibility, all the while working under the direction of a Chinese Director of the Astronomical Observatory.

Fig. 9: Fold-out illustration of the Nestorian Tablet from Athanasius Kircher, *China monumentis qua sacris qua profanis* (Amsterdam: Van Waesberge, 1667)

The violent end of the Ming dynasty in 1644 did not, however, change Schall's position, as Shun Chih, the new Manchu Emperor and founder of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty, soon became aware of the advances in Western science and technology. After Schall – who had presented his reformed calendar as early as 1641 – predicted yet another solar eclipse to the minute in 1644, he was appointed Director of the Imperial Observatory and elevated to the level of a Mandarin of the Fifth Class. Finally, in 1658, he received the highest honour of becoming a Mandarin of the First Class – which did not prevent the powerful enemies of the Jesuit scientists to accuse them of high treason when upon the death of Shun Chih his six-year-old son Kang-h'si ascended the throne in 1661. The Jesuits suffered terribly during the long trial, were finally exonerated – but Schall had been weakened so much that he died a few months later in 1666. One of his faithful collaborators was Flemish-born Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), who was jailed along with Schall. When Kang-h'si assumed full power in 1666, Verbiest on several occasions challenged the Chinese accuser of the Jesuits and new Director of the Observatory in the presence of the emperor, who in 1669 finally appointed Verbiest as the second Jesuit Director, a post he held until his death in 1688. Apart from several important astronomical publications, Verbiest also replaced Schall's older instruments on the platform of the observatory, where they have survived to this day [Fig. 10].[25] An exceedingly

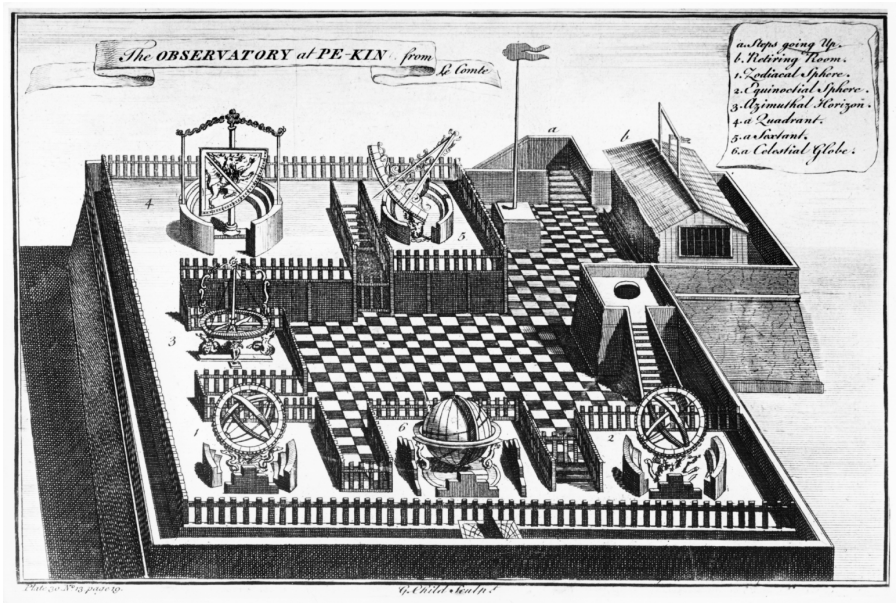


Fig. 10: The Beijing Observatory, image from J.B. du Halde, *The General History of China Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China* (London: Watts, 1741) © Hulton Archive/Getty Images

well-trained engineer, Verbiest – quite possibly like earlier Jesuits in Emperor Chong Zhen's short reign – was drafted to design and produce cannons for Kang-h'si's army, which performed well and enabled the emperor to put down a long-festering rebellion.[26] Despite the preponderance of his technical work Verbiest also published books in the field of theology and may have rearranged the Chinese grammar originally prepared in 1652 by Martino Martini (1614-1661), a South Tyrolean fellow Jesuit and long-time travelling companion.[27] Verbiest excelled in the Manchu language, the idiom still spoken at the Manchu court of Kang-h'si, and opened the field of Manchu studies by authoring the first *Grammatica tartarea*, also titled, *Elementa linguæ tartaricæ*, which was printed in Beijing.[28] Mastery of this language further facilitated his communication with the emperor.

The eight-year-long Jesuit exploration of a land route to China and Tibet

At about the same time the journeys to China that Western missionaries had to undertake on Portuguese vessels had become so dangerous, and so many lives were lost due to the increased harassment of these ships by Dutch and English warships and privateers, that the Jesuit General decided to send an exploratory party overland from Rome to Beijing to ascertain whether a land route might be a viable alternative. The newly published atlas *Novvs Atlas Sinensis* by Martino Martini[29] greatly facilitated such plans [Fig. 11]. Thus in early 1656 the Jesuit General sent detailed instructions for an overland journey to two young Austrian Jesuits, Bernhard Diestel (1623-1660) and Johannes Grueber (1623-1680).[30] They were to take the northerly route, the old Silk Road, and had to document their itinerary so that mission stations could subsequently be established. However, border wars between Persia and Afghanistan prevented them from pursuing their overland search; they were forced to travel on the well-known caravan route to Hormus and from there took boats to Macao. After three years they finally reached Beijing in August of 1659, where Grueber began his work as a mathematician for the imperial court while Diestel soon died from exhaustion.

Thanks to the intercession of Adam Schall, Grueber and a new travelling companion received imperial letters of protection that were to facilitate their return to India via Tibet and Nepal. And indeed Grueber and the Belgian Albert d'Orville (1621-1661) reached Lhasa after a six-month trek on 10 October 1661. Emperor Shun Chih's protection enabled them to remain in the Tibetan capital for one month and observe life and customs there. It was during this period that

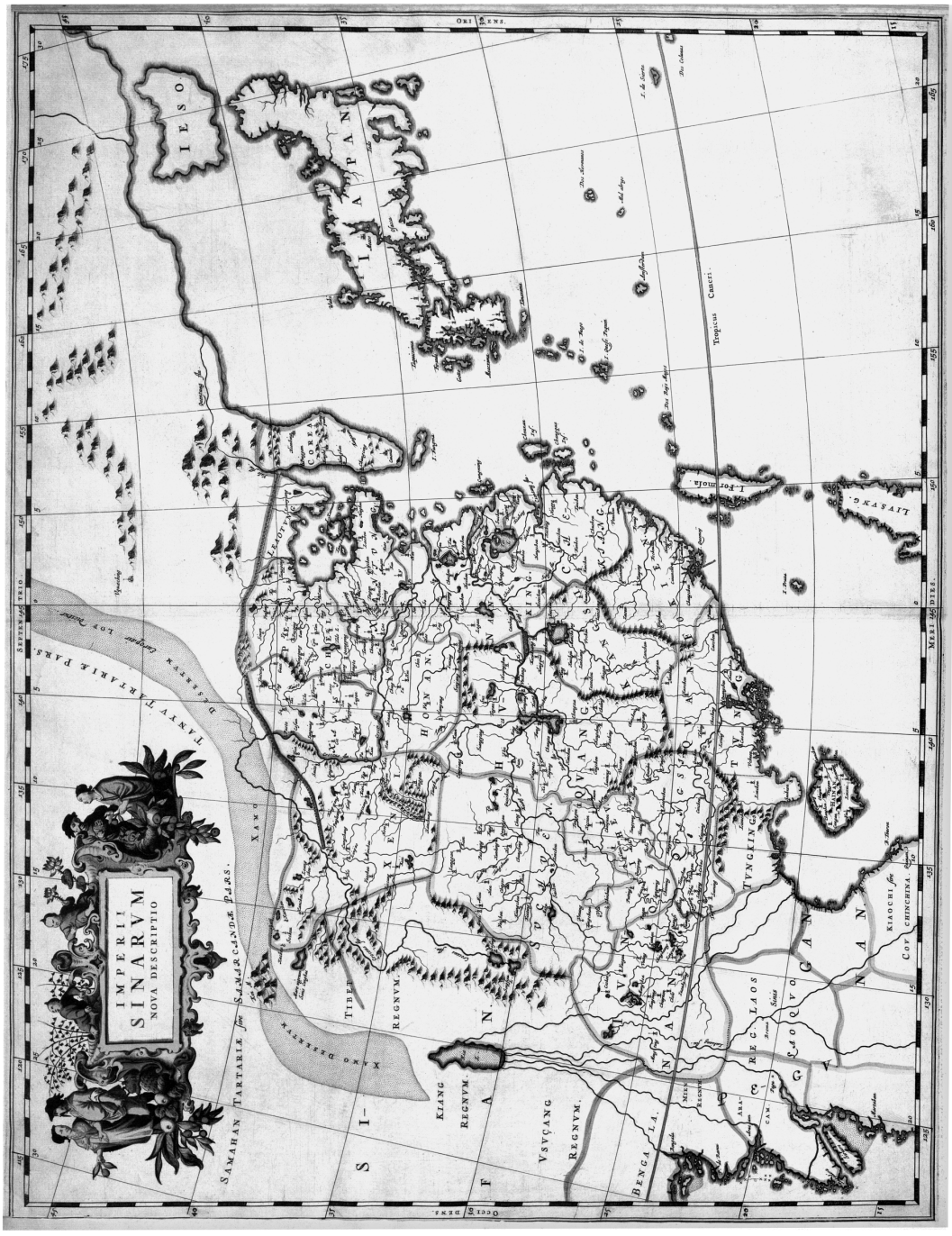


Fig. 11: Martino Martini, representation of China in *Novius Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1655)

Grueber – well trained as a draftsman – produced the sketches that were used upon his 1664 return to Rome in Kircher's summary account of this eight-year-long journey in the 1667 *China* [...] *illvstrata*. Unfortunately the vast majority of Grueber's sketches were lost, and the summary in Kircher's publication remains the first written and illustrated record of this epic journey[31] as Grueber's further, detailed accounts sent to Rome from his new post in Transylvania never reached Kircher. Nonetheless, for 200 years Grueber's documentation in the *China* [...] *illvstrata* contained the earliest illustrations of Lhasa, the costumes of Tibetan men and women and even of the Dalai Lama – drawn from a half-size bust as the Jesuits were not allowed to see him face to face [Fig. 12].

Of particular interest within the purview of this analysis is Grueber's assessment of the apparent similarities between Tibetan-style Lamaism and Catholicism. Some of these had first been described in 1625 by another Jesuit, Antonio de Andrade (1580-1634), the earliest European to set foot on Tibetan soil in the west of the country. On several occasions Andrade spent a total of two years in Tsaparang, where on Easter Day 1626 the cornerstone was laid for the first

Fig. 12: The Potala Palace in Lhasa, from Athanasius Kircher, *China monumentis qua sacris qua profanis* (Amsterdam: Van Waesberge, 1667), p. 74

Christian church in Tibet.[32] On 6 November 1625, he sent a letter to his superior in Portuguese Goa that was printed a couple of years later but – despite several translations – remained relatively unknown.[33] Both he and forty years later Grueber noticed the following specious similarities: (1) They (the Tibetan Lamaists) celebrate holy mass with bread and wine; (2) they administer the extreme unction; (3) they bless marriages; (4) they pray for the sick; (5) they have processions; (6) they revere relics; (7) they have monasteries and nunneries; (8) they sing in choirs according to the customs of our faithful; (9) they fast several times a year; (10) they elect bishops; (11) they donate generous offerings and are well disciplined; (12) they send terribly poor barefoot monks all the way to China. Nonetheless, Grueber concluded, all of these similarities could only be the work of the devil since they were strikingly similar to rites and customs in the Catholic Church even though no European or Christian had ever been in this corner of the world. These observations were further confirmed by the members of the Capuchin order[34] to whom the Pope entrusted the Christianization of Tibet in 1704, which for about forty years led to a mission in Lhasa. (It goes without saying that seventeenth-century interpretation of such surprising similarities also surmised the influence of early Christians, such as the Nestorians, and even theorized that the elusive Prester John could have taken refuge in Tibet.)

In closing: The impact on the West of some other aspects of the Chinese civilization

Let me add a few concluding remarks. While this analysis has highlighted the impact on the European humanities of some of the early reports from the Far East, primarily from China, it has not touched upon many other aspects of the Chinese civilization that influenced the West during the Early Modern Period. Apart from efforts to commercialize silk production at just about every European court, the most salient one is the import and ultimate production of porcelain, initially in Germany. Less well known is the fact that the Chinese were early masters of bridge construction – at the end of the sixteenth century, Portuguese travellers to China described suspension bridges for the first time. In the 1683 edition of his *Relationes Curiosæ* Eberhard Werner Happel reports on chain bridges that the Chinese built across a deep ravine;[35] in 1741, the Austrian architect Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) proposed to build the first such bridge in the West, specifically referring to Chinese models.

We have reached the end of the seventeenth century, the period under investigation. Two last references: On several occasions, we have encountered the most

important handbook on China published in the last third of the seventeenth century, Athanasius Kircher's *China* [...] *illvstrata* of 1667. This folio-size tome was the outlet for much of the material that Catholic missionaries sent to Rome from their various stations, especially the Far East; Grueber's account was featured just as much as that of one of his travelling companions, Heinrich Roth, who was the first to describe Sanskrit, the language of the Indian Brahmans.[36] But any further analysis of Kircher's compendium and some of his other relevant work would go beyond the pale of this investigation.

At the close of the century, Kircher's *China* [...] *illvstrata*, but also his earlier *Œdipvs Ægyptiacvs* [...][37] with its section on Chinese writing were some of the sources that Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) used in his extensive deliberations of an *Ars combinatoria*. They led to his interest in the Chinese writing system, which – as he hoped – could lead to a clearer differentiation between *signum* and *notio* and could pave the way to an analysis of a logical structure of this system. Ultimately this would connect with his combinatorial work, for which the Chinese *Yijing* and its hexagrams provided a possible model. After more than two decades of keen interest in matters Chinese Leibniz published an analysis of information related to the Middle Kingdom in the *Novissima Sinica* of 1697.[38] He documented his extensive knowledge in a preface that presented his astute interpretation of the situation in China. It showed his long-cherished goal of a Sino-European exchange of knowledge 'in which Europeans taught Chinese geometry, First Philosophy and revealed religion while the Chinese in turn taught natural religion and practical philosophy – 'practica philosophia [...] id est Ethicæ et Politicæ,'[39] as David Mungello characterized Leibniz's approach. In some ways like Kircher in his *China* [...] *illvstrata* a generation earlier, Leibniz provided a forum not only for an extended report on the history of the Jesuit mission in China up to 1692 by the rector of the Jesuit College in Peking but also included a brief account of an astronomical work in which Ferdinand Verbiest discussed stellar observations carried out on behalf of Emperor Kang-h'si in preparation of the new Chinese calendar.[40] Despite the small print run – a second printing occurred two years later – this book, in particular the detailed prefatory material that Leibniz prepared, provided yet another impetus for renewed scholarly discussions of China, its political system, philosophy and its civilization in eighteenth-century Europe. In some ways Leibniz summarized the lasting impact that one hundred years of ever more reliable information on the Middle Kingdom had on the West, an impact clearly felt in the humanities where – as had become quite evident over the years – China had the most to offer.

Notes

1 'In the ninth *yanxi* year [166 CE], during the reign of Emperor Huan, the king of Da Qin (the Roman Empire), Andun (Marcus Aurelius *Antoninus*), sent envoys from beyond the frontiers [...] to offer elephant tusks, rhinoceros horn, and turtle shell. This was the very first time there was [direct] communication [between the two countries]. The tribute brought was neither precious nor rare, raising suspicion that the accounts [of the 'envoys'] might be exaggerated.' John H. Hill (transl.), *The Western Regions According to the* Hou Hanshu. *The* Xiyu juan 'Chapter on the Western Regions' from *Hou Hanshu* 88. 2nd, revised ed., 2003. URL: http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/hhshu/hou_han_shu.html#sec11 (accessed 04/05/2011). The Roman Emperor 'Andun' or 'An tun' (thus the historical Chinese transliteration) may well have been Marc Aurelius (161-180 A.D.), who out of reverence to his late predecessor Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) took on Antoninus's name.

2 Nigel Cameron, *Barbarians and Mandarins. Thirteen Centuries of Western Travelers in China* (Hong Kong, Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), 17-27; *Catholic Dictionary: Alopen*. URL: http://dictionary.editme.com/Alopen (accessed 04/05/2011).

3 Marco Polo's account circulated in more than one hundred manuscripts before it was published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's 1553 compilation of the great medieval journeys in his book, *Delle navigazioni e viaggi* (Venice: i Giunti); further editions well into the seventeenth century.

4 'It is a waste of time [...] to learn the Chinese language and to consecrate himself to a hopeless enterprise,' was the verdict that a fellow Jesuit pronounced who preferred to rely on translators and pursued the Europeanization of the Chinese. Quoted by Michele Ruggieri, who upon arrival at Macao in 1579 was freed from all other duties in order to focus on the learning of the language. See 'Introduction' to M. Howard Rienstra (ed., transl.), *Jesuit Letters from China 1583-84* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 10-11.

5 The original publication dealt primarily with the mission in Japan and tagged on the letters from China: *Avvisi del Giapone, de gli anni M.D. LXXXII, LXXXIII, et LXXXIV, Con alcuni altri della Cina dell' LXXXIII et LXXXIV: Cauati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù: Riceuute il mese di dicembre, M.D. LXXXV* (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1586). Further letters were published by Alessandro Valignani, *Avvisi della Cina, et Giapone del Fine dell'anno 1587* [...] (Venice: Giolito de Ferrari, 1588). See Cameron, *Barbarians*, 188-189.

6 Matteo Ricci, *De Christiana Expeditione Apud Sinas. Suscepta ab Societate Jesu*, ed. by Nicolas Trigault (Augsburg: Mang, 1615). Four more Latin editions were followed by three French versions and translations into German, Spanish and English.

7 Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586 (=1587). English translation London: Edward White 1587.

8 London: Bishop, Newberie and Barker, 1599.

9 Expanded discussion of this material in Bacon's own 1623 Latin translation (*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* [...] (London: Haviland) of the 1605 *Of the Proficience and Aduancement of Learning* (London: Tomes).

10 David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800*. 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD, *et al.*: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 48-50.

11 *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Scientia sinensis* [...], transl. into Latin by Philippe Couplet S.J. *et al.* (Paris: Horthemels, 1687).

12 *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, transl. from the Latin by Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. (New York: Random House, 1953), esp. 499-521. Ricci narrated that during Bento de Goës' way east from Afghanistan as part of a caravan, he met merchants on their return from 'the so-called Cathay. There, in Peking, they had lived in the same House of Ambassadors with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and so they were able to give Brother Goës first-hand information about Father Matthew Ricci and his companions. It was in this way that Bento first learned [...] that China was, in truth, the Cathay for which he was headed.'

13 *Journals*, 26-30.

14 *China Monumentis quà sacris quà profanes* [...] (Amsterdam: Jansson and Van Waesberge, 1667). See also Hartmut Walravens, *China illustrata. Das europäische Chinaverständnis im Spiegel des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. Catalogue of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Germany) 55 (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, VCH, 1987). A recent collection of essays on Kircher is: Paula Findlen (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher. The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York, London: Routledge, 2004).

15 For an overview see the author's monograph: Lingua Universalis. *Kryptologie und Theorie der Universalsprachen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), esp. 83-98.

16 Cf. Lavinia Brancaccio, *China accommodata: Chinakonstruktionen in jesuitischen Schriften der Frühen Neuzeit*. Literaturwissenschaft 9 (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), 93-95.

17 Cameron, *Barbarians*, 189.

18 Demel, *Fremde*, 76-77. Trigault reports that in 1615 missionaries already living in China were definitely subject to this imperial edict as they were considered 'bearers of state secrets.'

19 'Exemplvm Epistolæ a [...] Anno 1598 ex China conscriptæ [...],' in: *Recentissima de amplissimo regno Chinæ* [...] (Mayence: Albinus, 1601), 1-49. Excerpts translated in Demel, *Fremde*, 188-191.

20 Brancaccio, *China accommodata*, 58-59, points out that such a change in clothing also – and at least as importantly – entailed a change in comportment and especially in the appropriate level of erudition. She also stresses that the change coincided with Ricci's realization that he had misjudged the position of Buddhist monks in Chinese society (who were much less highly regarded than he had originally thought), which contributed to his rejection of this religious group.

21 Reported in Michel Boym, *Briefve relation de la notable conversion des personnes royales, et de l'estat de la Religion Chrestienne en Chine* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1654), 45 ff., quoted in Demel, *Fremde*, 188-191.

22 See the extensive article by Timothy Billings, 'Jesuit Fish in Chinese Nets: Athanasius Kircher and the Translation of the Nestorian Tablet,' *Representations* 87 (2004), 1-42, here 1-3.

23 Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1636. For *China* [...] *illvstrata* see f.n. 15.

24 Quoted from Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Galileo in China* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1960), in: Cameron, *Barbarians*, 203-204, 206-207. It should be mentioned that the Jesuit missionaries actually introduced the heliocentric system to the Chinese although their order was opposing it in Europe – the enormous distance from Rome may have encouraged them to espouse what they personally apparently considered the most convincing system.

25 Augustín Udías, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories*, Astrophysics and Space Science Library 286 (Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer, 2003), 46-49.

26 Shu Liguang, 'Ferdinand Verbiest and the Casting of Cannons in the Qing Dynasty,' in: John W. Witek, S.J. (ed.), *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1994), 227-244.

27 Upon his return from China in 1653, Martini gave manuscript copies of his grammar to several scholars, where it was a highly prized possession. Another copy was mailed to Europe in 1689, but the original text of Martini's grammar is lost. The second edition of Melchésedec[k] Thévenot's *Relations de divers voyages curieux* [...] (Paris: Moette, 1696) contains the printed text of a Chinese grammar which may have been Martini's *Grammatica sinica*. See Giuliano Bertolucci, 'Martino Martini's *Grammatica Sinica*,' *Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies* 51 (2003), 629-640.

28 Louis Pfister, S.J., *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932-1934), 358, quoted in Yves Camus, 'Jesuits' Journeys in Chinese Studies,' paper prepared for presentation at the 2007 World Conference on Sinology, Renmin University of China, Beijing. URL: http://www.riccimac.org/doc/JesuitsJourneys.pdf (accessed 4 May 2011).

29 *Novvus Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1655); German text version Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1655.

30 The following uses material from an article of mine entitled, 'Tibet im 17. Jahrhundert. Johannes Grueber, S.J., seine Reisebeschreibungen und die Frage ihrer Veröffentlichung,' *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 24 (1995), 375-400.

31 A very similar account appeared in 1672 in vol. II, Part IV of Thévenot's first edition of his *Relations de divers voyages curieux* [...] (Paris: Cramoisy, 1663-1673), 1-23 (separately paginated). See also f.n. 27.

32 Its remnants were discovered more than 300 years later by the Austrian traveller Heinrich Harrer, as he recounted in his book, *Seven Years in Tibet*, transl. from the German by Richard Graves (London: Hart-Davis, 1953). For the first Jesuits in Tibet see URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ant%C3%B3nio_de_Andrade (accessed 04/05/2011).

33 *Relatione del nove scoprimento del gran Cataio, overo regno di Tibet. Fatto dal P. Antonio di Andrade portoghese della Compagnie di Giesu l'anno 1624* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1627). Spanish translation: Madrid 1627; French rendering Paris: 1628.

34 Order of the Friar Minors (OFMCap.), an offshoot of the Franciscan order.

35 E. G. [Eberhard Werner] Happel, *Gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genannte* Relationes Curiosæ. *Der Erste Theil* (Hamburg: Wiering, 1683), 'Noch etliche herrliche Brücken in China,' 677, 687-688. Rita Haub and Paul Oberholzer, *Matteo Ricci und der Kaiser von China. Jesuitenmission im Reich der Mitte* (Würzburg: Echter, 2010), 120-121.

36 Richard Hauschild, 'Der Missionar P. Heinrich Roth aus Dillingen und die erste europäische Sanskrit-Grammatik,' *Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Band 115, Heft 6 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972).

37 Rome: Mascardi, 1652-1655.

38 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Novissima Sinica Historiam Nostri Temporis Illustrata* [...] (Hanover: Förster, 1697). Second, expanded edition Hanover: Förster, 1699. Latin original and German translation in: Hermann Reinbothe and Heinz Günther Nesselrath, eds. and translators: G. Wilhelm Leibniz, *Das Neueste von China (1697) Novissima Sinica* (Köln: Deutsche China-Gesellschaft, 1979). See also Wenchao Li and Hans Poser, eds., *Das Neueste über China. G. W. Leibnizens* Novissima Sinica *von 1697*. Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa XXXIII (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), especially Hans Poser, 'Leibnizens *Novissima Sinica* und das europäische Interesse an China,' 11-28.

39 Leibniz, *Novissima Sinica*, Preface, fol.)(3 r-v. The entire quotation represents David Mungello's summary of Donald F. Lach's view of Leibniz's goals as Lach had expressed them in his seminal analysis: *The Preface to Leibniz'* Novissima sinica: *Commentary, Translation, Text* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1957). See Mungello, 'How Central to Leibniz's Philosophy was China,' in: Wenchao Li and Hans Poser, eds., *Das Neueste über China*, 57-67, here 61. See also Wenchao Li, *Die christliche China-Mission im 17. Jahrhundert. Verständnis, Unverständnis, Missverständnis. Eine geistesgeschichtliche Studie zum Christentum, Buddhismus und Konfuzianismus*. Studia Leibnitiana Supplementa XXXII (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000).

40 Ferdinand Verbiest S.J., *Qinding xinli ceyan jilüe* [Short Account of the Astronomic Observations for the New Calendar Prepared upon Imperial Request] (Peking, 1688). Verbiest had published a larger work the year before in Germany: *Astronomia Europæa Svb Imperatore Tartaro Sinico Cám Hy'* [Kang-h'si] [...] (Dillingen: Bencard, 1687).

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The Middle Kingdom in the Low Countries
Sinology in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands

Thijs Weststeijn

China is a 'noble diamond, sparking divinely in the eye', according to Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679).[1] The Dutch 'Prince of Poets' was not alone in esteeming the Middle Kingdom so highly. Not only was Amsterdam a staple market of Chinese goods and works of applied art. Various efforts of early European scholarship on China were products of the Netherlands as well. The earliest illustrated books, printing types, discussions of Chinese history, and editions of Confucius originated in the Low Countries. We may call this the 'proto-sinology' of the seventeenth century, as Chinese studies became an academic discipline only in 1876 when a chair was established at Leiden's university, followed by Louvain in 1884.[2]

This chapter will explore how the efforts of individual scholars, linked through networks of trade and correspondence that joined Amsterdam, Antwerp and Beijing, resulted in cross-cultural exchanges of knowledge. Even though taking place in the margin of the academic curriculum, they sparked new ideas in the humanities. As Timothy Brook observes, 'Though regarded as a minor academic discipline today, sinology in the seventeenth century played an important role in the formation of the modern European disciplines of geography, history, and social theory'.[3] We may add different branches of the humanities to this list. Exchanges moved along four related fronts. The first focused on the Chinese language and its script. The second front, building on Renaissance practices of philology, involved the translation of the Chinese classical works into Latin. The third related to music and the visual arts. Finally, knowledge of Chinese history impacted Biblical criticism, paving the way for the role that China (or rather, European images of China) would come to play in the European Enlightenment.

Even though recent scholarship has observed that the Netherlands were 'Europe's primary entrepôt for information about Asia' and that the Dutch perception of China has 'considerable significance for understanding early modern

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European culture generally', the impact of this exchange on the humanities has been neglected.[4] The seventeenth-century Low Countries were not only engaged in global trade but also a centre of the printing, translation and engraving business. As such they formed a major hub of sinological information before it reached Paris, London, Berlin and Saint Petersburg. The images of China that developed during this period gained wider acceptance throughout Europe in the eighteenth century, resulting in 'Chinoiserie' in art and literature from Frederick of Prussia's Sanssouci utopia to Voltaire's vision of an 'Enlightened' China.[5] Paradoxically, European conceptions of China and Chinese scholarship became increasingly determined by stereotypes over the years. The seminal approach of the seventeenth century, characterized by the varied aims of observation, imagination, and rhetorical opportunism geared towards a European agenda, offered a more open-ended and fluid cultural exchange than what followed afterwards.

The importance of the Low Countries: Religious and commercial missions to China

The role of the Low Countries depended on a fortuitous combination of factors.[6] In seventeenth-century Europe, knowledge about China was limited to the intercontinental networks established by the trading companies and by the Society of Jesus. The Dutch United East India Company established the fastest and most efficient route of communication with China. It helped a small group of Jesuits from the Southern Netherlands, which reached inside the Forbidden City, to become extraordinarily successful.[7] One of them, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), even became private tutor to the Emperor. The missionaries, in turn, provided publishers, scholars and artists in the Netherlands with first-hand information from their privileged position. Dutch colonial settlements in East Asia sometimes played intermediary roles in this exchange.[8]

Linguistic and cultural affinities apparently trumped religious differences; Jesuits could move relatively freely in the Dutch Republic where there was a large Catholic population. Three visits by members of the Chinese mission made a large impact throughout the Netherlands. The first was Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) from Douai, the successor of the founder of the Jesuit enterprise in China, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610).[9] In 1614, Trigault returned from China to the Low Countries. During a meeting in Antwerp, the painter Rubens portrayed him wearing a Chinese silk robe and scholar's hat: the missionary apparently made sure to present himself to greatest effect [Fig. 13].[10] His edition of Ricci's papers was translated widely as the first popular source of information on China. This interest

Fig. 13: Pieter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, 1617, black, red, and white chalk, blue pastel, and pen and brown ink on light brown laid paper, 24.8 x 44.6 cm. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

was reinforced when in 1653 another Italian Jesuit, Martino Martini (1614-1661), arrived in the Dutch Republic from China, accompanied by a Chinese assistant. He stayed in Amsterdam for some time to prepare the publication of detailed Chinese maps with the famous printer Johannes Blaeu (1596-1673). Martini's subsequent visit to the university of Louvain inspired a generation of students to join the mission. Noël Golvers has recently identified over two hundred requests by 'Indipetae' (those desiring to go to Asia) from the Low Countries, of which only eight received a positive response. A young teacher of rhetoric, Antoine Thomas (1644-1709) from Namur, wrote seventeen petitions between 1663 and 1675 before he could finally sail Eastward in 1678.[11]

When Martini set out to return to China in 1657 he was accompanied by Philippe Couplet (1622-1693) from Mechlin and, from the Northern Netherlands, François de Rougemont (1624-1676) and Ignatius Hartoghvelt (1629-1658). In preparing for their exotic expedition, the three young missionaries first went to Amsterdam in civilian clothes to preach in the condoned Jesuit mission.[12] After arriving in China, Couplet became a particularly successful strategist, sometimes acting as a political and commercial informer for the Dutch traders.[13] Eventually it was his turn to travel from Beijing to Europe in order to further propagate the importance of the mission. In 1683 he disembarked in Holland where he worked for some time on an explanation of the writings of Confucius and a text on Chinese chronology, a topic that greatly attracted scholars in the Netherlands.[14]

The select group of Jesuits from the Low Countries played a disproportionately large role in exchanges of knowledge.[15] In many cases they acted as intermediaries between Rome, Northern Europe and Beijing. One example is the Dutch connections of the famous scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), based at the Jesuits' Roman College, who was seen as the expert on China even though he never visited the country. When the Dutch Jesuit Godfried Henskens (1601-1681) considered printing Latin translations of Chinese philosophy, made by an Italian missionary, Kircher intervened and took the manuscripts to Rome where they remained in the Museo Kircheriano for some years.[16] Couplet and the Antwerp-born librarian of the Vatican, Emmanuel Schelstrate (1649-1692), were the first to discuss publication again.[17] Another Antwerp Jesuit, Daniël van Papenbroeck (1628-1714), an active supporter of Couplet during his stay in Europe,[18] eventually acted as an intermediary between Rome and the Dutch publisher of Kircher's *China Illustrata* (in Latin and Dutch versions), the most popular book on China of the age, lavishly illustrated by a collective of artists from the Low Countries.[19]

'Missionary sinology', to use Geoffrey Gunn's term, depended on the fact that from the order's foundation onward the Jesuits were geared towards education, as

has been amply documented.[20] The *Ratio Studiorum* (1599) outlined a complete training in the arts and sciences.[21] Among the *artes*, it gave pride of place to studying Hebrew and ecclesiastical history whereas poetry, rhetoric and grammar were included in the *studia inferiora*. Other branches were taught under the name of 'accessories', including history and antiquities. The missionaries from the Belgian Provinces all worked as teachers of the humanities before going to China (Trigault taught rhetoric in Ghent for eight years; Couplet taught Greek in Mechlin; Verbiest taught Latin, Greek and rhetoric in Brussels; Thomas taught rhetoric and philosophy in Douai).[22] This scholarship focusing on language and letters and the strict selection criteria prepared the missionaries for the confrontation with the Chinese literati. In their foothold at Macao, a Portuguese colony, the Jesuits established the first European university ('Collegium') in East Asia. Here, they envisaged to introduce the Chinese to the higher truths of Christianity by convincing them of the correctness of Western reasoning in the arts and sciences.[23] They set up an equivalent of the *ratio studiorum* that incorporated indigenous study methods.[24]

Moreover, the Jesuits used their erudition to legitimize, for a European audience, their costly and intellectually challenging missionary work. The Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622, requested the missionaries to report to Rome on a yearly basis. Their letters were often printed (Trigault, for instance, published with the Antwerp printer Verdussen) and although officially restricted literature in Protestant countries, these were widely available in pirated editions.[25] As we shall discuss below, not only did the Jesuits present their own work in the positive light of humanistic scholarship, but they also portrayed Chinese civilization favourably.

It seems that the Jesuits of the Provincia Flandro-Belgica had an added incentive for studying China: they expected it would benefit their mission in the Protestant Netherlands. The association of the Jesuits with the Chinese was often used to discredit the order in Protestant countries. In effect, however, tradesmen in the Dutch Republic were greatly interested in any information the missionaries could provide about this remote part of the world. When Martini travelled back to Amsterdam from Brussels, his expenses were paid by the magistrates of the Dutch East India Company. Martini, in turn, tried to ensure financial benefits and privileges on the Company's ships.[26]

Finally, we should note that besides the Catholic orders, there were also Protestant missionaries in East Asia. As shall be argued below, studying their efforts completes our picture of the interwoven scholarly exchanges between the Middle Kingdom and the Low Countries.

Studying Chinese: Guanhua, Sinkan and Manchu

The year 1600 marks the beginning of the Chinese century in the Netherlands. A Chinese visitor, known as Impo, was baptized in Middelburg. There may also have been anonymous others who, like him, replaced Dutch sailors on trading ships from East Asia.[27] At the same time, the arrival of the first porcelain cargo in Middelburg in 1602 sparked the fashion for Chinese curios that would soon spread throughout Europe. Chinese books arrived in the collections of Dutch scholars such as Ernst Brinck (1582-1649), Jacob Golius (1596-1667), Otto Heurnius (1577-1652), Johannes de Laet (1581-1649), Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), Gerard Vossius (1577-1649), and Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614).[28] Alongside the fascination with exotic objects, many were attracted to speculations about the antiquity of these writings and the nature of the Chinese characters.

Trigault's visit provided an initial source of reliable information on the Chinese language. He was among the first missionaries to have excellent knowledge of Guanhua, the variant spoken by the elite. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had realized that mastering spoken and written Guanhua was essential for being taken seriously by the Chinese class of literati. The missionaries from the Netherlands became particularly active in pleading for the introduction of a liturgy in Chinese rather than in Latin.[29] Trigault (helped by native assistants) translated Catholic theological and philosophical texts – and some of Aesop's fables –, while he also assembled an extensive library for the Chinese' future instruction that included modern authors such as Erasmus and Lipsius.[30] His efforts culminated in a system of Romanization of Chinese.[31] According to Hsia, this was 'the most important lexicon and guide for the learning of Chinese prior to the modern era. The *Xiru ermu zi* (A Source for the Eyes and Ears of the Western Literati) published in 1626, consisted of a dictionary and language tool with Chinese characters arranged by vowels, consonants, and diphthongs.' It remained in use until the nineteenth century.[32]

Trigault's visit to the Netherlands sparked theories about the nature of Chinese writing. In Antwerp, the polyglot Herman Hugo (1558-1629) elaborated the idea that the Chinese characters were ideograms that were universally understood throughout East Asia. His *De prima scribendi origine* (Antwerp 1617) repeated some of the missionaries' observations, to which Hugo connected the ideal of a universal script:[33] 'When individual letters are qualified to denote not words, but the things themselves, and when all these [letters] are common to all people, then everyone would understand the writing of the various peoples even though each one would call those things by very different names'.[34] In 1635, the first professor of Amsterdam's Athenaeum, Gerard Vossius, formulated the same ambition. He used Trigault's accounts for a statement in *De arte grammatica* (Amsterdam 1635)

that 'The Chinese and Japanese, although their languages differ just as much as Hebrew and Dutch, still understand one another if they write in this manner. For even if some might pronounce other words when reading, the concepts would nevertheless be the same.' Vossius was farther off the mark when he wrote that 'for the Chinese, there are no fewer letters than there are words: however, they can be combined together, so that their total number does not exceed 70,000 or 80,000'.[35] This number was clearly an exaggeration.[36] In fact, the quantity of the characters fascinated Dutch scholars, one of them even rating it at no less than 120,000.[37]

Vossius's younger colleague Jacob Golius, professor of Arabic at Leiden's university, fanatically collected Chinese books of which he, however, understood nothing.[38] When Martini arrived in 1654, Golius therefore asked his superiors permission to go to Antwerp 'in order to speak and confer with a certain Jesuit or a Chinese, both come from China, and thereby to obtain the knowledge of certain characters and secrets of the Chinese language.'[39] They met in the collection of Chinese objects, grandly named 'Musaeum Sinense', of the Antwerp elderman Jacob Edelheer (1597-1657).[40] Golius must have been especially excited by speaking in Latin to Martini's 'certainly not unlettered' Chinese companion, Cheng Ma-no (1633-1673).[41] The exchange resulted in Golius's short treatise 'De regno Cattayo additamentum', to be included in Martini's *Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam 1655). Incidentally, this involved the first properly printed Chinese characters in Europe and seems to have established Golius's fame as a sinologist: Kircher sent him his book on China in 1665 (for which Golius, in exchange, sent the Jesuit some exotic rhubarb seeds).[42] Golius was probably responsible for another discussion of China as well, which was included in 1668 in an account of a Dutch trade mission to Beijing.[43]

Martini presented Golius with additional Chinese books which made his collection one of the most important in Europe (about eighty volumes). After Golius's death, some of them came in the hands of Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), a famous scholar of Judaism and Islam.[44] His *Dissertationum miscellanearum* (Utrecht 1708) discussed the difficulties of the Chinese language. Echoing Hugo and Vossius, Reland explained how the script was also used for unrelated languages in neighboring countries, which he demonstrated in a glossary of characters and their pronunciation in Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese.[45] In his commentary, Reland seized the opportunity to underscore that all these languages originally derived from Hebrew, which he saw as the mother of most languages, of Europe, Asia and Africa, excluding only those of America.

Reland reacted implicitly to a heated debate originating in the 1640s: the philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and the linguist Johannes de Laet had discussed the putative Hebrew origin of all languages, including the American

ones.[46] The debate was so touchy because it impacted the validity of the Biblical account. Circumventing the issue of Hebrew, the Harderwijk-based professor Georg Hornius (1620-1670) argued for an Egyptian origin even for Chinese. He based this idea on the observation, already expressed by Golius, that the ancient forms of the Chinese characters bore some resemblance to Egyptian hieroglyphs.[47]

As I have discussed elsewhere, the purported 'hieroglyphical' essence of Chinese greatly attracted scholars in Northern Europe. Authors from Hugo and Vossius to Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) and John Wilkins (1614-1672) used the Chinese characters to discuss the possibility of writing in signs that could be universally understood and its consequences for the philosophy of language. Ultimately the Chinese script contributed to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's (1646-1716) search for a *characteristica universalis*, a language that could be read without a dictionary.[48] The development of this linguistic discussion, from Trigault's first-hand expertise to fanciful speculations that eventually involved Biblical and philosophical questions, typifies how many ideas about China fared during the first century of their European reception: they became *increasingly* stereotypical and fantastic. The discussions about pictographic writing were more revealing about European preconceptions than about China.

Yet the Protestant mission accompanying the trade expeditions resulted in a few accurate linguistic works. In 1624, the Calvinist minister Justus Heurnius (b. 1587) departed for the Dutch East Indies, where the city of Batavia (modern Jakarta) had a thriving Chinese community. After a few years he had compiled a dictionary 'with the aid of a Chinese who understands Latin ... in which the Dutch and Latin words are placed first and alongside the Chinese characters' (a copy remains in the British Library). This was one of the first of its kind (Trigault had worked on a Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, but the manuscript disappeared after it was misplaced on the shelves of the Vatican Library).[49] Although he added a synopsis of the Christian religion in Chinese, the minister seems to have had commercial opportunities in mind in particular: 'it is a work which will be of great usefulness to posterity, as soon as the Chinese trade is opened, as we hope'.[50]

Other Protestant missionaries studied the language of Sinkan (or Xingang), a now extinct precursor of the Siraya language spoken in Taiwan. From 1624 onwards, the Dutch in their colony on Formosa (present-day Taiwan) had pioneered the Romanization of the local tongue (in fact an Austronesian language).[51] The minister Daniël Gravius ordered two bilingual books to be published in Amsterdam,[52] written, according to the introduction, 'In Dutch and Formosan ... in order to ascertain the successful dispersion of the Dutch language.'[53] In 1659, the missionaries founded a college for Formosan youths with Sinkan and Dutch as

working languages. As their model they used Comenius's innovative pedagogical work, *Portael der saecken en spraecken* (Gateway to Things and Languages, Amsterdam 1658).[54] Yet when the pirate Zheng Chenggong captured Formosa in 1662, the Dutch presence came to an end.[55]

In regard to China's linguistic varieties, Ferdinand Verbiest's efforts were of a more lasting nature. Even though the Jesuits' main works in Chinese concerned the sciences and scholastic philosophy, his sizeable volumes, which created accurate terminology in Guanhua, were feats of linguistic rigor in themselves.[56] Furthermore, the change from the Ming to the Qing dynasty had meant that the Manchu language had now become the court's official tongue: Verbiest mastered this too to converse with the Emperor. He compiled the first Manchu grammar (*Grammatica Tartarea*, Paris 1676).[57] When his position as court engineer eventually involved casting a great number of cannon for the Emperor, inscriptions in Manchu documented that Verbiest was the maker.[58] His successor Antoine Thomas found it hard to live up to the standard he had set, lamenting that the attempts at handling 'the Chinese characters and books' left little time for spiritual matters.[59]

Philology: Publishing the Chinese classics

Travelling on a Dutch ship, Philippe Couplet arrived in Europe to import Chinese knowledge and advertise the mission in Papal, aristocratic and intellectual circles. He brought with him four hundred Chinese Christian books donated by a convert noblewoman, Candida Xu (1607-1680).[60] Moreover, he was accompanied by a young Chinese, son of Christian converts from Nanjing, Michael Shen Fuzong (c.1658-1691). Thoroughly educated in the Confucian texts, he was to help Couplet with various literary projects.[61] These included the first publication in Latin of three of the four Classics attributed to Confucius (*The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean* and *Analects*).[62] Assisted by De Rougemont, Couplet had made a compilation of all translations by different Jesuits from the sixteenth century onwards that he called *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive scientia Sinica* (Confucius, the Philosopher of China, or the Chinese Learning).[63] Couplet finished a lengthy preface to this book during his stay in the Dutch Republic.[64]

This publication was the missionaries' chief scholarly accomplishment, demonstrating their linguistic and philological skills. The Jesuit involvement with Confucius had initially been a practical one: they had started translating the *Four Books* for the immediate purpose of teaching the Chinese language to newly arrived recruits. They had recognized that the education of the Chinese elite began with the Confucian Classics. Without mastery of at least some of them, the mis-

sionaries would fail in converting the literati.[65] Meynard concludes, however, that by the 1670s 'clearly what [Couplet and De Rougemont] intended was no longer a primer in Chinese language for missionaries, but a manual introducing future missionaries to a certain reading of Chinese thought. The Confucian Classics were called upon to testify to the legitimacy of the Jesuit missionary policy'.[66] The Jesuits hoped to demonstrate that Chinese thought shared some essential tenets with Christianity, on which a project of mass conversion could be based.

Printing this book was no simple matter. Although the missionaries' diaries had found a large audience, publishers apparently backed off when confronted with this unprecedented and exotic work of Oriental philosophy. It did not help that Couplet, using Shen's expertise, wanted to include the main terms printed in Chinese characters.

It typifies the interwoven nature of scholarly contacts throughout the Low Countries that the Jesuits first envisaged a Dutch Protestant publisher. Already in the 1670s, they planned on working with Blaeu (who had printed Martini's *Atlas*) for some philosophical texts. He had proven to be an effective patron for the Jesuits and a faithful go-between for letters via the Dutch trading company. Blaeu, for his part, counted on the privilege of being the first in Europe to publish important Chinese sources and studies.[67] For the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, De Rougemont again suggested involving Blaeu, the Ypres poet Willem Becanus (1608-1683), and the Antwerp architect Willem Hesius (1601-1690) to make the frontispiece.[68] Yet the deal fell through, thwarted by Athanasius Kircher who, although confirming the choice for the Dutch Republic, preferred Janssonius in Amsterdam as a printer (with whom Kircher had signed a contract for his own books).[69] In any event, funding for Couplet's idiosyncratic project proved to be a problem. When a different publisher was finally found in Paris in 1687 (a Dutchman recently converted to Catholicism, Daniël Horthemels), he did not want to include the Chinese characters, even though the notation numbers for these had already been set in type in the first few chapters [Fig. 14].[70]

The book deserves our interest: Couplet's extensive introduction frames the translation as a philological project similar to those dealing with the Latin and Greek classics of Europe. Chapter one establishes the Confucian texts' 'First Authorship'. It places Confucius in his historical context and laments the difficulty in reconstructing ancient Chinese history due to the paucity of written documents. Another chapter is on additional 'Evidence Drawn, Not from the Modern Interpreters, but, as Much as Possible, from the Original Texts'. By including comments from other Chinese authors, Couplet highlights that his interpretive work is confirmed by Chinese authorities.

The book's introduction tries to separate the oldest text from later additions.[71] Couplet apparently adheres to what Rens Bod has termed the 'principle of the

Fig. 14: Title page of Philippe Couplet, *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Scientia sinensis* (Paris: Horthemels, 1687)

oldest source' in philology, even though the Jesuit uses stylistic and biographical arguments rather than those of stemmatic philology.[72] For one, he attempts to explain differences in style by connecting them to different periods in Confucius's life.[73] This leads to the hypothesis that the sage himself had planned writing an elucidation but his death had prevented this. 'Such ancient obscurity and such obscure antiquity!'[74] Couplet portrays the later Daoists and Buddhists as bad interpreters of Confucius because they failed to use the right sources in the right manner; their false religious assumptions apparently derived from false philological practices. Yet, essentially for the survival of Confucius's ideas, eventually 'law forbade altering or changing any word in those texts, at any time'.[75]

To back up his approach, Couplet quotes Chinese writers who have themselves criticized the corrupt Buddhist interpreters. This enables him to argue that *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* presents pure Chinese thought. He highlights not only that the interpretation of Chinese philosophy should depend on the oldest Chinese sources, but also that the Chinese themselves are the best interpreters of Chinese philosophy:[76]

> I assure you that the most learned Chinese Doctors ... have always shared the same opinion:[77] we missionaries should not pay any attention to the commentators of the ancient books, but should adhere only to the ancient texts ... and if we find something unclear, hopefully we will be able to find among the Chinese ... some men of prime erudition and authority who can explain to us the most difficult passages.

The ideal missionary apparently excels in linguistic prowess and philological rigor:

> A prudent man ... [w]hen he has reached the region where he wants to convert the natives to Christ, if that people has many records of literature and wisdom inherited from their ancestors, then he should not decide for or against them by a quick and rash decision, nor should he blindly condemn or approve the interpreters, whether foreigners or locals, of their ancient books. ... [B]esides asking for God's support, he should first try to carefully master their language and literature. Then, he can continually read the most important books as well as their interpretations, and examine and evaluate them thoroughly. Meanwhile, he can zealously investigate whether the sincerity and truth of the ancient text is confirmed, or, on the other hand, whether it has been corrupted by the mistakes and negligence of the later interpreters. He can investigate again whether those who work as interpreters have steadily followed the steps of their ancestors or whether they have distorted their teaching and twisted it to fit their errors ... Finally

> he should judge whether it was the unanimous mind and doctrine of all, or whether they contradicted themselves and fought each other.[78]

By presenting his book emphatically as a work of philology, Couplet intends to legitimize the Jesuit missionary work as something grounded on a sound basis in the European humanities. Apparently, only the philological search for the oldest sources can uncover the hidden, yet fundamental relations between Christian and Confucian texts. Couplet's reasoning depends implicitly on an invalid syllogism: 'All Christian books are pure; Some Chinese texts are pure; Therefore some Chinese texts are Christian texts.' This twisted reasoning allows the author to call on the authority of the Chinese themselves to plead for the similarities between Confucius's original writings and Christianity. He concludes that every missionary should focus on those elements in the Chinese texts that correspond to Christian teaching:

> if [the missionary] realizes that nothing firm and true can be found in the above mentioned books and records, he should not touch them and should not make mention of them. But if on the contrary the kings and teachers of the ancients, led by nature, have reached many things which are not opposed to the light and truth of the gospel, but are even helpful and favorable so that it seems that they open the way for the early dawn of the Sun of Justice, then surely the preachers of the gospel ... will not despise these things at all but shall use them regularly, so that they can instill in the tender minds of the neophytes, the foreign ambrosia of a heavenly teaching with the original sap of native teaching.[79]

This stress on philology seems to have been directed not just at prospective missionaries themselves, but rather at the Republic of Letters in Europe. By claiming that philology had allowed him to unveil Christian elements in Chinese philosophy, Couplet gave Confucius the same status as some of the Greek and Roman authorities. Humanists in Europe would have recognized this procedure: it was identical to how pagan antiquity had been incorporated in Christian scholarship. As had been argued, some pagan texts had even prophesied the New Testament. Allegedly, the authors had had knowledge of *prisca philosophia*, primeval Christian wisdom before Christ's actual birth. Confucius, now, could be given a place in the same typology, on a par with the Hebrew prophets or, more radically, with the pagan Sibyls, the female soothsayers from places other than the Middle East who had preceded Moses.[80]

Even though Couplet himself did not explicate these ultimate conclusions,[81] it is clear that he tried to fit Confucius into the scholarly framework that linked the

philological principle of the oldest source to the quest for the most ancient wisdom. In fact, Couplet's most original addition to standard humanistic practices in Europe was not his search for proto-Christian elements but his stress on the Chineseness of his account. This latter emphasis was obviously a central tenet of his visit to Europe, staged as a display of authenticity with its cargo of Chinese books, Shen Fuzong's presence, and his ambition to print Chinese characters.

Unsurprisingly in the light of the Low Countries' engagement with China, what purported to be a vernacular version of the *Analects* appeared first in a Dutch translation. Pieter van Hoorn (b. 1619), who had chaired a trade mission to Beijing in 1665, was a good friend of Couplet, Blaeu and Joost van den Vondel. He saw a manuscript of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* twelve years before its appearance in print. He published an excerpt in Batavia in 1675: *Eenige vorname eygenschappen van de waren deugdt, voorsichticheydt, wysheydt en volmaecktheydt, getrocken uyt den Chineschen Confucius* (Various Outstanding Properties of True Virtue, Wisdom and Perfection drawn from the Chinese Confucius). It was soon followed by French and English imitations.[82] All three works were not, in fact, literal translations: they presented the *Analects* as a series of moral truisms, without the stress on philological and linguistic integrity that marked Couplet's edition. Yet lettered circles in Amsterdam were confronted with a serious scholarly reaction to Chinese thought in December 1687, when the monthly journal *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* published a sixty-eight-page review of Couplet's book. The Amsterdam-based Calvinist scholar Jean le Clerc (1657-1736) gave a precise summary of Confucius's views including passages translated from the Latin into French. In striking contrast to Couplet's view, Le Clerc interpreted Confucius's role as one of transmitter rather than as primary author.[83]

Even though Couplet's efforts did not have the wide impact on the Western humanities that he may have expected, his visit did not fail to impress scholars throughout Europe. Arriving in Paris in 1686, Couplet and Shen aided Melchisédech Thévenot (c.1620-1692) in putting together a *clavis sinica* ('key to Chinese') and in describing Chinese books in Louis XIV's library. Shen then left for England in 1687, where he sat for Rembrandt's pupil Godfried Kneller (1646-1723) and catalogued the Sinica in Oxford's Bodleian Library [Fig. 15].[84] Robert Boyle (1627-1691) interrogated the foreign guest on the nature of the Chinese script and its characters, which fascinated Protestant scholars so much as they pondered the possibility of a philosophical language.[85] Furthermore, Couplet himself eventually inspired 'proto-sinologists' in Germany and England: Christian Mentzel (1622-1701), Andreas Müller (1630-1694), Andreas Cleyer (1634-c.1698), and Thomas Hyde (1636-1703).[86]

In the Netherlands, Couplet was a special source of information for Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717), a former student of Golius and mayor of Amsterdam,

Fig. 15: Godfried Kneller, *Portrait of Michael Alphonsus Shen Fuzong* (c.1658-1691), 1687, oil on canvas, 212 x 147 cm, London, Royal Collection

who had been appointed governor of the United East-India Company. Witsen had already spoken to a traveller from China in Amsterdam in 1670 to discuss a topographical question.[87] In 1683 he met Couplet in Amsterdam, apparently in order to confirm the details of his book *Noord- en Oost-Tartarije* (North and East Tartary, Amsterdam 1692).[88] The former mayor also seems to have envisaged continuing the work on translating Confucius. For this, he arranged a subsequent meeting with the travelling Chinese doctor Chou Mei-Yeh in 1709, who stayed for six weeks in the Dutch Republic before returning to China.[89]

Finally, we should note that the most significant Chinese impact on European *belles-lettres* at the time may have been Couplet's and Shen's meeting the playwright Vondel in Amsterdam, inspiring the latter to write the first European tragedy set in China, *Zungchin of ondergang der Sineesche heerschappye* (Zungchin or the Downfall of Chinese Rule, Amsterdam 1667). It would soon be followed by another one, *Trazil of overrompelt Sina* (Trazil or the Conquest of China, Amsterdam 1685), by Johannes Antonides van der Goes (1647-1684).[90]

Theories of music and the visual arts

From Matteo Ricci's work onwards, translated sayings by 'ancient saints and sages' of the West had played a role in attempts at converting the Chinese.[91] These editions were facilitated as in contrast to the other missions territories, the Chinese had a thriving indigenous press. Moreover, the Jesuits combined their publications with the arts of spectacle, including music and painting.

Verbiest's writings in Chinese, which were probably the most important introduction of Western learning in China, reflect the activities at the imperial court where he held a special position with more than a hundred Chinese pupils.[92] His sizeable books for the Emperor included excerpts (now lost) from Kircher's *Musurgia* (Treatise on Music, Rome 1650), optical and acoustical theories, and explanations of mathematical perspective and the camera obscura.[93] Musical theory returned in the writings of Verbiest's successor, Antoine Thomas, likewise recruited from the Belgian Provinces.[94] We should understand these books, some of which were carefully illustrated, not simply as aimed at humanistic exchange but rather as elucidations of the instruments and other curios that the Jesuits imported from Europe as gifts, the organs and bell chimes they made for the court and the paintings in their chapels.[95]

The China mission exploited innovative techniques to impress the foreign audience. Verbiest demonstrated projection devices to Emperor Kangxi, giving him 'insight into opticks by making him a present of a semi-cylinder of a light kind of wood; in the middle of its axis was plac'd a convex-glass, which being

turned towards any object, painted the image within the tube to great nicety.' The new invention of the 'Magick-Lanthern' was particularly effective: a 'machine which contained a lighted lamp, the light of which came through a tube, at the end whereof was a convex-glass, near which several small pieces of glass painted with divers figures were made to slide'.[96] These same devices were used in Europe to present the Jesuit mission. Martini illuminated the Netherlands' understanding of China by projecting slides.[97] Most of these images, intended at ephemeral display, do not survive; we do have, however, various *Vue d'optique* images (coloured engravings viewed through a convex lens for a seemingly three-dimensional scene) based on Dutch drawings of Chinese scenes.[98] In China and in Europe, the Jesuits apparently staged their mission as a visual spectacle of knowledge.

Even though the Jesuits saw the arts of spectacle as essential to proselytizing, they failed to appreciate Chinese music and painting. Trigault wrote that 'the whole art of Chinese music seems to consist in producing a monotonous rhythmic beat as they know nothing of the variations and harmony that can be produced by combining different musical notes.'[99] In regard to the visual arts, Ricci's authoritative criticism had a long afterlife (extending to the nineteenth century).[100] Even the Dutch trade missions to Beijing which in one case included an artist, Johan Nieuhof (1618-1672), to document China visually, repeated Ricci's view that the Chinese 'do not understand how to make shadows ... and how to temper their colors with oil. This is the reason why their paintings appear very dead and pallid, and look more like dead corpses than like living figures.'[101] Supposedly, the Chinese had attained competence only after the Jesuits taught them to work with the oil medium.[102]

This failure to appreciate Chinese art mirrored the Chinese scholars' point of view. The Jesuits confronted them with prints from the Netherlands and oil paintings, but the Chinese (unlike the Japanese) remained unimpressed. To quote one of the literati, 'Students of painting may well take over one or two points from [Europeans] to make their own paintings more attractive to the eye. But these painters have no brush-manner whatsoever; although they have skill, they are simply artisans and cannot consequently be classified as painters.'[103] In short, the literati regarded naturalistic art as mechanical and trivial, while the Jesuits had a blind spot towards calligraphy. Both factors limited the Jesuit artistic venture in China.[104]

The only Western scholar who formulated a positive view of Chinese art was Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), son of the Dutch Republic's literary 'emperor,' Gerard Vossius.[105] He did not visit China but knew its paintings and applied art through the many imports in Dutch households; it is probable that he himself collected Chinese objects.[106] Isaac's uncompromising enthusiasm for China has been said

to surpass even Marco Polo's.[107] In any event, it inspired him to criticize European painting for its dependence on dark tones, and praise the Chinese for their clear draftsmanship:

> Those who say that Chinese paintings do not represent shadows, criticize what they actually should have praised. … The better the paintings, the less shadow they have; and in this respect they are far superior to the painters from our part of the world, who can only represent the parts that stand out by adding thick shadows. The [European painters] obey in this matter not nature, nor the laws of optics. For these laws teach that when any object is put in diffuse light, so that no shadows catch the eye, the aspects that are most close at hand and stand out most must be shown with rather clear lines, but those aspects that are farther away and recede must be shown less distinctly. When someone obeys this rule of painting, his art will emulate nature, and the more outstanding parts will appear to come forward even without conspicuous shadows.[108]

Vossius was unique in praising the Chinese for their failure to represent shadows. In his view, spatiality should not be constructed with exaggerated contrasts that are not found in nature, but only with subtly fading contours. We should note that he discusses Chinese art by using a central dichotomy of Western artistic theory: line versus tone (or design versus colour). This division was particularly relevant in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, where painters of strong chiaroscuro were pitted against those who preferred a clear language of classical forms.[109]

Vossius stated that the Chinese were in fact superior to the Europeans in almost all arts and sciences – they needed the West only for mathematics and astronomy. He concluded that China was better not only at painting, sculpture, architecture and music but also at medicine, botany, pharmacology and technical inventions (such as the compass, the manufacture of gunpowder and the art of printing). Vossius's main contribution to the Western appreciation of the Middle Kingdom, however, related not to art but to history.

The impact of Chinese history

A key element of Western interest in China was the suspicion that the country had older written documents than Europe. The philologists' search for first sources and the fascination with *prisca philosophia* made this an irresistible topic of speculation. Moreover, humanists in the Netherlands had already been studying chronology ever since Joseph Scaliger had realized that Biblical history could not accommodate

the antiquity of Egyptian accounts.[110] Dutch interest in China was therefore automatically interwoven with calculations of the origin of the world, a serious matter in which historians, theologians and astronomers held stakes.

Duyvendak has traced the earliest discussion of the Chinese calender to three scholars based at Leiden: Scaliger, Golius and Claudius Salmasius (1588-1653). They had come across the Chinese system of identifying certain years with the names of certain animals.[111] Yet the chronology's full extent was only disclosed by Martini's visit. He had read Chinese sources such as the official *Annals* that documented an uninterrupted Chinese civilization from 2900 BC onwards. This feat planted a seed that would blossom in the climate of philosophical and religious scepticism fostered by Dutch Cartesianism from the 1650s onwards. After all, sacred history could not accommodate Chinese texts and monuments that were apparently untouched by the Flood (which according to the Hebrew Bible occurred in the year 2349 BC). Isaac Vossius came to the radical conclusion that the Biblical text was unreliable, as he argued in *De vera aetate mundi* (The Hague 1659).[112]

Unsurprisingly, more orthodox scholars reacted appalled, first among them Georg Hornius (whose musings on the Chinese script we have mentioned above). His own *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (Leiden 1659) pointed out the danger of Vossius's theory which implied 'that until now no church in the West has admitted a true version of the Holy Scriptures'.[113] Taking aim at Vossius's preference for exotic authorities above the Church Fathers, he asked rhetorically: 'What do we think of the Seres, commonly called Chinese, whose precise chronology antedates the Flood by seven or eight centuries? ... We think that their chronology is false, even though they speak about the eternity of the world and about Panzonis and Panzona, Tanomus, Teiencomus, Tuhucomus, Lotzizanus, Azalamus, Atzionis, Usaonis, Huntzujus, Hautzibona, Ochentejus, Etzomlonis'. China's antiquity was apparently 'contaminated by monstrous fables'.[114] Yet this altercation only seems to have strengthened Vossius's belief in the superiority of Chinese scholarship. Afterwards he even developed a utopian vision of Chinese society, a political and ideological unity starkly contrasting with Europe – no less than a realization of the Platonic Republic.[115] Vossius's stance that connected China to radical thought would soon become a commonplace among philosophers of the early Enlightenment (inspiring, for instance, Pierre Bayle's identification of Spinoza with Confucius).[116] By that time, the assumption of primeval wisdom shared by the ancient Chinese and the Hebrew prophets was replaced by another argument, foregrounding natural religion – shared by all rational human beings – as more important than revealed doctrine.

Whether Vossius's Sinophilia was merely a cover for his libertine ideas or whether he was inspired by genuine interest in a foreign culture, is a moot point.

Jonathan Israel, studying Vossius in the context of Spinozism in the Dutch Republic, calls his remarks a rhetorical ploy for promoting a radical agenda. As I have argued elsewhere, this may be only partly true.[117] In any account, Vossius's writings made clear once and for all that Western scholars should take China seriously. It was probably in reaction to his heretical ideas that Philippe Couplet decided to add a discussion on chronology to the masterpiece of Chinese learning in Latin, the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*. This 'Tabula chronologica monarchiae Sinicae' (1686) was a 109-page chronology listing all Chinese emperors from the mythical king Huangdi to 1683.[118] The text, which Couplet finished during his stay in the Dutch Republic, defended the orthodox view of sacred history and highlighted similarities between the Chinese chronology and calculations based on the Septuagint.

Conclusion

Rens Bod's overview of the history of the humanities has argued for a comparative approach of Europe, Asia and the rest of the world to chart structural parallels.[119] There were, indeed, strikingly similar developments in, on the one hand, the European humanities from the late-sixteenth century onwards and, on the other, seventeenth-century Chinese civilization. To quote Standaert, 'the means of reproduction of knowledge were more or less similar.'[120] Both areas witnessed an increasing flood of printed books. In China and Europe, vigorous intellectual discussions, backed by a well-established educational system, took place in public meetings at academies, where scholars greatly respected classical learning, books and antiquities.[121] Yet this chapter has tried not just to point out such parallels, but rather to analyze the explicitly cross-cultural efforts established by the seventeenth-century scholars themselves.

It is particularly noteworthy that within decades of the first European attempts to master the language of the Chinese literati, the ideals of European humanism in 'defending the text' and establishing the original source were applied to Chinese studies. In the field of comparative linguistics, however, the search for origins gave rise to misguided theories about a Hebrew or even Egyptian provenance for Chinese. When it came to the visual arts, Western and Eastern scholars formulated their mutual incomprehension. It seems that Biblical history and criticism ultimately benefited the most from confrontation with the Chinese accounts.[122]

The Low Countries deserve special attention when analyzing this cultural engagement. The area was obviously a cradle of European 'Chinoiserie' as the visual imagery, imported porcelain and its imitations in particular, determined Chinese themes and styles in the applied arts throughout Europe – so much so that the

words 'Dutch' and 'Chinese' were eventually used interchangeably.[123] The ubiquity of East Asian material culture formed the backdrop for the interest in Chinese civilization. Eventually, the tradesmen's unique infrastructure and their hunger for information on China, paired to the scholarly ambitions of the Netherlandish missionaries as relatively independent from Portuguese and French doctrines, made possible many 'firsts' in terms of printing, translation and interpretation – at least for individuals who were able to benefit from their mediating position like Trigault, Couplet and Verbiest. Combined with the willingness of a scholar such as Isaac Vossius to explode accepted European opinions, this could result in the radical Sinophile stand that would become commonplace in eighteenth-century France, Germany and England.

At the turn of the century, however, it turned out that the Low Countries' essentially intermediary role meant that interest in China had not taken root. In 1689, the greatest Sinophile philosopher of the age, Leibniz, formulated the ideal of a mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge between Europe and the Middle Kingdom: 'a commerce of doctrine and mutual light' which inspired his own extensive interest in China.[124] The groundwork for this notion had been laid by older scholars: Leibniz depended on Verbiest and Vossius.[125] Yet in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic itself, this legacy was soon forgotten. Witsen's projected continuation of the Confucian texts came to nothing. When François Noël (1651-1729) eventually finished translating the last of the four Chinese Classics, *Mencius*, in 1711, he had to find a publisher in Prague.[126] After Vondel, Van Hoorn and Van der Goes, no one continued writing in Dutch on Chinese topics in a serious manner.[127] Whereas the end of the seventeenth century saw information on China being discussed increasingly in the context of specialized academies such as the Parisian Académie Royale des Sciences and the Royal Society of London, no such institution was founded in the Low Countries.[128] As Duyvendak concludes, scholars 'failed to take advantage of the enormous lead given to the Dutch by the excellent exchange of information in the seventeenth century'.[129]

For reasons that merit additional research, 'Holland had lost its interest in China'.[130] As a final note, we may again point out a Chinese parallel. In the Middle Kingdom, the initial interest in European learning waned outside the Emperor's close circles. Hsia speaks of the Confucian literati's 'disenchantment' with the West in the late seventeenth century.[131] In 1692 Emperor Kangxi, under Verbiest's guidance, had issued an edict of toleration of Christianity. Yet when news reached him of the Papal condemnation of the Jesuits' Sinophile stance, he annulled the edict and banned the foreign missions. A century of mutual exchange drew to a close.

Notes

1 'Sina [is] d'eedle diamant, / Die goddelijk in d'oogen flonkert, / En alle uitsteekentheên verdonkert, / Gelijk een onwaerdeerbaer pant', J. van den Vondel, *Zungchin of ondergang der Sineesche heerschappye* (Amsterdam: De Wees, 1667), v. 909-912. English translation by T. Harmsen a.o., URL: www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/VondelZungchin1667English.html. Accessed 1 September 2011.

2 D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 135, differentiates the scholarship of the proto-sinologists from that of the missionaries by pointing out that the former group did not visit China. It seems, however, that the two categories of scholarship were intricately bound up in many ways. The collaboration of the Amsterdam cartographer Johannes Blaeu with the missionary Martino Martini is a case in point. Likewise Athanasius Kircher's and Olfert Dapper's 'armchair scholarship' on China relied on the travel reports of Martini and others.

3 T. Brook, 'Europaeology? On the Difficulty of Assembling a Knowledge of Europe in China', in: M. Antoni Üçerler (ed.), *Christianity and Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison 1543-1644* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 269-294: 270.

4 D. Lach and E. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Vol. III: A Century of Advance, Book I: Trade, Missions, Literature* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 508; E. van Kley, 'Qing Dynasty China in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Literature 1644-1700', in: W.F. Vande Walle & N. Golvers (eds.), *The History of the Relations Between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644-1911)* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2003), 217-234: 231.

5 The Dutch origin is especially evident in imitation porcelain, popular throughout Europe, and in book illustrations that were widely adopted in the applied arts. The illustrated books by Olfert Dapper and Johan Nieuhof were the basis of Chinoiserie in Germany, Britain, and Scandinavia. Well-known examples are the pagoda in London's Kew Gardens and the Chinese designs at Rosenborg Castle in Denmark, all based on Nieuhof's illustrations. Cf. G. Boesen, '"Chinese" Rooms at Rosenborg Castle,' *Connoisseur* (January 1979), 34-39; L.B. Grigsby, 'Johan Nieuhof's Embassy: An Inspiration for Relief Decoration on English Stoneware and Earthenware,' *The Magazine of Antiques* (January 1993), 172-183; F. Ulrichs,'Johan Nieuhof's and Olfert Dapper's Travel Accounts as Sources for European "Chinoiserie"', in: A. Jolly (ed.), *A Taste for the Exotic: Foreign Influences on Early Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2007), 45-56.

6 For the importance of the interconnected study of the Northern and Southern Netherlands cf. P. Demaerel, 'Couplet and the Dutch', in: J. Heyndrickx (ed.), *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623-1693), The Man Who Brought China to Europe* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1990), 87-120; Karl Davids, 'Van VOC-mentaliteit naar Jezuïetenmentaliteit: de Societas Jesu als schrikbeeld, partner en ijkpunt voor de Oost-Indische Compagnie', in: M. Ebben a.o. (eds.), *Alle streken van het compas: maritieme geschiedenis van Nederland* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2010), 132-135; and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'China in the Spanish Netherlands: Belgian Jesuits in the Production and Circulation of Knowledge about Ming-Qing China', paper delivered at conference *Embattled Territory. The Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands*, Ghent, 9-11 March 2011.

7 Missionaries travelled on the Dutch ships which also carried their mail; this was known as the *Via Batavia, Via Hollandica*, or *Via Jacquetrensi* (on the way back, Dutch journals appear to have kept the missionaries informed on news from Europe). See J. Wills, 'Some

Dutch Sources on the Jesuit China Mission, 1662-1687', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 54 (1985), 267-294. At all times the Portuguese, French and Italian missionaries were numerically superior. For some numbers see J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine* (Rome and Paris: Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., 1972), which lists 920 Jesuits of the Chinese Mission (who departed for China from Europe, were born in China, or came from the Japanese mission but were relevant to China) in the period 1552-1813. Thirty-eight among them came from the Low Countries including at least seven born in the Northern Netherlands. One was Procurator of the Mission (Trigault); two became mandarins (Verbiest and Thomas); another was Visitor for the Chinese Mission and Rector (Petrus van Hamme, 1651-1727).

8 An example of this was the vital communication between Jesuits from the Southern Netherlands on the Chinese coast, the VOC physician Andreas Cleyer and the minister Theodorus Sas in Batavia, and an Antwerp publisher; see N. Golvers, *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623-1688) and the Chinese Heaven* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2003), 188. To quote Hsia, 'China in the Spanish Netherlands': 'through [their] proximity to the former northern provinces, which became the independent Dutch Republic, and thanks to the large Catholic population in the north, Belgian Jesuits in China could shift from a Portuguese dominated network to the more efficient Dutch route of communication'.

9 On Ricci, see Gerhard Strasser's chapter in the present book. Douai, presently part of France, belonged to the Spanish Netherlands at the time and had scholarly connections with the Dutch Republic; see P. Begheyn, 'Nederlandse studenten aan de universiteit van Douai (1605-1625)', *Gens Nostra* 55 (2000), 75-78.

10 Most recently A.-M. Logan & L. Brockey, 'Nicolas Tigault, S.J.: A Portrait of Peter Paul Rubens', *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 38 (2003), 157-167.

11 Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 228, 227, 222.

12 This was called Huis de Zonnebloem.

13 In 1662 a Dutch fleet fought the pirate Coxinga in Fuzhou on behalf of the Qing authorities, hoping for a trade opening. Couplet wrote to them in Dutch, see H.J. Allard, 'Een groet uit China voor Vondel en de Amsterdamse "vrunden" (1662)', in: J.C. Alberdink Thijm and J.F.M. Sterck (eds.), *Jaarboekje Alberdingkh Thijm* (1897), 1-24. See also J. Barten, 'Hollandse kooplieden op bezoek bij concilievaders', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 12 (1970), 75-121. Earlier, Martino Martini had already informed the Dutch about a pending Chinese attack on their Taiwanese colony.

14 T. Meynard (ed.), *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus (1687), The First Translation of the Confucian Classics* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2011), 14, 16.

15 Also argued by Hsia, 'China in the Spanish Netherlands'. The importance of the Low Countries is evident in other activities of the Jesuits as well. For instance, the most productive translator of Jesuit writings in the seventeenth century was Frans de Smidt; others were the Dutchmen Jan Buys and Gerard Zoes. See P. Burke, 'The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe', in: J. O'Malley a.o. (eds.), *The Jesuits II* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 24-32.

16 Meynard, *Confucius*, 13; N. Golvers, 'An Unobserved Letter of Prospero Intorcetta, S.J., to Godefridus Henschens, S.J., and the Printing of the Jesuit Translations of the Confucian Classics (Rome-Antwerp, 2 June 1672)', in: D. Sacré and J. Papy (eds.), *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2006), 679-698. Henskens (Henschenius) was born in Venray.

17 Meynard, *Confucius*, 15.

18 N. Golvers, 'D. Papebrochius, S.J. (1628-1714), Ph. Couplet (1623-1693) en de Vlaamse jezuïetenmissie in China', *De zeventiende eeuw* 14/1 (1998), 39-50.

19 On the Dutch translation and the pirated edition by Jacob van Meurs, see I.H. van Eeghen, 'Arnoldus Montanus's Book on Japan', *Quaerendo* II (1972), 250-272. The illustrations in Kircher's book are not attributed to individual masters. The extensive collective of engravers working for him included luminaries such as Cornelis Bloemaert (1603-1692), Gérard de Lairesse (1640-1711), and Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708). Others were Lieven Cruyl (1634-1720), Coenraet Decker (1651-1685), Willem van der Laegh (1614-1674), Theodoor Matham (1606-1676), Jean van Munnichuysen (1654/55-after 1701), Crispijn van de Passe the Younger (1597/8-1670 or after), and Athonie Heeres Sioertsma (born 1626/27).

20 Geoffrey C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800* (Lanham etc: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 237.

21 Ladislaus Lukàcs (ed.), *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986).

22 Candidates from outside Portugal usually had to wait longer before they were admitted to the mission, which meant that the Netherlanders spent a relatively long period teaching. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 222.

23 Cf. Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 26.

24 Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 255-263.

25 Cf. Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Vol. III*, 593. On Jesuit books in Protestant libraries see also Burke, 'The Jesuits and the Art of Translation', 30. Nicolas Trigault, *Rerum memorabilium in regno Sinae gestarum litterae annuae Societatis Iesu: ad P. Mutium Vitelleschi* ... (Antwerp: Jerome Verdussen, 1625). Trigault's writings in Dutch were *Copye des briefs gheschreven vanden E.P. Nicolaes Trigault, Priester der Societyt Iesu, aenden E.P. Franciscum Fleron, Provinciael der selver societeyt inde Nederlanden. Uut Goa uit Oost-Indien op Kersmis-avont, 1607. Waer in verhaelt wort de vermeerderinghe des Christen gheloof in Indien, Chinen, Iaponien, etc.* (Antwerp: Vervliet, 1609) and *Waerachtich verhael van eenige merckelycke saecken des vermaerts coninckrijcx van Syna* (Den Bosch: Anthoni Scheffer, 1615).

26 Henri Bernard, 'Les Sources mongoles et chinoises de l'Atlas Martini (1655)', *Monumenta Serica* XII (1947), 127-144. The interest of Jesuits and Dutch tradesmen in their respective activities in China was mutual. On the one hand, Dutchmen were greatly attracted by Kircher's book on China: the Amsterdam printer Jacob van Meurs even made a pirated edition of the Dutch translation, see Van Eeghen, 'Montanus'. On the other hand, the Jesuits had their most active Antwerp publisher, Michiel Cnobbaert, make a pirated edition of Johan Nieuhof's report of a VOC mission to China, in which they slightly added the contents for a more favourable view of their own role; see P. Arblaster, 'Piracy and Play: Two Catholic Appropriations of Nieuhof's "Gezantschap"', in: Siegfried Huigen a.o. (eds.), *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 129-144. According to Davids, the Dutch trading company's interest in Jesuit scholarship was unique: English and French traders were merely interested in economic information, see Davids, 'VOC-mentaliteit', 137-139.

27 Impo was a naval guide who led vice-admiral Wybrand van Warwijck (1566 or 1570-1615) to the Pescadores Islands in 1604. See L. Blussé, *Tribuut aan China: vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen* (Amsterdam: Cramwinckel, 1989), 86.

28 Some of these books ended up in Leiden University Library where they have remained. On Brinck's collection containing Chinese curios and texts see E. Bergvelt a.o. (eds.), *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1736* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1992), 137-138.

29 Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China. 1: 635-1800* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2001), 310; Golvers, 'Papebrochius', 41. This preference was perhaps related to the missionaries' own affinity with preaching among Dutch-speaking natives, on whom Protestantism exerted a powerful pull. In the winter of 1683-4, shortly after his arrival in Europe, Couplet visited Van Papenbroeck in Louvain in order to solicit support for the Chinese-spoken clergy and liturgy; Van Papenbroeck wrote in support citing many examples from early Church history permitting the use of Slavonic in east European lands. See Golvers, 'Papebrochius', 42.

30 N. Standaert, 'The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-Century China', *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003), 367-391. Cf. André van den Eerenbeemt, 'Nederlandsche boeken in de oude bibliotheek van Pé-t'ang in Peiping', *Het Missiewerk* 27 (1948), 174-182.

31 Mark Chang, 'The Latin Phoneticization of Chinese Characters of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault', in: *International Symposium in Chinese-Western Cultural Exchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci S.J. in China* (Taipei 1983), 87-97. According to Gunn, Trigault also introduced the Chinese literati to the Latin alphabet; Gunn, *First Globalization*, 237.

32 Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Language Acquisition and Missionary Strategies in China, 1580-1760', in: Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile a.o. (eds.), *Missions d'évangelisation et circulation des saviors XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2011), 189-208. See also Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 261.

33 Herman Hugo, *De prima scribendi origine* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1617), 59-62, 88. Hugo also published Latin versions of letters relating to the mission in East Asia.

34 'Si singulae literae impositae essent, non vocibus, sed rebus ipsis significandis, eaeque essent hominibus omnibus communes; omnes omninio homines, etiamsi gentes singulae res singulas diversis nominibus appelent, singularum gentium scriptionem intelligerent', Hugo, *De prima scribendi origine*, 60.

35 '[P]rodidit Nicolaus Trigaultius ... non pauciores Sinensibus literas esse, quam voces numerantur: eas tamen iter inter se componere, ut LXX, aut LXXX milia non excedant. Imo idem refert, Sinenses & Japanenses, etsi lingua aeque differant, ac Hebraei, & Belgae; tamen, quae sic scribuntur, intelligere ... Utcumque enim in legendo alii alia verba pronunciassent: tamen iidem fuissent conceptus. Nempe uti nunc variarum linguarum homines rem eandem conspicientes eandem rem concipiunt: ita idem [*sic*] rei signum intuentes, eundem haberent conceptum', Vossius, *De arte grammatica* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1635), vol. I, 143. Vossius discusses Chinese writing on pages 140-143 and 122.

36 The most complete Chinese dictionary of the seventeenth century, Mei Yingzuo's *Zihui* of 1615, listed 33,179 characters.

37 'Habent [Sinenses] notarum CXX millia, ex quibus mediocriter doctum ad LXXX millia nosse oportet', G. Hornius, *De originibus Americanis libri quator* (Leiden: Vlacq, 1652), 271.

38 On Golius, see also Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis's chapter in the present book.

39 Resolution of Leiden University dated 9 June 1654, quoted from J.J.L. Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies in Holland', *T'oung Pao* 32 (1934), 293-344, esp. 301.

40 Edelheer was a close friend of the printer Balthasar Moretus (1615-1674) who published Martini's text *De bello Tartarico*. See Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 302; on Edel-

heer's collection also N. Golvers, 'De recruteringstocht van M. Martini, S.J. door de Lage Landen in 1654: over geomantische kompassen, Chinese verzamelingen, lichtbeelden en R.P. Wilhelm van Aelst, S.J.', *De zeventiende eeuw* 10/2 (1994), 331-350: 348.

41 Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 322. A handwritten text in Chinese, attributed to this Chinese visitor, remained in Louvain (now in Royal Library, Brussels), which may be 'the oldest Chinese text produced on European soil', see Golvers, 'De recruteringstocht', 342. Cheng Ma-no (Portuguese name Emmanuel de Siquiera) 'was possibly the first educated Chinese to be brought to Europe by a Jesuit' and went on to study philosophy and theology at the Collegio Romano; see Mungello, *Curious Land*, 108-9.

42 Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 300. The Chinese rhubarb seeds came from Leiden University's hortus botanicus; see Golius to Kircher, June 11, 1665, Archive Pontifica Università Gregoriana, Ms 562 f 139.

43 Johan Nieuhof, *Legatio Batavica ad magnum Tartariae Chamum Sungteium* (Amsterdam: Van Meurs, 1668), contains an introduction (absent in the original Dutch book) on Marco Polo, that may have been written by Golius. Golius was also approached to translate Nieuhof's travelogue into Latin, but this was eventually done by Georg Hornius.

44 Reland's works include *Analecta rabbinica* (Utrecht: Appels, 1702) and *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (Utrecht: Broedelet, 1705).

45 A. Reland, 'Tabella vocum, cum pronuntiatione earum Japonica, Sinica et Annamitica', in: *Dissertationum miscellanearum* (Utrecht: Broedelet, 1708), vol. III, 112-116.

46 De Laet criticized Grotius's view that all languages derived from Hebrew. See J. de Laet, *Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De origine gentium americanarum, et observationes aliquot ad melior indaginem difficillimae illius quaestionis* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1643).

47 According to Hornius, pictograms had travelled from Egypt, via China, to the Americas: 'Fateor non unam scribendi penitus apud Mexicanos et Sinenses rationem, nec tamen penitus diversa fuit ... Cataini scribunt penicillo pictorio et una figura multas literas complectitur ac verbum facit', Hornius, *De originibus Americanis*, 270-271. On Golius see Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 326.

48 See my 'From Hieroglyphs to Universal Characters: Pictography in the Early Modern Netherlands', *Netherlands Yearbook for the History of Art* 61 (2011), 238-281, which builds on the more rudimentary discussion in *The Making of the Humanities, Volume I: Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: AUP, 2010), 133-159. See also Gerhard Strasser's chapter in the present book, notes 14-15.

49 K. Kuiper, 'The Earliest Monument of Dutch Sinological Studies: Justus Heurnius's Manuscript Dutch-Chinese Dictionary and Chinese-Latin Compendium doctrinae Christianae (Batavia 1628)', *Quaerendo* 35/1-2 (2005), 109-139.

50 Letter of Heurnius to the directors of the East India Company (1628), see Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 318.

51 Gunn, *First Globalization*, 238.

52 Gravius, minister in Formosa 1647-1651, published *Het heylige evangelium Matthei en Johannis: Ofte Hagnau ka d'llig matiktik, ka na sasoulat ti Mattheus, ti Johannes appa; Overgeset inde Formosaansche tale, voor de inwoonders van Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan, Bacloan, Tavokan, en Tevorang* (The Gospels of Matthew and John ... Translated in the Formosan Language for the Inhabitants of Soulang etc., Amsterdam: Hartogh, 1661). This was followed by the bilingual Declaration of Christianity, *Patar ki tna-'msing-an ki Christang, ka tauki-papatar-en-ato tmaeu'ug tou sou ka makka sideia: Ofte't formulier des Christendoms, met de verklaringen van dien, inde Sideis-Formosaansche tale [door Dan. Gravius]* (Amsterdam: Hartogh, 1662).

53 '[B]eyde in Duytsch en Formosaans: het welcke voorwaar sulcken gezegenden voortganck nam, dat'et, by naerstig achtervolgh vry wat groots beloofden: gelijck ick oock t'sedert hebbe verstaan, dat'et oogmerck tot voortplantinge van de Nederduytsche tale aldaar seer geluckelyck wordt bereyckt'. See E.L. Macapili and Huang Chun, *Siraya Glossary: Based on the Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosa (Sinkan Dialect), A Primary Survey* (Tainan: Tainan Pepo Siraya Culture Association, 2008).

54 J.A. Comenius, *Eerste deel der schoolgeleertheyd, genoemt het Portael: inhoudende de grondveste der dingen, en onser wijsheyd omtrent de dingen, als mede der Latijnschen tael met de moedertael* (Amsterdam: Roy, 1658).

55 John E. Wills, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys. The Dutch East India Company and China, 1662-1681* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2005), 49-54.

56 Cf. Verbiest's fourteen-volume *Yi xiang zhi* (Beijing 1673). He also rearranged a Guanhua grammar written by Martini (see Gerhard Strasser's chapter in the present volume, note 27).

57 Printed as 'Elementa Linguae Tartaricae' in: Melchisedech Thévenot (ed.), *Rélations des divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées* (Paris: Moette, 1696). Translation in Pentti Aalto, *The 'Elementa linguae Tartaricae' by Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977); see also N. Golvers, 'The "Elementa linguae Tartaricae" by Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623-1688), Some New Evidence,' in: Mirko Tavoni and Roberta Cella (eds.), *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: Confronti e relazioni*, vol. II (Ferrara: Panini, 1996), 581-593.

58 Giovanni Stary, 'The "Manchu Cannons" Cast by Ferdinand Verbiest and the Hitherto Unknown Title of His Instructions', in: John W. Witek (ed.), *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1994), 215-225.

59 Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 281.

60 See P. Couplet, *Historie van eene groote, christene mevrouwe van China met naeme mevrouw Candida Hiu ... beschreven door ... Philippus Couplet ... ende in onse Nederlandtsche taele door H.I.D.N.W.P. overgheset* (Antwerp: Knobbaert by Franciscus Muller, 1694).

61 T.N. Foss, 'The European Sojourn of Philippe Couplet and Michael Shen Fuzong, 1683-1692', in: J. Heyndrickx (ed.), *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623-1693), The Man Who Brought China to Europe* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1990), 121-142.

62 In Chinese, *Daxue*, *Zhong Yong* and *Lunyu*.

63 They used the translations of Confucius by Prospero Intorcetta in particular, who is credited on the title page; Couplet speaks in the introduction in the first person plural to highlight the collaborative nature of his work.

64 Meynard, *Confucius*, 16.

65 Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 243-286, has called attention to the Jesuits' appropriation of indigenous methods of scholarship.

66 Meynard, *Confucius*, 10.

67 Prospero Intorcetta had already wanted to print his *Politico-Moral Learning of the Chinese* in the Dutch Republic, see Golvers, 'Unobserved Letter'.

68 Meynard, *Confucius*, 12; De Rougemont and Couplet may have become acquainted with Blaeu during their stay in Amsterdam, see N. Golvers, 'The Development of the "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus" Reconsidered in the Light of New Material', in: R. Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1998), vol. 2, 1141-1164: 1144.

69 Janssonius van Waesberghe paid Kircher 2,200 scudi for the publishing rights in the Holy Roman Empire, England, and the Low Countries; see Daniel Stolzenberg, *The Great Art of Knowing. The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher* (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 2001), 10. Kircher, after hearing from the 'Padri fiamenghi' in China on their projected publication, was uncompromising: 'non vorria io che il Blaeu le [i.e., the manuscripts] trattenesse', Archive Pontifica Università Gregoriana, Misc. Epist. Kircher, 560, f. 79r. As early as 1671, Kircher wrote to Janssonius proposing that he would publish some of the Confucius translations; in 1672 Van Papenbroeck became involved too. See Golvers, 'Confucius', 1145-6, 1149.

70 The numbers can still be seen in copies of the first edition. According to Golvers, the choice for Horthemels was inspired by Couplet's being 'attracted to his Flemish-Dutch countrymen', Golvers, 'Confucius', 1160.

71 Meynard, *Confucius*, 101.

72 Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: een geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010), 195.

73 For instance, Couplet sees the *Yijing* as a less authentic text without the status of a classic arguing that 'though these poems have great authority, the style is quite difficult and obscure because of their always-laconic shortness, of their usual metaphorical style and also because of their ornamentation with very old proverbs', Meynard, *Confucius*, 101.

74 Meynard, *Confucius*, 102.

75 Meynard, *Confucius*, 109.

76 Meynard, *Confucius*, 217.

77 This was a true statement: the rejection of modern interpretations of Confucius was a Chinese tradition, see Mungello, *Curious Land*, 262.

78 Translation from Meynard, *Confucius*, 222.

79 Meynard, *Confucius*, 223.

80 Kircher had already interpreted Egyptian wisdom in this manner and used this approach as the basis for his Chinese studies. The French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) was most explicit in linking Egyptian proto-Christianity to the ancient Chinese wisdom, using the hieroglyphical origin of Chinese writing as an argument. His main work was translated into Dutch: *'t Leven en bedrijf van den tegenwoordigen keizer van China* (Utrecht, 1699).

81 Couplet provides the framework for Bouvet's 'Hermetic' arguments pointing out that 'the holy Writers and Fathers ... familiar with pagan testimonies remote from human reason but revealed by God, such as the prophesies of the Sibyls or the statement by Trismegistus ... or the image of Serapis which is thought to show an image of the Most Holy Trinity', in Meynard, *Confucius*, 216.

82 Pierre de la Brune, *La Morale de Confucius, philosophe de la Chine* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1688); *The Morals of Confucius, A Chinese Philosopher, who Flourished above Five Hundred Years before the Coming of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Being one of the Choicest Pieces of Learning Remaining of that Nation* (London: Randal Taylor, 1691). The English translation seems to be made from the French, as De la Brune is again named as the author. Couplet himself also envisaged making a French translation, which did not materialize; see Golvers, 'Confucius', 1163.

83 The review fills pages 387-455 of the December 1687 issue, the statement on Confucius is on p. 400. The citations from the *Analects* are in pp. 441-450. Other reviews appeared in *Basnage histoire des ouvrages des sçavans* (Rotterdam, September 1687) and *Journal des sçavans* (5 January 1988), probably by Pierre-Sylvain Régis. See Mungello, *Curious Land*, 289-291.

84 The painting is now in the British Royal Collection.

85 See J. Spence, 'When Minds Met: China and the West in the Seventeenth Century', Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, delivered 20 May 2010, in Washington DC. URL: http://www.neh.gov/whoweare/Spence/lecture.html. Accessed 15 November 2011.

86 For instance, Couplet provided Latin translations from Chinese medical books for Cleyer's *Specimen medicinae sinicae, sive opuscula medica ad mentem Sinensium* (1682). See P. Begheyn, 'A Letter from Andries Cleyer, Head Surgeon of the United East India Company at Batavia, to Father Philips Couplet, S.J.', *Lias* 20 (1993), 245-249. Couplet himself sent his *Confucius* to Mentzel and others in 'England and Holland'; letter to Mentzel of 17 November 1687, see Golvers, 'Confucius', 1164.

87 Witsen (Amsterdam) to Vossius (London), 6 November [1670], 'hebbe hier met een persoon gesprooken, die uit Sina of Katai komt welke des menings mede is als myn Heer' on a topographical question. Leiden University Library, UBL Ms Bur F11, fol. 160r.

88 Golvers, *Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven*, 191.

89 The doctor accompanied Johan van Hoorn, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, to the Netherlands. See Leonard Blussé, 'Doctor at Sea: Chou Mei-Yeh's Voyage to the West (1710-1711)', in: Erika de Poorter (ed.), *As the Twig is Bent ..: Essays in Honour of Frits Vos* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1990), 7-30.

90 For Vondel see above, note 1. J. Antonides van der Goes, *Trazil of overrompelt Sina* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz., P. Arentsz. and A. Magnus, 1685). Duyvendak has suggested that Vondel met Martini during his visit in the 1650s, see J.J.L. Duyvendak, 'China in de Nederlandsche letterkunde', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde* (Leiden, 1938), 3-14: 7. The best study of *Zungchin* to date is Gregory Blue, 'Johann Adam Schall and the Jesuit Mission in Vondel's Zungchin', in: Roman Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johan Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Inst, 1998), vol. 2, 951-982. Perhaps Vondel's work was a source of inspiration for Eberhard Happel's novel *Der Asiatische Onogambo* (1673), which, in any event, based its Chinese descriptions on Nieuhof's travelogue. See Adrian Hsia, 'Literarische Darstellung der Jesuitenmission in China insbesondere des Wirkens von Johann Adam Schall von Bell', in: Roman Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contribution and Impact of Johan Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Inst, 1998), vol. 2, 983-999.

91 Chiefly the writings of Cicero, Seneca and Aesop, see Standaert, *Handbook*, 604-608.

92 Verbiest's was 'the most ambitious project in the field of sciences and (natural) philosophy', according to Nicolas Standaert, 'Jesuits in China', in: T. Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 169-185: 179; Libbrecht confirms that 'One of the most important facts in the introduction of European and [*sic*] Chinese astronomy in the seventeenth century was ... the building of the new instruments for the observatory in Peking by the Flemish Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest', U. Libbrecht, 'What Kind of Science did the Jesuits Bring to China?' in: F. Masini (ed.), *Western Humanistic Culture presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (17th-18th Centuries)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1996), 221-234: 221.

93 F. Verbiest, *Astronomia Europaea sub imperatore Tartaro-Sinico Cám Hý appellato ex umbra in lucem revocata à R.P. Ferdinando Verbiest Flandro-Belga e Societate Jesu Academiae Astronomicae in Regia Pekinensi Praefecto anno M.DCLXVIII* (Beijing, 1669), documents the author's presentation of Western music and optical devices at the imperial court. Verbiest

also expanded on Giulio Aleni's effort to explain the European system of disciplines in the arts and sciences to the Chinese, see Standaert, *Handbook*, 606. F. Verbiest, *Kunyu tushuo* (Illustrated Explanation of the Entire World, 1674) has many illustrations derived from Netherlandish and German engravings; see Standaert, *Handbook*, 810.

94 Robert Halleux, Carmélia Opsomer and Jan Vandersmissen (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de wetenschappen in België van de Oudheid tot 1815* (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet/Dexia, 1998), 289.

95 The respective specialists were Filippo Grimaldi and Tomé Pereira. The Jesuits sent at least four artists from the Low Countries to China. Albert Brac (b.1622) from the Dutch Republic and Ignatius Lagot (1603-1651) and Henri Xavier (b.1608) from the Southern Netherlands all worked as painters in Macao. The Maastricht-born artist Henrik van Vlierden (b.1608) departed for China in 1644. See Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine.*

96 J.B. du Halde, *The General History of China Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China* (London: Watts, 1741), 72-75.

97 Golvers, 'De recruteringstocht', 331-350.

98 For instance Georg Balthasar Probst after P. van Blankaert after Johan Nieuhof, *Vue d'optique of the interior of the Imperial Palacein Beijing,* 1766-90, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Image in M. Reed & P. Demattè (eds.), *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 12.

99 Standaert, *Handbook*, 856, referring to P.M. d'Elia (ed.), *Fonti Ricciane* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949), Vol I, 32, 130.

100 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America: 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 88. See also Nicolas Trigault, *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas* (Cologne, 1618), 22-23, and d'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 31-32. Ricci's criticism returns unmodified after 250 years in M. Corner, *China: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical* (London: Bohn, 1853), 221: 'The defects of the Chinese as sculptors and painters are sufficiently known from specimens of their works which abound in Europe. Their painters have no notion of perspective, and very little idea of chiaro-scuro, or light and shade'.

101 'Tot de Schilderyen en Schilderkunst, die zy doorgaans veel in hunne kunsten gebruiken, toonen deze volken een groote genegentheit en begeerte: doch mogen evenwel in't maken van eenige uitmuntende kunst-stukken tegen d'Europers geenszins op; want eensdeels verstaanze zich noch niet op 't maken van schaduwen, en ten andre wetenze de kleuren niet te temperen en met olie te mengen. Dit is d'oorzaak waarom hunne Schilderyen zeer doots en bleek zich vertoonen, en veel meer na dode lijken dan levendige beelden zwemen,' Joan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China... Beneffens een naukeurige beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering* (Amsterdam: Van Meurs, 1665), Part II, 30. Cf. Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye op de kuste en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina: behelzende het tweede gezandschap ... en het derde gezandschap ... beneffens een beschryving van geheel Sina* (Amsterdam: Van Meurs, 1670), 504.

102 Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap*, Part II, p. 30; Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf*, 504.

103 The court artist Zou Yigui is quoted in M. Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (revised ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 80. Cf. Baily, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 82.

104 This becomes clear from the fact that the main Chinese Jesuit artist, Wu Li (1632-1718), who instigated a completely new genre of Sino-Christian poetry, remained true to the style of the literati in his paintings. Wu accompanied De Rougemont on one of his mission tours in the Guangzhou area.

105 Vossius is called 'Emperor' in Franciscus F.N. Junius's introduction to G. Vossius, *De quator artibus popularibus* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1650), no pagination.

106 See my 'Vossius's Chinese Utopia', in: E. Jorink & D. van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) and the European World of Learning* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 207-242.

107 Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1971 [Orig. Paris: 1932]), 202.

108 'Cum vero inquiunt umbris fere carere Serum picturas, carpunt quod laudare debuerant. Parce admodum sunt illi in exprimendis umbris, & quidem quanto meliores sunt picturae, tanto minus umbrantur; in quo longe peritiores sunt nostri orbis pictoribus, qui non nisi additis densis umbris partes magis exstantes norunt repraesentare. Qua quidem in re nec naturae, nec optices observant leges; illae nempe docent, si quod corpus aequale fere lumine aspergatur, ita ut nullae conspicuae sint umbrae, partes magis vicinas aut exstantes distinctioribus lineamentis, recedentes vero & remotiores minus distincte esse exhibendas. Hanc si quis in pingendo observet rationem, erit pictura naturae aemula, & etiam absque umbris conspicuis magis extantes apparebunt partes,' I. Vossius, 'De artibus et scientiis Sinarum', in: *Isaaci Vossii variarum observationum liber* (London: Scott, 1685), 69-85: 79.

109 See Weststeijn, 'Vossius's Chinese Utopia'.

110 Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship, vol. II, Historical Chronology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 405-407.

111 Duyvendak, 'Early Chinese Studies', 293-295.

112 In fact, Vossius prefers the Greek Septuagint which states that the world was 1,200 years older than the Hebrew Bible suggests. The Septuagint states that the world was created in the year 5200 BC, the Vulgate in the year 4004 BC; the deluge was computed to have happened in the years 2957 and 2349 respectively; see Jack Finnegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 191, 184.

113 '[C]consequitur in nullis hactenur Ecclesiis occidentalibus veram Sacram Scripturam versionem receptam fuisse', *Georgii Hornii dissertatio de vera aetate mundi, qua sententia illorum refellitur qui statuunt natale mundi tempus annis minimum 1440. vulgarem aeram anticipare* (Leiden: Elsevier & Leffen, 1659), 3.

114 Hornius, *Dissertatio*, 34, 50. Hornius identified the Flood with a natural disaster in the time of emperor Yao and proceeded to associate Chinese rulers with figures from the Old Testament.

115 See Weststeijn, 'Vossius' Chinese Utopia'.

116 See my '"Spinoza sinicus:" An Asian Paragraph in the History of the Radical Enlightenment', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68/4 (2007), 537-561.

117 Weststeijn, 'Vossius' Chinese Utopia'.

118 'Tabula Chronologica Monarchiae Sinicae' (1686), bound with *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris: Horthemels, 1687). The text ranges from Huangdi to Kangxi's campaign to pacify the western Mongols in 1683. According to Meynard, *Confucius*, 14, Couplet finished the text in 1683 during his stay in Holland. He first published it as an independent work entitled *Tabula genealogica* (Paris, 1686), see Golvers, 'Confucius', 1153.

119 Bod, *Vergeten wetenschappen*, 19, pleading for a 'future world history' of the humanities.

120 Standaert, 'Transmission of Renaissance Culture', 369.

121 Cf. John E. Wills, 'Brief Intersection: Changing Contexts and Prospects of the Chinese-Christian Encounter from Matteo Ricci to Ferdinand Verbiest', in: John W. Witek (ed.), *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettetal: Inst. Monumenta Serica, 1994), 383-394. On the Chinese respect for books in particular see Standaert, 'Transmission of Renaissance Culture', 370-372.

122 Vossius's ideas contributed to a respected English school of Biblical criticism, see David S. Katz, 'Isaac Vossius and the English Biblical Critics 1670-1689', in: R.H. Popkin and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 1993), 142-184.

123 Two examples: the Countess of Arundel's 'Dutch' cabinet in London contained Chinese porcelain and August the Strong built a 'Holländische Palast' in Dresden to house his East Asian ceramics. By 1638 the Dutch had imported over three million pieces of Chinese porcelain and Amsterdam had become 'the hub for the accumulation and dispersal of knowledge about the non-European world', according to D. Odell, 'Porcelain, Print Culture and Mercantile Aesthetics', in: A. Cavanaugh a.o. (eds.), *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain* (London: Ashgate, 2010), 141-158: 142.

124 'Commercia inquam doctrinae et mutuae lucis', Leibniz to Giovanni Laureati, 12 November 1689. See G.W. Leibniz, *Leibniz korrespondiert mit China* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1990), 11.

125 For Verbiest and Leibniz, see Gerhard Strasser's chapter in the present book. Part of Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea* is included in Leibniz's *Novissima sinica* (1697). For Leibniz and the chronological issues sparked by Vossius, see Li Wenchao, 'Leibniz, der Chronologiestreit und die Juden in China', in: D.J. Cook et al. (eds.), *Leibniz und das Judentum* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 183-208. Van Papenbroeck informed Leibniz on the publication of *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, see Mungello, *Curious Land*, 287.

126 *Sinensis imperii libri classici sex* (Prague: Kamenicky, 1711). The manuscript is presently in Arras library. Noël was born in Hestrud in the Spanish Netherlands.

127 China was treated in a satirical manner by Jacob Campo Weyerman and others; see A. Pos, *Het paviljoen van porselein: Nederlandse literaire Chinoiserie en het westerse beeld van China, 1250-2007*, PhD Dissertation, University of Leiden 2008, 117-119 (commercial edition forthcoming).

128 Louis XIV sent six Jesuits to Beijing as correspondents for the Académie Royale des Sciences (while the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres studied the Chinese language); the Royal Society proposed to include the Jesuits in China among their correspondents in 1667; the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg maintained links with the French missionaries. See Standaert, *Handbook*, 892-3. In 1732, Naples saw the foundation of a specialized Collegio dei Cinesi.

129 Duyvendak, 'China in de Nederlandse letterkunde', 13. Over time, this even resulted in the Amsterdam-born philosopher Cornelis de Pauw (1739-1799) refuting the previous positive images of China in *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam & Leiden: Vlam and Murray, 1773).

130 Duyvendak, 'China in de Nederlandse letterkunde', 13. This was obviously related to the decline of the Dutch East-India Company, see Lach & Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Vol. III*, 506. After 1678, the Dutch concentrated their direct trade on Java and relied for contacts with China on Chinese and Portuguese intermediaries, whereas European commercial interest in East Asia became increasingly focused on the large-scale production of certain products for export; see Wills, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys*, 261-264.

131 R. Po-chia Hsia, 'The Catholic Mission and Translations in China, 1583-1700', in: P. Burke & R.P. Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 39-51: 51. According to Wills, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys*, 264, by 1700 '[b]oth sides in the Sino-Western trade were reasonably content with their profits, and the eighteenth century passed with little political contact between Europeans and Chinese'.

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The Oriental Origins of Orientalism

The Case of Dimitrie Cantemir

Michiel Leezenberg[1]

He was as good a sovereign of the sort
As any mention'd in the histories
Of Cantemir, or Knolles, where few shine
Save Solyman, the glory of their line.
Lord Byron, Don Juan, *V: 147*

Introduction: Post-orientalism and beyond

Edward Said's *Orientalism* continues to set the tone for debates about the political roles and implications of the academic study of the Islamic, and more generally the non-Western, world in the Western humanities, even though its shortcomings have long been known. Specifically, and influentially, Said argues that there is a direct link between knowledge of the Orient and colonial domination; he mostly bases his case on detailed discussion of orientalist scholarship on the Arab-speaking regions of the Ottoman empire in France and England in the nineteenth century, and in the United States in the twentieth. Much can be said about this argument; but for the present discussion, three kinds of problems are most directly relevant.

First, as was already noted at an early stage, Said's argument has a very restricted geographical basis, as he does not take German and Russian orientalism into account; indeed, some have presented the German case as a refutation of his main thesis.[2] Although German orientalism had a dominant position for much of the nineteenth century, German colonial projects would not materialize until well after the 1870 unification under Bismarck. The Russian case is even more complex: from the sixteenth century onward, the Russian empire incorporated Muslim subject populations that were not necessarily, or unambiguously, seen as radically different from the recently converted Russian peasantry, or from other

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subject nations; it was not until the later eighteenth century that a more self-conscious expansion into the Caucasus and Central Asia and a concomitant form of orientalist knowledge developed. In many ways, the Soviet Union reproduced 'bourgeois' orientalist knowledge that had been produced in, particularly, imperial Russia and Germany; but it cannot simply be said to be an empire or colonial enterprise in any but the widest sense. Likewise, scholars in the Ottoman empire and its successor states also developed something like an orientalist tradition of their own.[3] Neither in the 1978 edition nor in the Afterword to the 1995 edition of *Orientalism* does Said address the specifics of German, Russian, or Ottoman orientalism at all. In the original edition, he acknowledges the pre-eminent status of German oriental and other scholarship in the nineteenth century, but adds that 'the German Orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical Orient' (1978: 19), that is, an imagined locus that never became really actual as did the French and English colonial Orient; moreover, he adds, German, French and English orientalism all had the same kind of textual or epistemological authority over the Orient in Western culture. That claim, however, leaves open the more general question of how knowledge produced in a particular region, and language, can acquire – or lose – a more universal, or hegemonic, status.

A second problem concerns possible ruptures or discontinuities in orientalist knowledge, and in the humanities more generally. Said himself notes the close conceptual link between oriental scholarship and other branches of the humanities, in particular historical and comparative linguistics as created by the likes of William Jones and Sylvestre de Sacy (1978: 18). Basing himself in part on Foucault's genealogical approach, he then sets out to expose the intimate, or internal, relation between orientalist knowledge and colonial power. In doing so, however, he not only links knowledge much more closely to state power than Foucault ever does; he also, and quite unlike Foucault, appears to assume that the othering of the Orient as something radically different from the West remained essentially unchanged from ancient Greece until the present, claiming that 'certain associations with the East – not quite ignorant, not quite informed – always seem to have gathered around the Orient', and accordingly seeing the first emergence of orientalism in Homer, Aeschylus and Euripides (1978: 55-56). In contrast to this apparently timeless character of Said's orientalism, Foucault famously, and controversially, argued for a radical epistemological rupture in the sciences of man; less contentiously, one may observe a discontinuity of some sort in the nineteenth-century rise of the professionalized modern humanities based on philological methods and the simultaneous growth of political nationalism. Put differently, the interrelations between modern orientalism, and the modern humanities more generally, the rise of the nation state, and the transformation from early modern empires into modern imperialisms largely remain to be explored.

A third question left open by orientalism studies, and a very substantial one in connection with the history of the humanities, is the changing interrelationships of Western and non-Western traditions of learning. It is tempting to view orientalism as a kind of hegemonic discourse, or as an ideology in the Marxist sense of the word, without exploring exactly *how* this discourse became hegemonic; but doing so threatens to deprive non-Western subjects of all agency.[4] Classically orientalist texts present local interlocutors as at best playing the role of – generally anonymous – 'native informants', that is, as sources of oral information whose opinions do not in themselves carry any epistemological authority. It is only recently that early modern non-Western knowledge traditions have started to receive due attention. In the Islamic world, for example, there was a long-standing tradition of learning, ranging from logic and grammar to theology, philosophy and alchemy; moreover, different authors have argued for different forms of innovation and change in these traditions in the early modern era. The advent of modern Western scholars and scientists, schools and universities, and textbooks and curricula did not simply mark the end of these local traditions of learning; but it did profoundly transform them. It is not at all clear how one should assess these developments; but, obviously, one should resist reducing them to the mere passive reception or absorption of a hegemonic Western discourse, as this precludes even the raising of the questions of local agency and the universalisation of locally produced knowledge that are at stake here.

In this contribution, I will address these broader questions through the prism of a single figure, the early eighteenth-century scholar Dimitrie Cantemir. Born and educated in Ottoman lands, he eventually became a major intellectual and political figure in both the Ottoman and Russian empires, and was a precursor of Romanian (and Moldavian) nationalism. As will appear below, he was far more than a native informant, and his work on Ottoman history would come to have a dominant status in Western orientalist scholarship for almost an entire century. Thus, apart from being a fascinating figure in his own right, Cantemir's *Werdegang* also inspires questions of a broader and more theoretical character, concerning, among others, the origins of modern philological orientalism, and the history of the humanities beyond national and religious confines. Indeed, it reminds us of just how recently these boundaries have been drawn.

Cantemir's political and academic career

The regions with Romance-speaking populations straddled the border between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. The Christian populations of the Ottoman provinces of Wallachia (Turkish *Eflâq*) in the South, and Transylvania (*Erdel* in

Turkish, and *Siebenbürgen* in German) in the Northwest, and Moldavia (*Bogdan*) in the Northeast, were generally adherents of the orthodox Byzantine-Slavic church, in which Church Slavonic had long been the liturgical language; but in the wake of the Reformation, the Uniate church also had made inroads here. The Ottoman rulers made few if any concerted efforts to convert the Christian and Jewish subject population of the Balkans to Islam. Instead, the Danube provinces knew a largely autonomous and quasi-feudal rule by so-called hospodars or voyvodes, generally elected from the local landowning and/or military elites, the boyars.

It was into such a boyar family that Dimitrie Cantemir was born, in 1673. In 1685, his father Constantin, himself illiterate, became voyvode of Moldavia.[5] In his Latin works published in Russia, Cantemir claims that his ancestors were Crimean Tatars who had converted to Christianity in the fifteenth century; in his Romanian-language writings, however, he emphasizes his humble origins, possibly in an attempt to distance himself from the unpopular local boyar elites. The emphasis on a Turkic or Tatar genealogy may have been intended to ingratiate himself with readers in Russia, where it was common practice among the nobility to claim Tatar descent, and take on Tatar names, until the eighteenth century.

After spending his younger years in the Moldavian capital Iaşi, he stayed in Istanbul as a hostage from 1687 to 1691. Upon the death of his father in 1693, he was elected the new ruler by local supporters; but after a mere three weeks in power, he was dethroned by the Ottoman authorities. When his brother Antioch was granted the Moldavian throne, Dimitrie returned to the Ottoman capital, where he was to stay until 1710. Only once, in 1699, did he return, for his betrothal to Cassandra Cantacuzino (1682-1713), a daughter of the former voyvode of Wallachia, in what was clearly a political marriage.

Reflecting enduring rivalries between Moldavian and Wallachian hospodars more generally, the Cantemir family had a long-standing enmity with Constantin Brancovanu, the voyvode of Wallachia. Also during his years in Istanbul, Dimitrie appears to have been very much involved in the customary court intrigues. He enjoyed the support of several grand viziers and maintained good relations with, among others, the French, Dutch and Russian ambassadors. Cantemir had a high reputation as a court musician; reportedly, upon hearing that he had been named voyvode of Moldavia, he composed a tune to show his gratitude, which he also performed in front of the sultan. His gratitude was not translated into political loyalty, however: shortly after his return to Iaşi, he entered into secret negotiations with the Russian tsar Peter the Great, and in Peter's 1711 Pruth campaign, an ill-fated military offensive against the Ottomans, he openly sided with the Russians. It was a gamble, and it did not pay off: Peter was defeated in battle, and Cantemir had to flee for his life along with the retreating Russian troops.

Cantemir's defection had far-reaching political consequences, as the failure of the Russian-backed revolt spelled the beginning of the so-called Phanariot period, when the Danube provinces came to be ruled by Greek-speaking families more closely linked to the central Ottoman authorities.

Cantemir's role in Moldavia and the Ottoman empire had ended abruptly, but his career in the Russian empire was about to begin. Soon, he moved among the St Petersburg elites with ease, subsequently remarrying into the Russian nobility. Academically, too, his life in Russia proved successful. In 1714, he was made a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences; in the early 1720s, he was proposed as the first president of the Russian Academy. Peter the Great had corresponded about the idea of a Russian academy with the German philosopher Leibniz (who had also been instrumental in the creation of academies at Berlin and Vienna); by the time the St Petersburg Academy held its first session, however, both Peter and Cantemir had died. In 1722, Cantemir had joined Peter's expedition headed for the Caucasus and Iran, being in charge of the printing press used to print the tsar's proclamations in Turkish and Persian translation; but he increasingly suffered from diabetes, to which he eventually succumbed in 1723. Peter died in early 1725; rumour had it that he had been romantically involved with Dimitrie's daughter Maria (cf. Lemny 2009). One of his sons, Antioch, would subsequently become one of the most important eighteenth-century innovators of Russian as a language of poetry. As a Russian diplomat, he was also to reside in England and France, where he established friendly contacts with the likes of Montesquieu and Voltaire.

Cantemir as a man of letters

By any standard, Cantemir had an exceptional knowledge of languages, scholarly and literary traditions, musical theory and practice, and – last but not least – politics. According to the *Life* appended to Cantemir's history of the Ottoman empire, he was fluent in Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Modern Greek, Latin, Italian, Russian and Moldavian, and had an understanding of ancient Greek, Church Slavonic and French. He received his initial education from the Greek monk Jeremiah Kakavelas, a Cretan-born theologian who had also studied in Cambridge and Leipzig. In Istanbul, he reportedly studied at the Academy of the Orthodox Patriarchate, where Alexander Mavrocordatos, the Great Dragoman, following his studies in Italy, had propagated neo-Aristotelianism.[6] Thus, Cantemir was brought up in an environment that blended reformed Orthodox learning with Western European humanism; moreover, and more exceptionally, he also acquainted himself with Islamic learning, in particular concerning music and historiography.

Two of Cantemir's early works have a special status, in being among the earliest literary works in Romanian; in fact, Cantemir marks the rise of Romanian as a language of learning and literature. A number of chronicles had already been written in the local Romance vernacular, and in 1688 a Romanian translation of the Bible had been printed in Bucharest (reportedly, Cantemir kept a copy of this work with him all his life); but Cantemir's writings are among the first exercises of a more strictly literary character. His first major work, the *Divanul sau Gâlceava Înţeleptului cu lumea sau Giudeţul sufletului cu trupul* (The Divan or The Wise Man's Discussion with the World, or The Judgement of the Soul with the Body) was published in 1698, in a bilingual edition 'in the Greek and Moldavian tongues', as the *Life* has it, with the Moldavian (i.e. Romanian) being printed in Cyrillic script. It is not clear how wide a Romanian-reading audience the book commanded; but it is significant that already in 1705, the work was translated into Arabic, apparently for the benefit of Arabic-speaking orthodox monks in the Levant.[7] The first part of this work closely follows medieval European disputes between the soul and the body on the relative merits of the worldly and the ascetic life; the second part presents a commentary on the first; and the third part consists of a translation of Andreas Wissowatius's theological treatise *Stimuli virtutum*.[8]

In 1705, he wrote the *Istoria Ieroglifica*, an allegorical tale of how the bees (subsequently revealed to be the poorer rural population) are exploited by the raven (i.e. the boyars). The *Istoria* was not published until long after Cantemir's death, and it is not difficult to see why: not only is it openly critical of the Ottoman rulers, it also expresses sympathy for the local population's uprisings against the oppressive rule and financial extortion by the boyars.[9] The literary merits of these Romanian-language works have been fiercely disputed, in particular by nationalist authors of the late nineteenth century. Thus, the famous late-nineteenth-century historian and future prime minister Nicolae Iorga considered the *Divanul* a 'clumsily written and aimless compilation,' and the *Istoria* a 'poor imitation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*'.[10] Other Romanian authors of the late nineteenth century were equally dismissive of Cantemir's literary merits, in part because of the many Slavonic, Greek, Latin and Turkish elements in his vocabulary and syntax, which they saw as 'alien to the Romanian language'.[11] The latter remark in particular indicates that one should perhaps not read such statements as authoritative aesthetic judgements but rather as indications of the enormous intervening changes in the assumed ideologies of what the Romanian language is and what it should be.

These early works appear to have been shaped by local orthodox and Islamic traditions as much as by Western European humanism.[12] They betray a familiarity with ancient Greek, and to a lesser extent Latin, with historians like Herodotus and Thucydides, with Stoic thought, and with popular narrators from antiquity,

like Aesop and Heliodorus; but Cantemir is equally familiar with the Persian poet Saadi. Although Cantemir rarely if ever mentions any Western European contemporaries, he occasionally refers to Renaissance humanists, in particular Erasmus. Far more important than these, however, is the Lithuanian-born Socinian theologian monk Andreas Wissowatius (1608-1678), whose *Stimuli virtutum* is reproduced, as noted, in the third part of the *Divanul*. The irony that a radical protestant author should be incorporated into a work of Orthodox convictions has not gone unnoticed; but Unitarian beliefs in fact had a wider currency among speakers of Romanian and Hungarian, despite Habsburg efforts to spread or enforce Catholicism on both groups.

Cantemir's literary works mark an early stage in the rise of Romanian as a language of religion, learning and literature.[13] The philosophical and ethical vocabulary of the *Divanul* appears to be shaped less by Greek or Latin than by Church Slavonic (Bochmann (1973: 66); but already in the *Istoria Ieroglifica*, written less than ten years after the *Divanul*, the number of Greek-borrowed neologisms has increased sharply. It is impossible to tell whether this increase reflects a difference in genre or rather a linguistic or intellectual development on Cantemir's part. Appended to the *Istoria* is a lexicon, the *Scara*, which is important for the history of Romanian even if it was never published. Giosu (1973) finds 212 Greek loans in the *Istoria*, versus a mere 42 borrowings from Latin; following Petrovici, he plays down the number and importance of Turkish borrowings.

Remarkably few of Cantemir's coinages have survived into present-day Romanian; in many respects, his linguistic concerns are not quite the same as those of later Romanian-language authors. Cantemir, like the 1688 Bible translation, wrote Romanian in Cyrillic script; in later years, the Latin alphabet would be adopted. At this early stage, his main concern appears to have been the emancipation of Romanian from the influence of Church Slavonic, as witnessed by the increasing number of Greek neologisms in his work. Because of this predominance of Greek-origin neologisms, Cantemir differs from the linguistic reformers of the later eighteenth century, in particular the so-called 'Transylvanian School', who consciously modelled written Romanian on Latin in an effort to approach or assimilate the latter's prestige, and to increase the distance with Greek. In turn, the Romanian romantic nationalists of the 1820s onward, were to take as their models the modern Romance languages, in particular French and Italian, in part in reaction against the Habsburg empire's efforts to impose Latin – seen as the language of the Catholic church – as the language of higher education.

Cantemir's analytical political vocabulary has proved more enduring: it includes coinages for politics (*politie*) (II.204) and democracy (*dimocratie*) (I.11) that are still in use today. Remarkably, however, no term like *liberty* (*libertate* in present-day Romanian) occurs in either work; only once does the notion appear

in the *Istoria*, significantly, as the Greek loan *elefterie* (*II*: 156); and this occurrence is not political in character. Generally, it seems, Cantemir speaks of human dignity rather than human liberty. Thus, Cantemir appears to share neither the civic Republicanism of Renaissance authors like Machiavelli, nor the liberalism of later Western European authors; rather, he appears to presume, and share, a number of specifically Byzantine and Ottoman conceptions and beliefs about kingship. A detailed discussion of these matters, however, falls outside the scope of the present paper.

It would be instructive to compare Cantemir's literary works with those of his contemporary, Nicholas Mavrocordatos (1670-1730), who would eventually become *voyvode* of Moldavia and Wallachia.[14] It remains an open question in how far political rivalries between the Cantemir and Mavrocordatos families also found a literary reflection, or expression, in works like Dimitrie's *Divanul* and *Istoria ieroglifica*, and Mavrocordatos's *Filotheou parerga*, and especially the latter's influential *Peri kathekonton* (published in Bucharest in 1716).[15] It is intriguing to see, however, that whereas Mavrocordatos's tale expresses praise of the Ottoman rulers, the *Istoria* is openly critical of them. It seems self-evident to present-day readers to see Cantemir as an early Romanian author, and Mavrocordatos as part of a Greek tradition; even this way of phrasing things, however, risks projecting back traditions that were constructed much later onto earlier figures. Thus, for both authors, Greekness (*Hellenismos* in Mavrocordatos, *eliniza* in Cantemir) appears less a matter of birth or national belonging than one of education and refinement. Both Cantemir and Mavrocordatos, then, belong to early modern Ottoman elites that only in retrospect have been claimed by nationalist historiographies.

Cantemir as a scholar

Cantemir also wrote an introduction to logic and a metaphysical study; but these works do not seem to have gained a wider circulation. More important, also for the purposes of the present paper, are his several books on the geography, history and customs of the Romance-speaking peoples of the Danube provinces.[16] Here, I will focus on the names that Cantemir uses for these peoples and on his characterization of their language.

Names appear to be of some importance for Cantemir: in fact, he devotes an entire treatise, *De antiquis et hodiernis moldaviae nominibus* (On the ancient and present names for Moldavia), to the different names for the inhabitants of the Danube provinces.[17] Strikingly absent among these are terms like 'Romanians' or 'Romanian' as a generic indication. Instead, Cantemir generally uses *Valachi* ('Vlachs') as a superordinate term for the Romance-speaking inhabitants of these

regions, and as virtually synonomous with *Dacoromanii* (e.g. p. 356). Likewise, he has no consistently used general geographical term like *România*. Although Neacşu Lupu's 1521 letter from Câmpulung, the oldest document written in a form of Romanian, already speaks of *Ţeara Rumâneascâ*, 'Romanian land', the term *România* is in fact a neologism that does not appear to have been used before the nineteenth century. For the geographical regions, Cantemir generally uses terms corresponding to the Ottoman Danube provinces, like *Moldavia*, *Valachia* and *Transylvania*. In the *Historia moldo-vlachica*, he also notes the contemporary Turkish terms *iflâq* and *qaraflah*, 'Vlach' and 'Black Vlach' (cf. Modern Greek *mavrovlakhía*).

Throughout the *Historia*, Cantemir makes brief comments on the modern vernaculars. A more extended discussion on the contemporary Romance vernaculars and their historical background appears in chapter IV of the third part of the *Descriptio* (pp. 362-367), where he emphasizes that Romanian is derived not from Italian, but rather from the most ancient forms of Latin, and preserves Latin expressions that do not appear in Italian.[18] Thus, he is among the first Romanian authors who emphasize the Latinity of Romanian.

The idea that there is an affinity between ancient Latin and the modern vernaculars of the Danube regions was not a discovery of nineteenth-century historical linguistics. Sixteenth-century humanist travellers and scholars had already observed the affinity of the dialects spoken in the Danube provinces with Latin and concluded that their speakers must be descendants of the Romans who had settled in the region in the wake of Trajan's conquests.[19] It is unclear to what extent Cantemir's own speculations on these matters rely on these early modern authors, rather than on ancient accounts of the Roman conquests of the Danube provinces.

Throughout these works, Cantemir emphasizes not only the continuity of the Romance-speaking populations of the Danube provinces with the Roman period, but also their ethnic unity.[20] The *Historia* defends the thesis that modern-day Romance speakers are of purely Roman descent rather than the offspring of Roman intermingling with native populations like the ancient Dacians, which he believes to have been completely annihilated. This *Romano-Valacha gens*, he continues, was subsequently dispersed to the regions of Moldavia, Muntenia, Bessarabia, Transylvania and Epirus (*Historia*, p. 420). He continues by claiming that the dialects spoken by these groups changed as a result of interference from neighbouring languages; thus, the dialect spoken by the Moldavians freely uses Greek and Albanian expressions.[21]

Cantemir, in other words, displays no sense of language change as involving a process of organic growth; instead, he treats Romanian as a corrupted form of Latin, resulting from contacts with Greeks, Turks, Slavs and others. Likewise, Cantemir's writings are not informed by any sense of the common people as the

main locus of a pure national culture or spirit, let alone sovereignty. Although he shows attention for folkloric traditions, it would be anachronistic to see this as a kind of Romantic-nationalist glorification of folk culture. In short, Cantemir cannot be said to be a Romanian nationalist in the present-day sense of the word; yet, his work on the history and customs of the Danube regions would in time become a source of inspiration for later generations of authors of a more unambiguously Romanian national character, in particular the abovementioned Transylvanian school that was active in the late eighteenth century regions under Habsburg control. It was only in the nineteenth century that romantic nationalism made substantial inroads among the Romanians: from the 1820s onwards, Romanian was primarily seen as a modern Romance language alongside – and, increasingly, modelled on – French and Italian.[22]

Next to these works on the history and customs of the Romanians/Wallachians, Cantemir also wrote a Turkish-language book on musical theory, the *Kitâb-i 'ilm al-musîqî* (Book of the science of music). The manuscript of the *Kitâb* is followed by a *Mecmûa* or *Collection of melodies*, transcribed with his own alphabetical system of notation, and specifying the mode, rhythm and – if known – composer of each piece. Together, these two works are also known as the *Kantemiroglu edvâri* or the *Edvâr*[23] According to Popescu-Judetz, one of the major innovations of Cantemir's work on music is its attempt to reformulate music as a script-based practice; this attempt, incidentally, did not meet with much response among Cantemir's Ottoman contemporaries. Generally, in the Ottoman empire, and in the Muslim world at large, music was orally transmitted rather than written down. It may well have been this specific kind of literate practice, rather than any kind of uniquely Western process of 'rationalization', as argued for by the likes of Max Weber, that facilitated the development of Western art music with its particular forms of contrapuntal polyphony.[24]

Another innovation was the transcription used. Although Cantemir is likely to have been familiar with Byzantine psaltic notation, and although it is quite probable that he was familiar with the Western European staff notation introduced into the Ottoman empire by the Polish convert Ali Ufki, the transcription he developed for this work appears to have been largely of his own making. Next, he based his discussion on the tanbûr, a typically Ottoman instrument, rather than the 'ud, as had been usual in earlier Arabic-language treatises on music. Popescu-Judetz (1999: 38-39) argues that Cantemir, in basing himself on specifically Ottoman musical practices, was self-consciously innovative in both theory and practice; indeed, he calls his own approach a 'new theory' (*kavl-i cedîd*) as opposed to the 'old theory' (*kavl-i kadîm*) of his predecessors. Apparently, it was not only individual innovation: his systematic emphasis on the differences between Turkish (*Rûm*) and Persian (*Acem*) styles of performance, Cantemir's work may

reflect broader cultural patterns in the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire, like the emancipation of Ottoman music from hitherto dominant Persian styles.

Remarkably, here and elsewhere Cantemir repeatedly states his conviction that Ottoman music in some respects is superior to Western European styles:

> I may certainly venture to say, that the Turkish Music for metre and proportion of words is more perfect than any European, but withal so hard to be understood, that in [the] spacious city of Constantinople, you will scarce find above three or four, who understand the grounds of this Art.[25]

That is, Cantemir displays no sense of superiority of Western European cultural practices. In fact, during this period, unlike later times, there was little economic or military reason for such beliefs; it was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that the military balance between the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian empires was slowly starting to shift, in the wake of the failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. The 1699 Karlowitz peace treaty marked a watershed in Ottoman history: it not only marked the official recognition that the province of Transylvania was lost to the Habsburg Empire, but also ushered in the so-called 'Tulip Age', which saw an unprecedented interest in foreign ideas. But, unlike the nineteenth century, during this era neither the Ottomans, nor the Russians, nor any Western European power had any notion of an inherent or inevitable superiority in military, economic, cultural or civilizational terms.

Cantemir as an orientalist

Strictly speaking, the *Edvâr*, in its theoretical and practical focus on Ottoman music, is not an exercise in the humanities in a generic sense, but already a work of orientalist scholarship. This brings us to the question of Cantemir's works on the Orient. These include, next to his book on music, his two books on Moldavia, an Arabic grammar, which apparently has not been published, and a study of Islam as a religion; but the most important among them is undoubtedly his Ottoman history, the *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum aulae othomaniae* [History of the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire]. There had, of course, been several earlier accounts and histories of the Ottoman Empire in various European languages, but Cantemir's work was unprecedented in its systematic reliance on Ottoman sources. The latter chapters, moreover, contain much observational information personally gathered by Cantemir during his lengthy stay in Istanbul. The work is also remarkable for its numerous and often extensive footnotes that provide a wealth of information about contemporary Ottoman society;

some later scholars have even described these footnotes as the most valuable part of Cantemir's history. Generally, apart from occasional vitriolic asides, such as remarks that 'the Ottomans' words are good, but their deeds are evil', or claims that the Turks are superstitious, mendacious and hungry for wealth (e.g. *History*, 35n), the *Incrementa* are remarkably free from polemics.

The *Incrementa* was written under less than ideal circumstances: reportedly, Cantemir started work on it while still in Istanbul, but he wrote the bulk of it while in Russian exile, where he had no access to his personal library – which must have been impressive – or to any extensive local library collections of oriental manuscripts or printed works. In his preface, Cantemir castigates earlier Christian historians of the Ottoman empire for their failure to use Ottoman sources: 'From these troubles Streams of Christian Historians, ignorant, as we observ'd, of the Turkish Learning, have been forc'd to draw what should have been taken from the Fountain-Head' (*History*, p. 2). He claims to have based his own account on the chronicles of authors he identifies as 'Sadi Effendi' and 'Heshri' (*History*, p. xii-xiii); but Franz Babinger has argued that a good many of Cantemir's Ottoman sources are impossible to identify, concluding that either the *Incrementa* relies on a number of hitherto unknown or unidentified works, or Cantemir quotes his sources from a faulty memory – or perhaps even freely invents them. Babinger prefers to postpone judgement on Cantemir's merits as a source on Ottoman history and religious customs, however, until the Latin original of both the *Incrementa* and the *Sistemul* is published.[26]

More intriguing than the question of which authors Cantemir used appears to be the question of which authors he did *not* use. Rather surprisingly, he makes no mention of reformist authors of the seventeenth century, such as Koçi Bey or the encyclopedist Hajji Khalifa, among whom the notion of Ottoman decline had become a commonplace, and who argued for reforms in the empire. It is unlikely, however, that he was wholly unfamiliar with reformist ideas; and the idea of Ottoman decline already appears in the very title of his work. Lemny (2009: 140) sees the topos of growth and decay in the *Incrementa* as inspired by Western-European humanists; but as seen, Cantemir rarely mentions any such humanists, other than Erasmus. There is just as much reason to trace it, even if indirectly, to Ibn Khaldûn, whose cyclical view of history had become well known in the Ottoman empire by the seventeenth century and informed the seventeenth-century reformers' writings. I have found no indication that Cantemir was familiar with Ibn Khaldûn's more specific doctrine of strengthening and weakening of *asabiyya*, or tribal solidarity, as the main underlying cause of the rise and demise of states. It should be noted, though, that the imagery of the rise and decline of states did not originate with Ibn Khaldûn, and indeed was thoroughly conventional by the time of the major Ottoman historiographers.[27]

The topic of decline should also caution us to keep in mind that the *Incrementa* is not only a descriptive work, but in part also an apology for Cantemir's 1711 defection to Russia: if, as he argues, the Ottoman empire was in decline, if not on the verge of disintegration, the secession of the Danube principalities was not only feasible but also legitimate. Cantemir makes some more general remarks on the topic of rise and decay in his short *Monarchiarum physica examinatio* [Inquiry into the nature of kingdoms], which, among others, predicts the fall of the Ottoman empire and a glorious future for Russia.[28] This work explicitly relies on Aristotle (referred to as the *princeps philosophorum*) rather than Ibn Khaldûn. In fact, this short text complicates the geographical imaginary of orientalism: claiming the authority of Aristotle's division of the world into four corners in *De caelo* (and, implicitly, of Aristotle's idea on generation and corruption), Cantemir argues that the first monarchies arose in the East, among the likes of the Indians, the Assyrians and the Persians; these were followed by Southern monarchies, like those of the Egyptians and the (Macedonian) Greeks, and Western ones like that of the Romans; but now, he continues, the moment has come for a 'Northern monarchy', and in particular Russia, to rise. According to Cantemir, the emergence of Peter the Great, 'the most wise and most warlike ruler', is sanctioned both by divine grace and by the ideas of the philosophers; at the same time, he describes the growth and persistence of the Ottoman empire as 'unnatural'.[29]

Whatever its sources of inspiration, the *Incrementa* has had a substantial impact in Western Europe. In 1734, Nicholas Tindal published an English translation, thanks in no small measure to the lobbying efforts of Cantemir's son Antioch. This English rendering, in turn, served as the basis for a French translation published in 1743. A German version appeared in 1745, which was to serve as the basis of the Romanian translation published in 1876. Italian and Russian translations were also prepared, but these were never printed.

The large number of editions of these translations gives some indication of Cantemir's status and influence; another indication is the praise expressed by later Western European authors. Famously, Lord Byron twice mentions Cantemir as an authoritative source of information on the Ottoman empire, in canto V:147 and VI:31 of his *Don Juan*; but he was neither the first nor the only one to do so. Thus Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, displays a general, if by no means uncritical, admiration for Cantemir, arguing that his *History* has rendered all earlier Western-language sources outdated. Voltaire disapproves of Cantemir's 1711 switch of allegiance, but he respects him as a historian; thus, in the preface to his *Histoire de Charles XII*, he notes: 'hundred historians reproduce these miserable fables, and the dictionaries of Europe repeat them. Consult the true Turkish annals as collected by prince Cantemir, and you will see

just how ridiculous all these lies are.'[30] Likewise, William Jones, the pioneer of comparative linguistics, writes that Cantemir's history 'far surpasses, in authority and method, every work on the same subject in any European dialect.'[31] In a lengthy footnote, Jones further castigates Voltaire for 'deviating knowingly from the truth' in his criticism of Cantemir's political disloyalty to the Ottomans, adding: 'it must have cost this ingenious writer some pains, to have crouded [*sic*] so many errors into so few words'.[32] He considers the *Incrementa* almost complete as a history, perfect as a literary performance, and rendering earlier Ottoman histories of Knolles and Rycaut 'entirely useless'. Incidentally, Jones expresses doubts about the edifying usefulness of Ottoman history in general: among 'the numerous events which must be recorded in the general history of any nation,' he writes, 'there are very few which seem capable of yielding either pleasure or instruction to a judicious reader who... hopes to derive from them some useful lesson for the conduct of his life.'[33] These remarks clearly reflect a pre-nineteenth century view of historiography as a source of eloquent edifying literature rather than objective, source-based knowledge; apparently, the historicization and professionalization of knowledge concerning things human, which Jones helped to bring about in linguistics, did not simultaneously change his views on the writing of history.

Earlier enthusiastic reports about Cantemir's paramount importance for later Ottoman historiography, if not Enlightenment political theory, have recently been called into question. Thus, Hugh Trevor-Roper discusses Nicolae Iorga's claim that Cantemir's work on the Ottoman empire shaped Montesquieu's study of the causes of the decline of the Roman empire, arguing that this is rather unlikely for chronological reasons alone, as Montesquieu's study appeared in the very same year that the French translation of Cantemir's history was published; moreover, it was not until 1738 that Antioch established contacts with Montesquieu, and there is no evidence of the latter being familiar with Dimitrie's work at an earlier stage. Trevor-Roper gives a rather more sober assessment of Cantemir's effective influence: concrete evidence of his influence on English historians, he concludes, is surprisingly hard to demonstrate, and appears relatively later than is often held.[34]

Nonetheless, until Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall published his ten-volume *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Cantemir's *Incrementa* was widely seen as the standard reference; indeed, in a 1824 discussion of the *Incrementa*, Von Hammer seems to have made a conscious effort to discredit Cantemir with the aim of making room for his own undertaking, opening his polemic with the remark that Cantemir has a quite undeserved reputation.[35] Von Hammer brushes aside the praise heaped on Cantemir by the likes of Gibbon and Jones. More specifically, he blames Cantemir for his faulty use of Ottoman and Byzantine sources

– a complaint not altogether surprising, and perhaps not altogether fair, in light of the fact that Cantemir had to work largely from memory, having been forced to leave behind his personal library in 1711, and complaining about the near-total absence of Turkish and Persian books in Russia. Cantemir, Von Hammer concludes, is hardly familiar with the 'true sources of Ottoman history', and infinitely less familiar, or 'eminently ignorant', with the grammar of Turkish and other oriental languages like Persian and Arabic. Apparently, it was unknown to him that Cantemir had written an entire book in Turkish, and composed an entire work on Arabic grammar.

Is this a purely personal polemic intended to make room for Von Hammer's own approach to Ottoman history, or should we see it as reflecting the ascendancy of a text-based or philological orientalism over a scholarship based on personal experience as much as on written sources? Although he castigates Cantemir for a faulty knowledge of things, languages and texts Islamic, Von Hammer's remarks do not reflect a substantially different approach to Ottoman history, either in terms of a radically different methodology or of an awareness of new kinds or ranges of source material, like, most importantly, the Ottoman state archives.[36] Thus, Von Hammer's polemic does not appear to involve any paradigm shift towards historiography as a hard science of historical facts to be unearthed during prolonged searches in archives, towards modern conceptions of history as a unilinear progress towards liberty or civilization, or of the historicity of human phenomena at large.

Equally intriguing, even if historically less influential, is Cantemir's *System of Muhammadan Religion*, first drafted in Latin, although the original draft was not published until 1999.[37] In 1722, it was printed in a Russian translation, reportedly in the face of protests of local Orthodox clergymen, who read an attack on their own church in the work; tsar Peter personally intervened in order to secure the book's being printed. 'Publication' may not be the right word in this context, as the *System* does not appear to have been written for a wider audience, but much more specifically for the tsar and his staff, and perhaps for the members of the Prussian academy.

Given this blending of scholarly and political aims, it is tempting to infer that the *System* aims at providing a theological justification for the eighteenth-century Russian expansion into Muslim-inhabited lands; but this reductionist reading does not do justice to the fact that the *Incrementa*, like Cantemir's works on the geography and history of the Vlachs, had also been written for a German audience with no apparent (and, more specifically, imperialist) political interests. In fact, it was the Berlin Academy which had repeatedly emphasized the importance of studies of the Balkans, the Ottoman empire, and the Muslim world, and asked Cantemir to write works on these topics. Further, Cantemir was not simply a

native in the service of Russia: he himself wanted to return to Moldavia and reoccupy the throne. It was not until 1718, that is, five years before his death, that these hopes of return were finally dashed.[38]

The preface of the *System* reproduces some points from medieval orthodox polemics against Muhammad as the Antichrist, alongside Arius and Nestorius; but the main body of the text appears rather less shaped by such polemical concerns. In various places, such as his discussion of the sciences in the contemporary Ottoman empire, Cantemir even expresses a certain admiration for the achievements of the Islamic world. In subsequent chapters, the *System* describes, respectively, the prophet Muhammad; the Qur'an; Islamic eschatology; theology; the main religious rites; and the main sects, Sufi orders, and heterodox groups, or, as he calls the latter, 'heresies' (*yeresi*). The latter chapters, in particular, await a balanced appreciation; being based on personal observations during his stay in Istanbul, they contain much valuable information that is not easily found elsewhere.

Although the character and impact of Cantemir's orientalist writings remain to be assessed, a few points stand out.[39] Vaida argues that Cantemir's orientalist work is informed by a humanist conception of civilization, or more correctly, *cultus* or *paideia*, which he sees as universal.[40] Equally remarkably, it is shaped by Ottoman traditions of learning as much as by Renaissance humanism, let alone any budding modern Western sciences of the Orient. Thus, the introduction to the *System* quotes from Cicero, Saadi and the liturgy of John Chrysostom with equal ease. The *System* and the *Incrementa* display some interesting differences with later orientalist scholarship. Further, despite his humanist background, Cantemir hardly takes textual sources as his main authorities on either Ottoman history or Islamic religiosity; he even appears to quote the Qur'an from memory rather than from any text or translation. Further, he displays a critical but serious appreciation of his Ottoman sources, and does not elevate the textual realm of the scholar to a higher epistemological status than his own lived experience, displaying a confidence in his own observations with respect to the textual authority of others: when the Orthodox synod asked him to supplement his own remarks with written sources, he replied: 'I don't see any necessity to confirm my remarks with the writings of others.'[41] Finally, although Cantemir freely reproduces the topos of military and political decline that was common among reformist Ottoman authors, he does not yet betray any of the generic talk of cultural stagnation or moral decadence of the empire (or of the early modern Islamic world at large) that was to serve as a legitimization for both colonizing powers and national liberation movements – and the orientalist scholarship informed by them – in the later nineteenth century.

Conclusion

It is far too early to even attempt to characterize Cantemir's contribution as a whole, and to assess his place in the development of oriental studies. Indeed, his various writings variously call to mind different traditions and periods of learning; it may well be a serious oversimplification to reify these different strands as Byzantine, Ottoman and Western European (or in religious terms as Greek Orthodox, Islamic, Uniate, Catholic, Protestant and humanist), as these traditions have never been wholly isolated from each other, and have themselves undergone qualitative changes in early modern times. Nevertheless, a few preliminary conclusions may be stated.

As a humanist, Cantemir was shaped by Orthodox and Ottoman traditions as much as by Western European learning. One should be careful, of course, to avoid projecting back present-day nationalist assumptions, or even the nineteenth-century categories of historical and comparative linguistics, onto earlier authors. Nonetheless, Cantemir's literary writings mark an important phase in the emancipation of Romanian as a language of literature and learning; as such, they may be seen as an example of the vernacularization that generally preceded the rise of nationalisms in the strict sense of the word.

As a scholar, Cantemir paved the way for the subsequent unification, and Latinization, of the Romance-language speakers of the Danube provinces; as such, he may be said to anticipate the later preoccupations of romantic-nationalistic research into historical language change and folkloric traditions allegedly preserving a nation's most authentic self-expression; but he did not himself share these concerns.

As an orientalist, Cantemir produced work that is still valuable as a source on the early modern Ottoman empire and Balkans; but his writings also inspire more general theoretical concerns. His account of Ottoman history is much more detailed and based on local sources than the works by contemporary Western European historians and travellers; as such, it is an intriguing example of orientalist knowledge produced by an 'oriental' actor in the Ottoman empire and in Russia well before Western Europe became dominant in terms of (military, political, or economic) power, human-scientific knowledge, and culture. Cantemir hardly qualifies as a 'native informer', as he was not an anonymous and oral source of information, but a written authority for a long period; rather, his Ottoman history was itself an authoritative orientalist text for almost a century.

It remains to be seen to what extent Cantemir's contributions were eclipsed by romantic philological methods, or rather by romantic nationalisms: the nineteenth century saw not only the rise of imperialism, but also the rise of romantic nationalist movements that were shaped by internal dynamics as much as Euro-

pean influences. At this stage, neither the Ottoman nor the Russian empire, of course, qualified as 'imperialist' in the modern sense which the term has acquired since the writings of Hobson and Lenin. In the eighteenth century, however, both empires showed changing attitudes to the role of knowledge in both governing their own populations and managing relations with other empires. This point, which remains to be explored in more detail, suggests that Cantemir reflects the rapidly changing relations between, on the one hand, knowledge and empire, and, on the other, language and nation that occur during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At present, he is hailed as a scholarly pioneer, if not claimed as a national hero, by Romania, Moldavia, Russia and to a lesser extent Turkey. One should not dismiss these later appropriations as nationalistic abuse, as they reflect the crucial shift that the humanities at large underwent long after Cantemir's death: the nineteenth century witnessed not only the professionalization of the humanities, but also their nationalization.[42]

Notes

1 Initial research for this paper was conducted while I was enjoying a fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS) in Wassenaar. I am greatly indebted to NIAS for the facilities and financial support it provided, and in particular for its superb library service.

2 Apparently, Bernard Lewis was the first to raise this point; see 'The Question of Orientalism', *New York Review of Books* (24 June 1982), reprinted in *Islam and the West* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 99-118, esp. 112-113. For a less polemical criticism that focuses on the tension between the Marxist and genealogical strains in *Orientalism*, see James Clifford's 'On Orientalism', *History and Theory* 19 (1980), 204-223, reprinted in *The Predicament of Culture* (Harvard University Press, 1988).

3 On German orientalism, see Sabine Mangold, *Eine 'weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft': die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2004), and more recently Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge, 2009). On imperial Russian orientalism, see David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (Yale University Press, 2010), which conveniently recapitulates and synthesizes earlier, more fragmentary explorations. For a kaleidoscopic picture of Soviet orientalism and continuities and discontinuities with the scholarly traditions of imperial Russia, see the various essays gathered in M. Kemper & S. Conermann (eds.) *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies* (Routledge, 2011). For a preliminary account of Ottoman orientalism, see Ussama Makdisi, 'Ottoman Orientalism', *American Historical Review* 107/2 (2002), 768-796.

4 For theoretical discussion of these matters, see in particular Hamid Dabashi's *Post-Orientalism* (Transaction Publishers, 2009), which attempts to update Said's critique in and for a post-9/11 constellation. In particular, Dabashi aims for a 'non-Western' or 'colonial' agency, both incorporating and transcending Said's 'residual humanism' and Gayatri Spivak's deconstructivist dismantling of the subaltern (i.e. colonized, working-class, and/or female) subject's ability to speak: both, he argues, fail to transcend the notion of a crisis of

a sovereign subject implicitly held to be Western. A more detailed discussion of Dabashi's ideas awaits another occasion.

5 For an early statement, see the *Life* appended to the English translation of Cantemir's Ottoman history (455-460). For a recent biographical study of Cantemir and his son Antioch, see Stefan Lemny, *Les Cantemir: l'Aventure européenne d'une famille princière au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2009).

6 Cf. Cléobule Tsurkas's somewhat misleadingly titled *Les Débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans: La Vie et l'oeuvre de Théophile Corydalée (1570-1646)* (2nd ed. Thessaloniki, 1967).

7 See the bilingual Greek-Romanian edition by V. Cândea, as vol. I of the *Opere complete* (Bucharest, 1974); for the text and an English translation of the Arabic version, which shows various divergences from the original, see Iovana Feodorov (ed.), *The Salvation of the Wise Man and the Ruin of the Sinful World [Salāh al-hakīm wa-fasād al-'ālam al-damīm]* (Bucharest, 2006).

8 Andreas Wissowatius, *Andreæ Wissowatii stimuli virtutum, fræna peccatorum: ut & alia eiusdem generis opusculum posthuma* (Amsterdam, 1682).

9 V. Cândea (ed.), *Dimitrie Cantemir – Istoria Ieroglifica. Opere complete IV* (Bucharest, 1973).

10 *Istoria literaturii romanesti in sec XVII* (Bucharest 1901), 274, quoted in P. Miron, *Der Wortschatz Dimitrie Cantemirs* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978), VIII.

11 Ibid.

12 For a discussion of humanist themes in Cantemir, see Petru Vaida, *Dimitrie Cantemir şi umanismul* [*Dimitrie Cantemir and Humanism*] (Bucharest, 1972), esp. chapter III, 'Motive umaniste în opera lui Cantemir,' 53-164.

13 See also Stefan Giosu *Dimitrie Cantemir: studiu lingvistic* (Bucharest: Ed. Ştiintifica, 1973).

14 Cantemir's Ottoman history contains a few passing references to the Mavrocordatos family, and in particular to his rival Nicholas; but little can be inferred from these remarks.

15 *Philotheou parerga* was not published until 1800 in Vienna; for an edition and translation, see Jacques Bouchard (ed. and transl.), *Les Loisirs de Philothée* (Athens/Montréal, 1989). *Peri kathekonton* was published already in 1722 in a bilingual edition with a Latin translation by Stephan Bergler below the Greek text, as *Peri kathekonton biblos/De officiis liber* (Lipsiae : ex officina Thomae Fritschii, 1722). See also Lampros Kamperidis, *'Le Traite des Devoirs' de Nicolas Mavrocordatos* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Montréal, 2005).

16 V. Cândea and D. Sluşanschi (eds.), *Dimitrie Cantemir: De antiquis et hodiernis moldaviae nominibus şi Historia moldo-vlachica* (Bucharest, 1983); G. Guţu a.o. (eds.) *Dimitrie Cantemir: Descriptio antiqvi et hodierni statvs Moldaviae/Descrierea Moldovei* (Bucharest, 1973).

17 Cantemir, *Historia*, 26-123.

18 'Dialectus ipsa, nempe Valachorum, quae non simpliciter Latinam, sed potissimum illam antiquam Latinam, quam nimirum tempora Traiani gaudebant, redolet et voces iam in Latinismo aboletas ac antiquitas per tot saecula firmiter conservavit conservatque Valachica,' Cantemir, *Historia*, 218.

19 Cf. Claudio Isopescu, *Notizie intorno ai Romeni nell letteratura geografica italiana del Cinquecento* (Bucharest, 1929).

20 Cf. Adolf Armbruster, 'Demeter Cantemirs Ansichten über Romanität und Kontinuität der Rumänen', *Dacoromania* 2 (1974), 67-76. See also more generally Werner Bahner, 'Zur Romanität des Rumänischen in der Geschichte der romanischen Philologie vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1957), 74-94.

21 'Linguam eandem cum reliquis Valachis habent, sed longo tempore ita cum Graeca et Albanica corruptam, ut Moldavi vix eorum possint intelligere verba et discursum et praecipue quod non voces, sed integras Graecas et Albanicas periodus intermisceant, tum in sermocinando', Cantemir, *Historia*, 426.

22 For more on Cantemir and other linguistic modernizers of Romanian, see the sections on the development of modern Romanian in my *From Coffee House to Nation State: The Rise of New Public Languages in the Ottoman Empire* (forthcoming).

23 For the text of the *Kitâb*, see Yalçın Tura (ed.), *Kantemiroğlu, Kitâbu 'İlmi'l-Mûsiki alâ Vechi'l-Hurûfât, Mûsikiyi Harflerle Tesbit ve İcrâ İlminin Kitabı* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001); for the transcriptions, see Owen Wright (ed.), *Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations*, vol. 1: Text (London: SOAS, 1992), vol. 2: Commentary (Aldershot: Ashgate). See also Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir: Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music* (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1999).

24 See the passing remarks on the rise of harmonic and contrapuntual music in the early modern West in 'Politische und hierokratische Herrschaft' (Neuntes Kapitel, 6. Abschnitt of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*), and, for more details, Max Weber, 'Die rationalen und soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik,' appended to the second edition of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925).

25 Cantemir, *History*, I: 151-2n14.

26 Franz Babinger, 'Die türkischen Quellen Dimitrie Kantemir's', reprinted in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Suüdosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. II (Munich, 1966), 142-150. Meanwhile, the Latin version of the text, edited by Virgil Cândea, has been published in 1999. See also Dan Slusanschi (ed.), *Demetrii principis Cantemirii Incrementorvm et decrementorvm avlae othman(n)icae sive Aliothman(n)icae historiae a prima gentis origine ad nostra vsqve tempora dedvctae libri tres* (Timisoara: Editura Amarcord, 2002).

27 The Ottoman reception to some extent complicates the familiar narratives of the nineteenth-century orientalist 'rediscovery' of Ibn Khaldûn as part of an imperialist project of colonizing Algeria (and, later, Tunisia and Morocco); but I will not explore these matters here beyond pointing to the importance of local agency and locally produced knowledge. On Ottoman uses of Ibn Khaldûn, see e.g. Cornell Fleischer, 'Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and "Ibn Khaldûnism" in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983), 198-220. The nineteenth-century orientalist rereading is discussed by Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun in Modern Scholarship* (London 1981) and Abdelmajid Hannoum, 'Translation and the Colonial Imaginary: Ibn Khaldûn Orientalist', *History and Theory* 42 (2003), 61-81. For some further discussion on Ottoman and orientalist appropriations of Ibn Khaldûn, cf. my 'Een nieuwe wetenschap of een nieuw publiek? Kentheoretische kanttekeningen bij Ibn Khaldûn', in: M. van Berkel & R. Kunzel (eds.) *Ibn Khaldûn en zijn wereld* (Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 2008), 76-95.

28 For the Latin text and a Romanian translation of the *Physica*, see I. Sulea-Firu, 'O scriere inedită a lui Dimitrie Cantemir – *Monarchiarum physica examinatio*', *Studii i cercetări de bibliologie* V (1963), 267-275.

29 'Sive monstrum aliquod naturae legi horrendum subnascitur sive non secundum naturae inceptum atque Ideam crescit. Ita his persimillima considerari potest Othomanorum Monarchia,' Sulea-Firu, *Monarchiarum physica examinatio*, 272.

30 'Cent historiens copient ces misérables fables; les dictionnaires de l'Europe les répètent. Consultez les véritables annales turques, recueillies par le prince Cantemir, vous verrez combien tous ces mensonges sont ridicules.'

31 William Jones, 'Prefatory Discourse to an Essay on the History of the Turks', printed as appendix B to Baron John Shore Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (London, 1806), 491-513.
32 Jones, 'Prefatory Discourse', 496.
33 Jones, 'Prefatory Discourse', 512.
34 Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Dimitrie Cantemir's Ottoman History and its Reception in England', in: *History and the Enlightenment* (Yale University Press, 2010), 54-70.
35 Joseph von Hammer, 'Sur l'histoire du prince Cantemir', *Journal Asiatique* IV (1824), 32-45.
36 In fact, the Ottoman archives would not become available for research until after the Second World War. For one of the first statements of their importance, see Bernard Lewis, 'The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1951), 139-155.
37 I have employed Virgil Cândea's bilingual Russian-Romanian edition, published as *Sistemul sau întocmirea religii muhammedane*. Opere complete VIII, Tomul II (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1987).
38 Stephane Lemny, *Les Cantemir: l'aventure européenne d'une famille princière au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2009), 141.
39 For some preliminary statements, see, among others, G. Cioranesco, 'La Contribution de Démètre Cantemir aux études orientales', *Turcica* 7 (1975), 205-232; P.V. Gusterin (ed.), *Pervyj russkij vostokoved Dmitrij Kantemir [Dimitrie Kantemir, The First Russian Orientalist]* (Moscow: Vostočnaja kniga, 2008).
40 Vaida, *Dimitrie Cantemir şi umanismul*, 134.
41 Quoted in *Sistemul*, XXXI note 201.
42 Cf. Peter Burke, 'Nationalizing Knowledge'. *SPIN* Lecture, Amsterdam 2011; available at URL: http://www.spinnet.eu/images/2011-08/burke_ams-spin-lect_layout_2.pdf. Accessed 14 September 14, 2011.

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The Role of Emotions in the Development of Artistic Theory and the System of Literary Genres

Mats Malm

Closely connected to the development of the humanities is the concept of the fine arts as it developed during the eighteenth century. While the classical liberal arts, including rhetoric, had been defined pedagogically, the 'fine' arts were defined by their ability to give pleasure, as opposed to the 'useful' arts. Precisely which arts should be defined as 'fine' has varied, but Charles Batteux in his influential *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe*, 1746, explained that the fine arts consist of music, poetry, painting, sculpture and dance.[1] One essential condition for the fine arts, les beaux arts, *die schöne Künste*, was that not only poetry and the other arts were understood and arranged in a new manner, but also the genres of poetry were defined in new ways. By focusing on the interaction between literary genre theory and theory of the arts as a whole, this paper aims to elucidate a set of negotiations of the emotions which laid the ground for the development of the fine arts and the discipline of aesthetics.[2] The point of focus is the role attributed to emotion in poetics. The history of theories about the emotions is indeed diversified, but at the heart of the matter, in the words *pathos* and *passio* themselves, resides an anxiety concerning the lack of control, the suffering and even sinfulness of being subjected to emotions, or, rather, passions.[3] It is a well-known fact that the rise of aesthetics in the eighteenth century comprised a new appraisal of sensual impression (*aisthêsis*) and sensuality. This appraisal of sensation and emotion could hardly have taken place earlier in history, since it depends partly on scientific progress not least within psychology, and partly on an apparent change of moral values connected with emotions. About that time, lyric was also appointed a major genre beside epic and drama, and lyric obviously was closely associated with emotion. The tripartite genre theory had been suggested earlier, but its breakthrough came with the theory of the fine arts.[4]

Within the system of poetics, the development can be described as a continuous negotiation of categories. Room is made to transfer the emotions from the role of instrument and effect to the role of object of poetry. In parallel, the shift

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from an instrumental function of emotions to a place as object of poetry seems to be the result of different attempts to categorize the arts as analogous to one another. The Renaissance had offered the attempt to define painting through the categories of rhetoric, while the eighteenth-century fine arts and aesthetics embodied the attempt to describe poetry not through the categories of rhetoric as before, but rather in the light of painting and music. The incongruity between word and image effects dislocations between content and form, with aesthetic's discarding of rhetoric as a kind of inverted result of a long period of attempts to define the other arts through rhetoric. This development toward the concept of the fine arts appears to be most visible concerning the treatment of emotions.

The instrumental emotions

In the very beginning of his *Poetics*, Aristotle makes room for the opinion that one important object of poetry is emotions. He does so by comparing poetry with the art of dancers: 'they too, through rhythms translated into movements, create mimesis of character, emotions (*pathê*), and actions'.[5] It is not quite obvious that this should be understood as meaning that poetry is mimesis of character, emotion(s), and actions: the comparison could be referring to music, which has been mentioned just before. However, the whole context is a comparison with poetry and the correspondence with the following description of poetry's objects makes it obvious to believe that the sense here is that emotions can be an object of poetry. This, of course, contradicts the rest of Aristotle's *Poetics*, not least the discussion of the influential sixth chapter, where tragedy's objects are distinguished as fable (*muthos*), character and thought.

In the introduction then, *pathê* is placed in a central position, substituting poetry's thought as a main object – 'actions' being considered equivalent to *muthos*, which is later said to be the *mimesis* of actions. This lays the ground for two assumptions: one is that in dance, the counterpart to thought is *pathos*, the other is, that *pathos* must be an object of poetry although it is not further discussed in that way: very clearly, the objects of poetry that Aristotle wishes to dwell upon are *muthos*, character and thought.

The meaning of *pathos* is not self-evident. The word can be associated with emotion, affectation and that to which one is subjected. In the first chapter, the comparison with dance makes 'emotions' plausible, but elsewhere in the *Poetics*, *pathos* mainly means 'suffering'. This is most obvious in the definition of chapter 11, where Aristotle describes *pathos* as a component of the plot, on a par with reversal (*peripeteia*) and recognition (*anagnorisis*): 'suffering is a destructive or painful action, such as public deaths, physical agony, woundings, etc.'[6] This mean-

ing applies to other occurrences as well, and in the same vein Aristotle can speak of a work as *pathêtikos* or *apathês*, meaning that it portrays or does not portray suffering.[7] On one occasion, 1455a31, *pathos* is said to be conveyed by gestures and is exemplified as distress or anger: here, the word seems to mean 'emotion' rather than suffering. On the other hand, here *pathos* is not a part of *muthos*, not an object of tragedy, but rather an instrument. Thus, on the whole and especially considered as an object, *pathos* means 'suffering' or 'infliction' in the *Poetics*. It is clearly part of the content, that is, an object, and it thus seems that when *pathos* is mentioned as an object in the first chapter, its meaning might be 'suffering' or 'infliction' rather than 'emotion'. Aristotle certainly takes interest in the emotions of the audience, that is as *effect* of poetry, but then he does not use the word *pathos*. In the well-known discussion of *katharsis*, the purifying of emotions, he uses the qualifier *pathêma*, related to but apparently not the same as *pathos*:

> Tragedy, then, is mimesis of an action which is elevated, complete, and of magnitude; in language embellished by distinct forms in its sections; employing the mode of enactment, not narrative; and through pity and fear accomplishing the catharsis of such emotions (*pathêmatôn katharsis*).[8]

Central to the definition of tragedy in the sixth chapter, then, are the emotions of *eleos* and *phobos*, pity and fear. This is part of Aristotle's focus on the didactic value of poetry, one might say: these emotions are a response to the sufferings portrayed and, as Stephen Halliwell puts it, 'The combination of pity and fear [...] represents tragedy as tapping a deep and quasi-universal sense of human vulnerability [...]. Tragedy, in this view, contains patterns of suffering which explore the experience of limitations upon human control of life.'[9] The meaning of *katharsis* is ever controversial, but it seems probable that Aristotle, in contrast to Plato's critique, expressed in the *Republic*, of the emotions effected by tragedy, viewed *katharsis* in accordance with his overall positive opinion that emotions are connected to experience and learning.[10] The foundation of this was Aristotle's way of defining emotion as supporting reason, in contrast to earlier theories according to which emotion was opposed to reason.[11]

While Plato thought that the emotions aroused by tragedy made people more susceptible to such emotions in real life, Aristotle's *katharsis* could thus be understood as a 'resistance *both* to the idea of emotions as dangerous *and* to the notion of increased susceptibility.'[12] The *kind* of emotions appears to have been central: fear and pity are the least sensual and pleasurable emotions, and thus the emotions most readily legitimized. In other places, Plato severely criticized aspects of representation that concern poetry more connected with lyric than with drama and epic. Especially in *Gorgias*, rhetoric is described as *hêdonê*, implying exagger-

ated pleasure and lust, flattery, feigning, make-up and short-term delights. This expressly applies to poetry, and theatre is mentioned, but the exaggerated pleasures and voluptuousness condemned by Plato certainly regard any sensual delight in words.[13] In the *Republic*, his words are not so harsh, but when the imitator poet is said to know nothing of reality, only of appearance, it is not only his degree of knowledge but also his seductive instruments that are highlighted: words, phrases, colours, rhythm, metre, harmony, adornment, seeing things only through words (*Republic* 10, 601B). This is not said specifically about drama, but concerns all seductive verbal representation. So, also in the *Republic*, Plato transfers linguistic desire to bodily craving:

> [I]n regard to the emotions of sex and anger, and all the appetites and pains and pleasures of the soul which we say accompany all our actions, the effect of poetic imitation is the same. For it waters and fosters these feelings when what we ought to do is to dry them up, and it establishes them as our rulers when they ought to be ruled [...].[14]

Plato had criticized poetry for 'creating illusions and distracting listeners from the right paths, he had connected *mimesis* with malign and demeaning feigning, he had criticized rhetoric for indulging in sensuous voluptuousness not least through pleasing language, thus seducing the audience. Although much less clearly expressed than the delight in the power of words, this 'fear' of voluptuous language seems to have been more or less commonplace within the rhetorical tradition, and it created a need to distance oneself from being associated with such voluptuousness.[15] When Aristotle tries to establish poetry as something good, it is thus natural that he does not speak of the pleasures of poetry or emotions related to pleasure.

Aristotle does use *hêdonê*, 'pleasure' and *hêdus*, 'pleasurable', several times in the *Poetics*, but he clearly makes it dependent on the legitimate emotions pity and fear, and on a general aspect of learning. In counting tragedy's advantages before epic, he does conclude that music and spectacle add pleasure to the tragedy, but this statement comes at the very end of the treatise.[16] Early, in chapter 4, he relates that images may give pleasure because of their colour, which echoes Plato's overall critique of representation in words and painting.[17] However, the sentence is introduced by heavy stress on the real pleasure of *mimesis*: 'understanding gives great pleasure not only to philosophers but likewise to others too'.[18] The pleasure of poetry thus comes mainly from understanding, and from pity and fear which are means of understanding. In this way, Aristotle moves poetry very far from Platonic critique of linguistic voluptuousness and decadence. Probably, this should be understood as part of Aristotle's apologetic pro-

ject. This cautious stance may also be the explanation why Aristotle dissociates poetry from the actors' histrionic activities and why he does not discuss lyric together with tragedy and epic: lyric was associated with voluptuousness and could have caused Platonic critique.

It would be difficult to argue strongly that Plato's critique of linguistic hedonism was the reason for Aristotle's negligence toward lyric, pleasure and emotions, but it appears to be a relevant background to his *Poetics*. And it is apparent that the subsequent tradition as a whole displayed a great interest in giving emotions a place in poetical theories. Aristotle's early words on *pathos* as an object of art, replacing thought, were sometimes interpreted as 'suffering', sometimes as 'emotions' or 'passions'. So, for example, Robortello in 1548 translates *pathê* as *perturbationes*, disquieting emotions, while Castelvetro in 1570 underlines the element of suffering when he uses *tormenti*.[19]

If we interpret Aristotle's *pathê* in the first chapter as 'emotion', it is an object which is not further discussed. But if we interpret it as 'affliction' or 'suffering', it is an object forming part of the plot as stated in chapter 11. More significant, however, are the emotions pity and fear: importantly, they are not objects of poetry, but effects. Thus, the important emotions in Aristotle's *Poetics* are instrumental: effects on the audience, means of influencing, manoeuvring, achieving reactions and insights. This is entirely in accordance with the rhetorical view of emotions, and this aspect was to be very much stressed. After disappearing for a long time, Aristotle's *Poetics* was introduced to Western Europe in the thirteenth century in the form of a translation of Averroës' commentary on the *Poetics*: this was the only known Aristotle for some centuries. In essence this Arabian Aristotle viewed not only emotions but poetry as a whole as a means: poetry's aim, just as rhetoric's, is to persuade, but while rhetoric uses rational argument, poetry uses imaginative persuasion. The imagery which becomes the soul of poetry to Averroës is much influenced by the notions of Aristotle's deliberations *On the Soul*. Aristotle knew that affect is effective, but it was not the central point to him in his *Poetics*. To Averroës, it was.

The emotions turned into objects of poetry

After the sharpened instrumentalization of emotions in Averroistic theory – as it was received in learned Europe – they gradually came to be considered not as instruments but as a matter central to human interest. One illustrative example is Antonio Sebastiano Minturno's *L'arte poetica* of 1564. Minturno speaks of poetry on the whole as imitation of people – an imitation which is done in different ways. In accordance with Aristotle, Minturno initially speaks of *what* is imitated,

with which *means*, and *how*, but he then concludes: 'The things we imitate are customs (*costumi*), emotions (*affetti*) and actions (*fatti*) of people.'[20]

While Aristotle in his main discussion stated that fable, character and thought were poetry's objects, Minturno thus picks up the comparison with dance that Aristotle had made in passing before explaining the parts of poetry. Minturno's 'actions' correspond with Aristotle's fable, his 'customs' correspond with Aristotle's character, but he simply swaps Aristotle's thought for 'emotions'. Actions, just like in Aristotle's first chapter, can be understood as the material of *muthos*, and accordingly Minturno later says that *fauola* is the central issue.[21] The significant change is that Aristotle's words on dance have become the overarching definition of poetry, *pathê* being understood as emotions, not suffering. The emotions, which can be pleasant *affetti* as in the poems of Petrarch, or *passiones* which are fairly equivalent to sins, are important not least as means of portraying customs, *costumi* (not entirely equivalent to Aristotle's *êthê*).[22] In that respect, emotions are used instrumentally here, too, but in an indirect way. The emotions taken up by Minturno belong to content: they are defined as objects of poetry.

Another interesting trait in Minturno may be connected to his view on emotions as an object of poetry. His *L'arte poetica* is a very early example of the tripartite genre theory which would have its breakthrough in the eighteenth century. While Aristotle's system made drama and epic the main genres, tripartite genre theory added lyric. The tripartite genre theory is closely associated with the development of the fine arts, but Minturno offers an example 200 years earlier. He elaborately discusses the lyric, or 'melic' poetry and evidently associates it with emotions, both positive ones and those which are sins, the 'pathetic' ones. However, he does not define lyric as a genre defined by emotions, at least not directly. Instead, he underscores that lyric comes from God and relates it to prayer.[23] Thus, he can be said to tie lyric to emotions, but to such emotions as are guaranteed to be legitimate, deriving from love for God. At this stage in history, it may not have been possible to appreciate emotions more unreservedly, not even after having divided them into good ones and bad ones.

By associating lyric with emotions, but both making them – in the origin of lyric – derive from God and subordinating them under the intention to display customs – Aristotle's 'character' –, Minturno is able to introduce emotions as an object of poetry and, at the same time, to place lyric as a genre on a par with epic and drama. The role of emotions is not entirely clear, since they become a means for portraying customs, and the need to legitimize them by connecting lyric's emotionality to divine love seems considerable.

Minturno demonstrates a first attempt in this direction, but it was during the eighteenth century that lyric gained the status of the unquestioned third genre: with Charles Batteux's work on the fine arts, *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même*

principe (1746). Batteux claimed tho have found a way to define the fine arts, that is, the pleasurable arts, from one common principle: *imitation* in the sense of representation.[24] Batteux developed Aristotle's definitions further and made the subject matter become the distinctive criterion separating lyric from the other genres. While the primary object of epic and drama is actions, that of lyric is emotions.[25] Emotions thus appear as the object of poetry, specifically belonging to the genre of lyric. Being a comprehensive examination of the fine arts and a comprehensive discussion of genre where lyric is defined as a distinct genre, *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe* at the middle of the eighteenth century marks a crucial turn. Before, emotions had primarily been seen as instruments for persuading and influencing, and it was as instruments that they could not be alotted an independent place in the system of genres. At best, it seems that they could be subordinated under the objects of poetry like Minturno did, but then only as instruments to portray customs and people. The definition of a lyric genre, it appears, could only take place by redefining emotions from instruments into objects, and this could take place when emotions were not associated with vice so strongly. Another precondition, within the theoretical system, appears to have been that poetry now became considered from the vantage point of painting and music.

Emotions, literature and painting

Before the eighteenth century, the rhetorical system dominated not only the common view of literature, but also the view of painting and music. Batteux is highly representative of the theory of the fine arts and the tripartite genre theory. In order to structure the tripartite genre theory, Batteux had to place emphasis on emotions and lyric. His emphasis makes it possible to draw a simplified historic line which shows that emotions were redefined from instruments to objects, and his definition was fundamental for the establishment of the fine arts. This redefinition was fulfilled at a stage when rhetoric was being discarded as an explanatory model – and yet, it appears to have been a result of the (purported) value of rhetoric as explanatory model.

By definition, rhetoric's theory of figures is based on the human body – quite naturally, as rhetoric was from the beginning developed for oral situations. The nucleus of the art of pleasant and effective formulation, *elocutio*, is the body. *Schêma*, the Greek word for Latin *figura*, means 'gesture': the rhetorical figure should thus be understood as a recreation of the speaker's gesture.[26] The rhetorical devices together should function in the same way as the speaker's corporeal expressions. Large parts of rhetoric deal with the possibility of exploiting the audience's emotions in order to win the case: these parts are mainly the physi-

cal expressions and the verbal ones, the figures. Within the rhetorical concept, emotions are an essential instrument to conquer in argumentation. Quintilian's description is striking:

> [...] where force has to be brought to bear on the judges' feelings and their minds distracted from the truth, there the orator's true work begins. [...] Of course, Proofs may lead the judges to *think* our Cause the better one, but it is our emotional appeals that make them also *want* it to be so; and what they want, they also believe. For as soon as they begin to be angry or to feel favourably disposed, to hate or to pity, they fancy that it is now their own case that is being pleaded, and just as lovers cannot judge beauty because their feelings anticipate the perception of their eyes, so also a judge who is overcome by his emotions gives up any idea of inquiring into truth; he is swept along by the tide, as it were, and yields to the swift current.[27]

The emotions are instrumental, they are part of the physical performance and the verbal figures, i.e. *form*. If one considers the art of painting from this perspective, it too imitates the gestures and expressions of living bodies. However, it does so in a much more direct manner than literature: it represents the gestures and expressions of the speaking or acting body in a portrait or historical scene. The rhetoric of the image will be to represent characters and gestures which, in turn, represent emotions, and this means that the emotions turn into *objects*. Whoever interprets an image rhetorically will have to read gestures, facial expressions etc. as parts of content (even if they also concern form). The mechanism is this: that which in poetry lies in verbal representation, or form, in painting moves toward content. To rhetoric and poetry viewed from a rhetorical point of view, emotions are instruments and hence form; in painting, by contrast, they become object and content.

Evidently, this is a generalization and there are certainly exceptions. Painting can, for instance, use colours and light to affect the public's emotions. And the rhetorical view of poetry entails that one way of using emotions instrumentally is to represent them in content: exemplary visualizations of what happens to the choleric, greedy, etc. Still, the following proposition seems reasonable: the representation of man's inner life, i.e. how emotions are made into objects, was more a matter for painting than poetry. For literature – seen through rhetoric's lense – the issue was rather how to use emotions as instruments. In the former case emotions are primarily objects, in the latter instruments. These are tendencies, not all-encompassing truths. They are important, since the question of how emotions were defined – explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously – is vital to genre theory and thus to the development of the fine arts. This becomes clearer in the theory of painting proposed by Leon Battista Alberti.

The analogy between poetry and painting is impossible to avoid, and during the Renaissance a number of attempts were made to define painting – and music – from the categories of rhetoric.[28] Rhetoric was simply the system closest at hand. In comparing poetry and painting it became natural to identify rhetoric's *inventio* and *dispositio* with the plan and outline of the painting, while *elocutio* corresponds to colour – entirely in accordance with the notion of *colores rhetorici*, the ornaments of language.[29] When Leon Battista Alberti writes his *De pictura* in 1435, he models it on the structure of Quintilian's rhetorical treatise with a remarkable consistency.[30] He speaks of the painting's *compositio*, corresponding to rhetoric's *dispositio*, and *historia*, corresponding to rhetoric's *inventio* – corresponding to, but not identical with it.[31] A passage distinctly relating to rhetoric's *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* is this:

> We divide painting into three parts, and this division we learn from Nature herself. As painting aims to represent things seen, let us note how in fact things are seen. In the first place, when we look at a thing, we see it as an object which occupies a space. The painter will draw around this space, and he will call this process of sketching the outline, appropriately, *circumscriptio*. Then, as we look, we discern how the several surfaces of the object seen are fitted together; the artist, when drawing these combinations of surfaces in their correct relationship, will properly call this *compositio*. Finally, in looking we observe more clearly the colours of surfaces; the representation in painting of this aspect, since it receives all its variations from light, will aptly here be termed *receptio luminum*.[32]

Circumscriptio structurally corresponds to *inventio*, *compositio* to *dispositio* and *receptio luminum*, the reception of light which comprises colour,[33] to *elocutio*. *Circumscriptio* concerns the lines drawn,[34] sketching what shall then be ordered and clothed in colours. To these, Alberti adds *historia*, which can be broadly understood as the subject matter, the story to be related. In that respect *historia* resembles *inventio*, but Alberti links it to *compositio*, since it concerns the order of the whole.[35]

Alberti compares *elocutio* with colour and posits, somewhat vaguely, *circumscriptio* and *compositio* as the equivalents of *inventio/dispositio*. It may thus seem that literature and painting correspond rather well regarding the distinction between content and form. However, one fundamental difference between the arts causes an important dislocation. Many Renaissance theoreticians considered the manipulation of emotions, *movere*, highly important within rhetoric as well as painting, and it was as important to Alberti as it had been to Quintilian. But the emotions are treated in different ways. The above quotation of Quintilian can be compared to the following words by Alberti:

> A *historia* will move spectators when the men painted in the picture outwardly demonstrate their own feelings as clearly as possible. Nature provides – and there is nothing to be found more rapacious of her like than she, – that we mourn with the mourners, laugh with those who laugh, and grieve with the grief-stricken. Yet these feelings are known from movements of the body. We see how the melancholy, pre-occupied with cares and beset by grief, lack all vitality of feeling and action, and remain sluggish, their limbs unsteady and drained of colour. In those who mourn, the brow is weighed down, the neck bent, and every part of their body droops as though weary and past care. But in those who are angry, their passions aflame with ire, face and eyes become swollen and red, and the movements of all their limbs are violent and agitated according to the fury of their wrath. Yet when we are happy and gay, our movements are free and pleasing in their inflexions.[36]

Quintilian would have consented to the instructions as to how the body shall express emotions. Brian Vickers and Jacqueline Lichtenstein have demonstrated how Alberti uses prescriptions from Quintilian and Cicero on the orator's delivery and applies them to the characters within the painting.[37] In our line of argument, the central issue is that while Quintilian spoke of emotions in physical delivery, Alberti transfers them to a discussion of content, that which is portrayed: to Alberti, that is where the emotions are located. Quintilian on the other hand was speaking of the presentation of the content, i.e. form: the physical performance primarily, secondarily the transmission into text: the figures, which are the emotional expressions of the text. Manipulating emotions is central to Quintilian, but to him emotions have practically no place as objects, only as instruments. Alberti is certainly interested in affecting the public's emotions and his objectified emotions obviously serve instrumental functions, but when he transfers rhetoric's discussion of emotions he has to dislocate them from *actio* and – not to forget – *elocutio* to *inventio*, and maybe to an extent to *dispositio*. The impact of this dislocation from, roughly speaking, form to content seems to have been considerable.

From instrument to object

Classical rhetoric transferred the expressions of the body to the word and adopted the word for 'gesture', *schêma*, for rhetorical figure. The function of the figures was not least to move the audience's emotions in order to cause effect – and rhetorical figures are part of form. Aristotle was part of this tradition, and in his analysis

of poetry he paid a lot of attention to emotions in the sense of their effect on the audience. Aristotle did make room for the emotions as objects of poetry, but not very much. While *pathos* in the sense of 'suffering' and 'infliction' is a central object for him, the emotions – pity and fear – are mainly interesting as instrument and effect on the audience. The instrumental view on emotions lived on, but gradually emotion gained a status as an object of poetry. Minturno exemplifies an early attempt to introduce emotions as the object of lyric, but this ambition was only fulfilled by Batteux, in his attempt to find the common denominator of poetry and the other fine arts.

The change appears to be dependent on the efforts to define painting through rhetoric, and then poetry through painting. When Alberti in the fifteenth century tries to structure the art of painting, rhetoric is his natural model. However, one category where word and image do not match is the emotions. While his model, Quintilian, speaks of the orator's use of emotions as an instrument in his performance, Alberti transfers these emotions and their expressions to content, making them objects instead. This mechanism appears to be vital to the development of genre theory. Alberti is one part of the development, and by the first half of the eighteenth century genre theory has advanced so far that lyric can be defined as a structural parallel to epic and drama: the difference is that it represents emotions instead of actions.

One of the conditions for making emotions an object of poetry thus seems to be the early attempts to define painting using rhetoric's categories – not because Batteux relied explicitly on Alberti, but because it was theoreticians such as Alberti who allocated emotions to content, making them into objects, and this dislocation of categories made way for the definition of lyric as a genre. Attempts are made to forward lyric's and emotion's place in literature, but it first succeeds in the eighteenth century when instead of applying rhetoric's definitions to painting and music, poetry is to a greater extent interpreted in the light of painting and music.

Writing the history of the development of genre theory also needs to be supplemented with several other factors, especially the changing appreciation of emotions – from destructive affect to creative and positive emotion. The fact that the fine arts developed at this moment in history is obviously tightly connected with circumstances such as the changing social and economic status of artists and the growing influence of institutions like the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture (founded already in 1648). Even though Batteux used painting, music and acting as parallels in order to describe lyric, he does not appear to have needed them for claiming authority. Nor did he mention theoretical predecessors such as Minturno or Alberti: instead, such circumstances and ideas form a general background. Batteux claimed authority through his own theoreti-

cal construction and its adherence to Aristotle. To be sure, the transfer of the emotions into objects neither meant that their effect became less interesting, nor that they were in any sense confined to the place of objects. Jean-Jacques Rousseau certainly took a keen interest in the use of emotions, but not in the same instrumental way of rhetoric. And by the turn of the eighteenth century, the development had reached a point where emotions simply could be proclaimed the soul of poetry.

The impact of this dislocation of the emotions from, roughly speaking, presentation and form to content seems to have been considerable, and it was Batteux who successfully transposed the dislocation onto literature in the eighteenth century. When describing the uniting principle of the fine arts as *imitation*, he was looking backwards, but when positing emotions as an object which defines the lyric genre he substantially contributed to the emerging view of both emotions and poetry as something else than instrumental, as objects in their own right.

Notes

1 Charles Batteux, *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe par l'abbé C. Batteux* (Paris, 1746), 6-7.

2 The argument advanced here is developed more extensively in Mats Malm, *The Soul of Poetry Redefined. Vacillations of Mimesis from Aristotle to Romanticism* (Copenhagen, 2012).

3 See, e.g. Baxter Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism: The Late Renaissance in Italy* (Ithaca, New York, 1962), 205-224; Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 17-28; 194-201; Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford, 1997), esp. 1-25; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge, 2003).

4 See foremost Klaus R. Scherpe, *Gattungspoetik im 18. Jahrhundert: Historische Entwicklung von Gottsched bis Herder*. Studien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft (Stuttgart, 1968), and Anna Cullhed, *The Language of Passion: The Order of Poetics and the Construction of a Lyric Genre 1746-1806* (Uppsala, 2001).

5 'καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν μιμοῦνται καὶ ἤθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις', *Aristotle: Poetics*, ed. and transl. Stephen Halliwell, *Loeb Classical Library XXIII*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1999), 1447a.

6 'πάθος δέ ἐστι πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἵ τε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα', *Poetics* 1452b10, see the commentary to 1447a.

7 See primarily *Poetics* 1452b10-11, 1453b18-19, 1454a13 and 1453b39, 1459b9, 1459b14, 1455b34. *Pathos* is used in the sense of 'stylistic anomality' in 1460b12.

8 'ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν', *Poetics* 1449b24-28.

9 Stephen Halliwell, 'Introduction', in: *Aristotle. Poetics*, 3-26, esp. 15-16.
10 See Halliwell, *Aristotle: Poetics*, 18-19; Stephen Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics* (London, 1986), 168-201; Plato, *The Republic* I-II. transl. Paul Shorey (London & Cambridge, Massachusetts 1930-1935), 10.603c-6d.
11 See W.W. Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion: A Contribution to Philosophical Psychology, Rhetoric, Poetics, Politics and Ethics*, 2nd edition (London, 2008), 9-22; Simo Knuutilla, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2005), 24-47.
12 Halliwell, *Aristotle: Poetics*, 18; see Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton and Oxford, 2002), 177-206, 73-74.
13 *Gorgias* 465-507. See Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1993), 37-71.
14 'Καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δὴ καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν τε καὶ λυπηρῶν καὶ ἡδέων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἃ δή φαμεν πάσῃ πράξει ἡμῖν ἕπεσθαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιητικὴ μίμησις ἐργάζεται; τρέφει γὰρ ταῦτα ἄρδουσα, δέον αὐχμεῖν, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἡμῖν καθίστησι, δέον ἄρχεσθαι αὐτὰ', Plato, *Republic* 10.606D.
15 Most apparently so perhaps in Quintilian, who renders Plato's *hêdonê* with *adulatio*, accentuating falsehood and feigning even more (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.15.24-26). Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color*; Mats Malm, *Voluptuous Language and Poetic Ambivalence: The Example of Swedish Baroque* (Frankfurt am Main etc., 2011).
16 *Poetics* 1462a16.
17 *Plato: Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias*, transl. H. N. Fowler (London & Cambridge, Massachusetts 1953), 431c-434a. See Lichteinstein, *The Eloquence of Color*, esp. 53-54.
18 'μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως', *Poetics* 1448b13-14.
19 Francesco Robortello, *In Librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica Explicationes. Paraphrasis in Librum Horatii, Qui Vulgo de Arte Poetica ad Pisones Inscribitur (1548)*, Poetiken des Cinquecento 8 (Munich 1968), 12; Lodovico Castelvetro, *Poetica d'Aristotile vulgarizzata, et sposta* (1570). Poetiken des Cinquecento 1 (Munich, 1967), 9.
20 'Che cosa è la Poesia? M. Imitatione di uarie maniere di persone, in diuersi modi, ò con parole, ò con harmonia, ò con tempi; separatamente, ò con tutte queste cose insieme, ò con parte di loro. [...] Tre cose in ogni imitatione considerarci conuiene. Prima quel, che ad imitar prendiamo; poi con che imitiamo; al fine in qual modo. Le cose, che ad imitar prendiamo, sono i costumi, gli affetti, & i fatti delle persone; le quali sono di tre qualitâ', Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, *L'arte poetica (1564)*, Poetiken des Cinquecento 6 (Munich, 1976), 2. With the three qualities, Minturno refers to Aristotle's words that poetry displays people who are better, worse or the same as ourselves.
21 Minturno, *L'arte poetica*, 14.
22 Minturno, *L'arte poetica*, 177-178.
23 Minturno, *L'arte poetica*, 167.
24 'l'imitation de la Nature doit être leur objet commun; & qu'ils ne différent entr'eux que par le moyen qu'ils employent, pour exécuter cette imitation. Les moyens de la Peinture, de la Musique, de la Danse sont les couleurs, les sons, les gestes; celui de la Poësie est le discours', Batteux, *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe*, ix–x.
25 See Klaus Scherpe, 'Analogon actionis und lyrisches System. Aspecte normativer Lyriktheorie in der deutschen Poetik des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Poetica. Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 4 (1971), 32-59.
26 See Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color*, 65.

27 '[U]bi vero animis iudicum vis adferenda est et ab ipsa veri contemplatione abducenda mens, ibi proprium oratoris opus est. [...] Probationes enim efficiant sane ut causam nostram meliorem esse iudices putent, adfectus praestant ut etiam velint; sed id quod volunt credunt quoque. Nam cum irasci favere odisse misereri coeperunt, agi iam rem suam existimant, et, sicut amantes de forma iudicare non possunt quia sensum oculorum praecipit animus, ita omnem veritatis inquirendae rationem iudex omittit occupatus adfectibus: aestu fertur et velut rapido flumini obsequitur', Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.2.5–6.

28 See Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350–1450* (Oxford, 1971); Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988), 340-374; Götz Pochat, 'Rhetorik und bildende Kunst in der Renaissance', in: Heinrich F. Plett (ed.), *Renaissance-Rhetorik. Renaissance Rhetoric*, (Berlin, New York 1993), 266-284 and Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and its International Background*, Lychnos-bibliotek 19 (Uppsala and Stockholm, 1960), esp. 71-96. On music, see the overview by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, 'Die musikalische Rhetorik und ihre Genese in Musik und Musikanschauung de Renaissance', in: Heinrich F. Plett (ed.), *Renaissance-Rhetorik. Renaissance Rhetoric*, (Berlin, New York 1993), 285-311, and references there.

29 See Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color*, esp. 171–173; Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 358.

30 D.R. Edward Wright, who demonstrated the pedagogichal structure and scope inherited from Quintilian by Alberti, stresses that Alberti's *compositio* was not adopted from rhetoric's category *dispositio*: instead, Wright draws the line from other three-partite distinctions than rhetoric's *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*, see D.R. Edward Wright, 'Alberti's *De Pictura*: Its Literary Structure and Purpose', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 52-71. However, when modelling his work on Quintilian's, Alberti was of course forced to handle both correspondences and divergences between rhetoric's categories and his own. See Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 343-344.

31 Alberti, *De pictura* II 35-36. See Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 342-353 with references; cf. Franciscus Junius' view on the matter, Ellenius, *De arte pingendi*, 74.

32 'Picturam in tres partes dividimus, quam quidem divisionem ab ipsa natura compertam habemus. Nam cum pictura studeat res visas repraesentare, notemus quemadmodum res ipsae sub aspectu veniant. Principio quidem cum quid aspicimus, id videmus esse aliquid quod locum occupet. Pictor vero huius loci spatium circumscribet, eamque rationem ducendae fimbriae apto vocabulo circumscriptionem appellabit. Proxime intuentes dignoscimus ut plurimae prospecti corporis superficies inter se conveniant; hasque superficierum coniunctiones artifex suis locis designans recte compositionem nominabit. Postremo aspicientes distinctius superficierum colores discernimus, cuius rei repraesentatio in pictura, quod omnes differentias a luminibus recipiat, percommode apud nos receptio luminum dicetur', Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. and transl. Cecil Grayson (London, 1972), part II, 30. I have inserted original terms instead of the translations.

33 Cf. Alberti, *De pictura* II 46.

34 Alberti, *De pictura* II, 31.

35 Alberti, *De pictura* II, 35.

36 'Animos deinde spectantium movebit historia, cum qui aderunt picti homines suum animi motum maxime prae se ferent. Fit namque natura, qua nihil sui similium rapacius inveniri potest, ut lugentibus conlugeamus, ridentibus adrideamus, dolentibus condoleamus. Sed hi motus animi ex motibus corporis cognoscuntur. Nam videmus ut tristes, quod curis

astricti et aegritudine obsessi sint, totis sensibus ac viribus torpeant, interque pallentia et admodum labantia membra sese lenti detineant. Est quidem maerentibus pressa frons, cervix languida, denique omnia veluti defessa et neglecta procidunt. Iratis vero, quod animi ira incendantur, et vultus et oculi intumescunt ac rubent, membrorum que omnium motus pro furore iracundiae in eisdem acerrimi et iactabundi sunt. Laeti autem et hilares cum sumus, tum solutos et quibusdam flexionibus gratos motus habemus', Alberti, *De pictura*, II, 41. As Hans Helander has kindly pointed out to me , the words on Nature's rapaciousness should be understood in the light of Cicero's *De amicitia*, 50.

37 Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 345-348; Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color*, 199-207, both quoting the above passage. Lichtenstein emphasizes Alberti's will to identify painting's goal and means with rhetoric's – in order to enforce painting's superiority over poetry. See also Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color*, 208-219 on *actio* in painting.

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Philology and the History of Art

Adi Efal

A truly critical philology must acknowledge
the claims the past is making upon us,
making us thereby attend to it.
Sheldon Pollack, Future philology? *(2009), 958.*[1]

This essay examines several notable affinities between philological rationality and the history of art. It stems from my underlying endeavour to draw the outlines of a philological art history, which could be termed figural philology.[2]

In order to achieve that aim, a definition or redefinition of philological rationality would be necessary,[3] a task to which the following pages are mostly dedicated. This redefinition of philological rationality highlights and underlines the plastic aspects of philological inquiries. In the framework of the present endeavour, the notion of 'plasticity,' drawn both from the Greek word plasis (πλάσις) and from modern applications of this term in the history of art,[4] stands for the spatio-temporal deployment of forms, referring to the transfiguration of things which happens when they come in contact with other things, as well as by mere change of place. The plastic dynamics encompass all of the human domains of production, and it regards especially the meeting and transference points between the various domains; it could mean the points of contact between painting and architecture, but it could also mean contacts between painting and written texts.

Within this framework, the crucial issue standing at the possible construction of an affinity between art history and philology would be a bilateral one: On the one hand, we should ask in what manner plastic aspects are imbued in philological rationality, and on the other hand, we should make clear in what manner philological issues have been part and parcel of art-historical investigations, even if in an implicit and unwitting manner. Towards closing, I point to the notion of the

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'figure,' as a possible binding medium between the two distinguished discourses. That capacity of the figure stems from the fact that the concept of the figure holds both philological and plastic aspects. Finally, I point to Erwin Panofsky's iconology as having an explicitly philological tenet.

Philological certainty, from Vico to Spitzer

According to the early eighteenth-century Italian Giambattista Vico,[5] philology is interested in the deeds of man, and moreover in things made by man. Erich Auerbach, one of Vico's eminent translators and commentators and an avowed philologist himself, emphasized that the deeds of man possess an essential *historical reality*.[6] The deeds of man can be narratives, texts, laws, documents, buildings, paintings etc., and it is because they are made by man that they can be known by the latter with certainty; the science which is able to attain that, according to Vico, is philology, retitled by him as the 'new science.' We can say that philology holds two 'objects;' (a) A teleological object ('objective'), and (b) an epistemological object ('object' tout court). (a) 'certum' is the objective of philology, in the sense of 'what can be attained by philological inquiry;' it is the validity which can issue from the human mind studying human deeds; (b) 'factum' is the epistemological object of philological inquiry, in the sense of 'that which is to be examined,' which is the human deed itself, understood as a thing or a reality, i.e. as a fact. Both objects appear together in Vico's articulation of philology to replace philosophico-theological 'verum;' i.e. the knowledge of things created by God and not by man, whose nature cannot be fully comprehended by the human mind.[7] In Aristotelian terms, products of man, as well as human making at large, should be considered under the rubric of 'making' (Ποιειν, which can also be translated as to produce, create or do).[8] A synthesis of Aristotelian and Vichian terms will give us an understanding of philology as the method of adherence to the poietic past. The philological impulse strives to hold, to have, to possess (equivalent to the Aristotelian category of ἔχειν and to the Latin *habere*) the poietic past, and therefore it is a conservative, restorative enterprise.

According to Auerbach, Vico's philology was above all a science concerning the human.[9] Nevertheless during the nineteenth century, philologists tended to emphasize philology's interest with culture (Kultur), nation (Volk) and even race (Rasse).[10] It was the furnishing of philology as an investigation of the organic-cultural totalities which facilitated the dubious affiliation of philology with the study of race and nation.[11] What can be referred to as the last wave of modern philology, encompassing the work of scholars as Auerbach, Leo Spitzer and Ernst

Robert Curtius, tried to oppose this racist affiliation of philology by emphasizing its universal, humanist vocation. The present endeavour follows that lead, and tries to differentiate between philology and cultural history, arguing that the deeds of man hold primarily a historical reality ['Geschichtliche Wirklichkeit,' in Auerbach's terms[12]], rather than primarily a cultural one. If indeed philological rationality is interested in culture it is not as an organic whole that culture makes a philological object, but rather as the *sequences of transition* between different cultures and ages.[13]

Thereafter, I would like to suggest a reading of the term 'Φιλολογία.' I suggest that the philological adherence to the poietic past takes the form of a search for a *definition* of the poietic thing, 'definition' being one of the possible references of the Greek λογος.[14] It is while searching for the definition of a deed that the philologist engages in a regressive voyage into traditions, generations and mentalities, and it is in the midst of this *longue durée* of regressive voyage that the philologist may distill genres (stemming from the aristotelian γένος) of historical realities. As I will explain below, the distinction of the deed, achieved as a placement in a series of human-historical realities, creates a figure.

The above-mentioned Vichian principles of certum and factum, leading to the argument that humans are capable of knowing things that humans have made, turned in the nineteenth century into the philologist August Boeckh's principle of 'Erkenntnis der Erkannten,'[15] the knowing of the (already) known. This version of the philological dictum collapses the distinction between certum and factum; *the made is the known*; and therefore *knowing* and not *making* (as in Vico's case) stands at the heart of philological method. Indeed this epistemic understanding of philology by Boeckh points in the direction of affiliating philology with memory; for what is memory, if not the knowledge, conscious or not, of the already known?[16] In the twentieth century, this principle was transformed once again into Spitzer's formulation: '[...] to read is to have read, to understand is equivalent to having understood.'[17] Here it is reading and its habitus that carry the weight of the obligation towards the reality of the past. Synthesizing all the above three versions of the 'philological rehearsal' together, we can suggest that modern philology is a method responsible for the rehearsal of poietic memory. It would lead us to consider also memory as a human deed, as a factum.

The dogma and the ideal

Traditionally and in popular usage, we use the term 'philology' in order to refer to the love *of*, or the friendship *with* words; But the question is exactly: *how* do we become friends with words? And the philological answer would be: We become

friends with words by contracting transmitted traditions, namely, by habituating ourselves to usages of those traditions.[18] This habituation is accomplished by acts of repetition, rehearsal and restoration: repetition of forms, rehearsal of their taking place, and restoration of their realizations and re-realizations. This is a process of familiarization, and it is at work for example when we learn classical texts by heart, or rather learn to identify a Raphael painting by a spontaneous act of familiarity. Repetition demands many times acts of restoration and edition;[19] and hereby it necessarily includes the production of variants, by which forms (whether linguistic, architectural, painterly etc.) change their place from carrier to carrier, from generation to generation, etc. The moment of the 'Transfiguration' of Christ can be used as an emblem of this process; in this transfigurative moment Christ both shifted his place and changed his materiality,[20] but retained his basic form.

Trying to determine the historical origin of their philological inquiry, many philologists pointed to the first century B.C., when Roman authors were founding and defining the affinities between the language of their present and the Greek languages of the past.[21] A later revival, sometimes referred to as the second philological revival occurred in Italian Renaissance humanism of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries,[22] when the need to transfer texts from Latin or Greek into Italian presented itself. In Renaissance humanism pictorial production was inseparable from the philological impulse; first came the revival of the 'ancient manner', most notably in Florentine art of the fifteenth century, and then, towards the end of the fifteenth century, came the more literal revival of classical motifs and themes in the plastic arts. Renaissance humanist syncretism[23] was then shaped as much plastically as verbally.[24] From both the Roman and the Italian cases we can deduce that the philological impulse emerges when there is a need for accommodating a transition between cultures, within the confines of a certain tradition which is synchronically preserved, transmitted and shaped; in this process of transition, pictures and formulae are an essential requisite.

The period between 1750 and 1950 witnessed a process of revival, maturation and decline in the status as well as practice of philology.[25] We can indeed state that the relation of philology to language in this third philological epoch had been plastic in character; in the work of many philologists of that period we can find the explicit search for the variations, nuances, transfigurations, transmutations and genealogies of usage of typological elements. This search is plastic in character, because it is more interested in the spatio-temporal deployment of forms, i.e. in the movement and of forms from place to place, than in *either* meaning *or* context. This plastic morphological tendency was accentuated in the later, twentieth century generation of philology, represented by Karl Voßler, Auerbach, Spitzer and

Curtius (in one way or another, all of them, had a connection to 'Romance philology,' concentrating on French, Italian or Spanish sources). Most notably, philology, in this later stage, has been interested in etymologies; Spitzer indeed referred to the uncovering of an etymology as a miracle.[26] As Michel Foucault noted in his *Les Mots et les choses* (1966), for philology, words themselves are considered as objects or things.[27]

This third revival of the philological method continued throughout the nineteenth-century process of the institutionalization of the historical sciences. It was intermingled with the activity of other evolving or established discourses of the humanities such as hermeneutics, universal history and Kulturgeschichte. The basis of philological morphologies is always the reading of ancient languages, as well as the critical edition and translations of ancient texts, which are considered as 'classical.'[28] The texts which have been of interest to philological inquiries are considered as having a *merit*; they are *valuable* texts, texts that serve as a model or an ideal, providing an anchor for the reading of other texts and generating traditions of production. The classical status of philology's texts points to the fact that philology inherently connects with pedagogy and education (Bildung). It is an inquiry imbued with value judgements and it sifts and selects, as well as protects, restores and preserves a canon, and thereupon presents, *shows*, and transmits this canonic material. Many philological enterprises have been occupied with tracing and presenting traditions extending from an ancient beginning, *arché* (ἀρχή) to subsequent past textual manifestations. Seen from that aspect, philology is a dogmatic activity, in the sense that it cannot function without a stable hypothesis regarding an ideal, i.e. a primary generative work serving as the beginning for the deployment of the series of a tradition, like for example Raphael's paintings for the classicist tradition, or Aristotle's *Organon* for the Thomist and scholastic traditions. That is not to argue that philology is a rigid un-thoughtful practice; instead, it is by working with the hypothetical *arché* that the philologist examines his own beliefs and habitudes.

Regarding this pedagogic presentation of a surviving classical *arché* the work of the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann must be mentioned.[29] Already Friedrich Schlegel, writing around 1797, considered Winckelmann to be one of the chief restorers of philological rationality,[30] and later philologists referred to Winckelmann frequently.[31] Not only that the latter was interested in the ancient Greek ideal and the formation of his central concept 'Edle Einfalt und stille Grösse', but he further expressed a philological impulse by examining the dynamics of the imitation (Nachahmung) of antiquity, the dynamics that stand at the heart of philology, and which is responsible for the resurrection and the survival of the ancient ideal. Remarkably, Winckelmann dedicated several pages of the introduction to his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke*

in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst to an elaborated reconstruction of Michelangelo's technique of transmitting small models to life-size sculpture, from matter to matter and from one scale to another. Winckelmann describes a process by which Michelangelo located a smaller-scale model in a water container; and by lowering, level by level the amount of water, the transit from 'slice' to 'slice' of the statuette, similarly to topographic mapping, enables a full transmission of the prototype to an accomplished work.[32] It seems that Winckelmann was laying his finger on the fact that it is by plastic procedures that we can capture, adhere to, and move the prototypes in the best manner.

I suggest that the philological prototype is a specific deed, a special product; philology's truth has to do with the generation, the 'poiesis' of things, not with their 'essence.' Therefore, philology endeavours to distinguish the genre (γένος), rather than the type, *eidos* (εἶδος) of the thing. Let us recall that for Aristotle, the genre refers to the situation of continuous generation of things of the same type.[33] Therefore we can say that philology is interested in the plastic dynamics of the continuous generation of forms. From here it is clear that the formatting faculty of pictures, which carry and transmit efficiently the prototypes, is of central importance to philology.

We must further note that Winckelmann's ideal (consisting in itself of a partial rehearsal of the Renaissance humanist's ideal) established the most central and dominant dictum for the discipline of art history.[34] Even when soon after Winckelmann, art historians turned their attention to medieval (i.e. 'non-classical') art, the canonic ideal of Greek and Renaissance classicism was preserved as a point of reference (a sort of an 'Archimedean point,' to paraphrase Panofsky[35]), from which they could always deviate.[36]

Philology's borders: Historicism, hermeneutics, neo-Kantianism

To give a full account of the place of philological discourse within the nineteenth-century sphere of intellectual tropes, as well as of the connection between this place of philology and the pioneers of the history of art would be beyond the scope of the present paper. Nevertheless, I would like to briefly refer to philology's relation to the general tropes of Historicism, neo-Kantianism and Hermeneutics. These three references are important, as I believe they all still stand nowadays as barrages in the practice of the historical-sciences, including of course the history of art.

(1) *Historicism*. Though taking part in the process of the nineteenth-century 'historization' of thought,[37] modern philology holds to some extent also a non-historicist character. That is because *not all is history* for the philological gaze. Rather, history is knit out of atoms of poietic things, privileged sources. Indeed, it was the art-historian and in my view philologist Erwin Panofsky, who insisted as early as 1920 that art-historical inquiry necessitates an examination of *something else besides the historical explanation*.[38] It is because philology presents tradition according to an *arché* or a prototype and its generative capacity, that philology resists, at least partially, the historicist tendency to yield to the eternally complex, chaotic and singular flux of historical, idiographic temporality. We can say that within the limits of philological rationality, the reality of the past precedes historical events.[39] It is the very 'pastness' of its cherished things that philology labours to preserve and transmit.[40]

(2) *Hermeneutics*. Though for most nineteenth-century philologists hermeneutics was inseparable from the practice of philology, the two practices were nevertheless distinguished:[41] Inasmuch as the efforts at deciphering of hermeneutics search for meaning inside the text, philology searches rather for the dynamics of transmission of forms from one language to another and from text to text, a transmission which is observable in a rather positivistic manner. We can say that philology is interested in the certainty that can be deduced from the surface of historical production (that would be equivalent to Vico's certum), in as much as hermeneutics searches for the Truth, αλήθεια which lies *within* history (that would be equivalent to Vico's verum). Hermeneutics and philology can be understood as two aspects of reading (*Lesung*); but in as much as hermeneutics searches to understand (*Verstehen*) and to uncover, philology aspires to present (*Darstellen* or *Vor-lesung*, literally, to read in public) and to preserve. Furthermore, the philological method includes a hermeneutic part, in the sense that philology reads backwards, *à rebours*, hermeneutical traditions and acts of interpretation, and thus questions the researchers' own *verum*.[42] That was what Auerbach meant by what he called 'radical relativism,' in which not only the past is being understood and transformed by the reader-subject, but also the reader-subject himself is being transformed by the historical thing he is researching.[43] This same bilaterality is sharply expressed in Friedrich Nietzsche's poignant text 'Wir Philologen.'[44] When we determine what it is that the past demands of us, as well as what it is that we demand of the past, we enact what can be regarded as philological bilateral possession: we possess our pasts, at the same time that the reality of the past possesses us. As in the case of historicism, the philological impulse dives into the roots of hermeneutic relativism in order to find a way out in their depth.

(3) *Neo-Kantianism*. Neo-Kantianism shaped many of our conceptions regarding the functionality of the historical sciences, determining their nature as sciences of culture and posing them *vis-à-vis* the sciences of nature.[45] Few nineteenth-century philologists, such as Gottfried Hermann, were self-avowed Kantians.[46] But also in the case of neo-Kantianism, philology poses a resistance of sorts. If neo-Kantianism searches for the conditions of experience and sets of abstract categories, or rather values (to use the notion of Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert[47]) that would account for a certain cultural whole, philology has been attuned to the *diachronic* aspect of history, and is sensitive to particular nuances. Philology does not look for the conditions of experience but rather to the modus operandi of models and prototypes which are, as I suggested above, poietic, i.e. produced things; it is only on that basis that philology furnishes series and sequences, the transference of which from culture to culture makes what should properly be referred to as humanity.

These three resistance-lines between philology and the dominant orientations of the humanities in the nineteenth century delineate three borderlines of philological rationality: (a) temporal experience, (b) interpretation and (c) conditions of experience. Please note, that these three borders are formed by the plastic character of philology, namely by the engagement with the transmission and change of forms in space and time by produced things. The three above-mentioned borders were objects of scrutiny also in Friedrich Nietzsche's reformulations of modern philology.[48] Foucault saw in Nietzsche the turning point, inaugurating the unification of philosophy and philology.[49] In the above-mentioned essay, 'Wir Philologen,' Nietzsche speculated upon a radical philology, which, to his idea, was yet to be created.[50] Nietzsche made clear in this essay that the philological vocation cannot be taken lightly or be interpreted as merely the technical aspect of learning the classical sources. For Nietzsche a true philologist would be the one who is interested in deciphering his own *doxas*. Without taking responsibility for the actual act of thought, there could be no genuine philological process. Auerbach's 'radical relativism' gives a further realist nuance to this bilaterality, as it is not only that the (historical) subject constitutes its object (as in neo-Kantianism and historicism), but also that the subject is itself being read and questioned by its object. Philology then, can be articulated as the manner in which the present is being configured and problematized, owned and possessed by its past, as well as owning and possessing it.

Nietzsche as a turning-point

Nietzsche's relation to antiquity, in turn, stood at the core of the work of one of the founders of twentieth-century art history, Aby Moritz Warburg.[51] Nietzsche's radical reformulation of the philological impulse is crucial for the inquiry of the affinity between art history and philology: Nietzsche, as well as authors such as Warburg, Panofsky, alongside Auerbach, Spitzer, Edward Said and Paul De Man,[52] retained their relation to the humanist tradition, while reshaping the sense of humanism into something 'deeper and more dangerous than that which one usually understands by the word,' as Auerbach phrased it.[53] It is at that point that the genre comes to precede the eidos; and the prototype can be better defined, not as an expression of an idea, but as a distinguisher of a deed. And it is at that point that the notion of the 'figura' appears in our story.[54]

Figures and the history of art

The 'figura' (a Latin term) is distinguished from the *eidos*, the prototype or the *archè*; the figure is rather the product of the transmission of an *eidos* from vessel to vessel, from carrier to carrier, from surface to surface. A 'figura' is formed when not the *eidos* but the act of transmutation itself is considered as an ἀρχή; when mimesis cannot be anymore the sole basis for a conception of neither the human nor his deeds, and when the productive, poietic capacity of human memory is taken as primary. A figure is formed when the ideal, the prototype itself is considered as de-formatable and re-formatable, i.e. elastic and plastic. Issuing from this purported plastic quality of reality, philological reading deploys narratives of traditions, weaving together separate facta (deeds). It is when this mnemonic responsibility is considered in itself as poietic, that the figure appears. To paraphrase Auerbach, I would say that philology *is* the figural presentation of reality. Here it becomes obvious that philology can be understood not only as a science but as an art, a τέχνη.[55] As an art, philology rehearses the factual repetitions of statements, imperatives, inscriptions, articulations, inscriptions and imprinting, and by so doing, it produces figures.

My argument goes both ways: It is not only that philology includes an essential pictorial-formal element, but also that the development of the discipline of art history has been imbued with philological impulses. Strong philological tendencies can be found in the works of many of the founders of the history of art like Aloïs Riegl,[56] Julius von Schlosser,[57] Aby Warburg,[58] Edgar Wind,[59] Henri Focillon,[60] Ernst Gombrich[61] but most explicitly, I find, Erwin Panofsky.[62] A good example of Panofsky's engagement with philological rationality and method can

be found in his essay 'Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition'.[63] This essay stemmed from an explicitly philological question: how should we *read* the inscription in Poussin's painting of the same title [Fig. 16]? Panofsky presented Poussin in this essay neither as a classicist, nor as a philosopher-artist, but rather as a figural agent of what Panofsky termed the 'elegiac' tradition. Poussin is presented by Panofsky as the responsible for a 'change in interpretation,' leading to a 'mistranslation,' which worked 'at the expense of grammar but in the interest of truth.'[64] After presenting the philological problem, Panofsky proceeds to an exploration of texts, commentaries and visual images (all having the same status as facta), pointing to the appropriate way to read the inscription in question. Therefore, in Panofsky's work, pictorial history itself is inserted into a series of readings, translations and mistranslations of a formula.

Panofsky was neither interested in this essay in the historical situation in which Poussin's inscription was made, nor in excavating a universal set of categories which can be used for a Kantian-critical examination of the painting (as he would rather do in some of his earlier essays), but rather in a linkage of transmissions, transfiguration and readings of a formula, an original 'Urtype.' The connection between Poussin's painting and its own past *is* the figure that Panofsky drew in this essay. It is in that manner that I suggest to understand Panofsky's iconology; it is, as Panofsky himself declared, deeply rooted in the soil of the humanist tradition.[65]

This philological character of Panofsky's later works could and should be elaborated for its many facets and aspects. It was no doubt connected to his friendship with Erich Auerbach,[66] especially after the latter's move to the USA, in 1947; Panofsky's exchanges with Leo Spitzer and with Ernst Robert Curtius should also be noted.[67]

Many have tried to ponder about the character of Panofsky's later iconological phase.[68] My suggestion is to try and view iconology as pertaining to and practising a philological rationality. Indeed, that may account also for the later turn in Panofsky's work, from the earlier, explicitly neo-Kantian, systematic and highly theoretical earlier phase, to the later 'iconological', artwork-oriented and problem-oriented phase. Philology indeed demands the attention to nuances, versions and dialects, and is less interested in a neo-Kantian categorization, as I have mentioned above. Panofsky's art history can orient any search for a reintegration of philology into the art-historical method. As a figural philology, art history may be interested in the manner in which human deeds of the past are responsible for the perseverance and duration of forms.

This kind of art history will neither be interested in understanding the artworks' forms nor their styles, but rather in producing and presenting figures; i.e. in the manner in which formulae are transmitted, sometimes unconsciously or unwittingly, from thing to thing, from epoch to epoch, from style to style. Very

Fig. 16: Nicolas Poussin, *Et in arcadia ego*, c. 1638, oil on canvas, 85 x 121 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre

close to iconological research, the figural philologist's responsibility would be then to identify this repetition of forms in individual human deeds. As the *figura*, in Auerbach's account, connects between two separate historical realities by exemplifying the same truth, so the figural philologist would have to begin his inquiry by posing some δόγμα or at least δόξα regarding this truth, again, in the sense that, for example, no Christian pre-figuration narrative can be construed without the assumption of the transhistorical narrative of redemption by the return of Christ, or, similarly, as Giorgio Vasari's deployment of the history of art was determined by his conviction of the greatness of the Italian art of his own times.

Furthermore, a figural philologist would be expected to work at least from two different anchoring points in world history. He could not belong to the 'specialist' brand of historical, or rather historicist research.[69] Indeed, the figural philologist could not be a historical expert of an epoch or an author; rather he would be a technician examining how relations between different human deeds are established. The ability of the figural philologist will be a capacity for mobility throughout the universal history of produced things. As a figural philology, art history may be interested in the manner in which human deeds have been responsible for the perseverance and duration of forms. And it is by his knowledge of figural mobility – or rather figural motorics – that the philologist possesses the reality of the past.

Notes

1 Sheldon Pollock, 'Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World', *Critical Inquiry* 35/4 (Summer 2009), 930-963.

2 I am grateful to the Fritz Thyssen Foundation and to Professor Ursula Frohne of the University of Cologne, whose support enabled the completion of this essay.

3 For a selection of recent publications expressing current interest in the philological method, see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology* (Chicago: Illinois University Press, 2002); Karlheinz Barck & Martin Treml (eds.), *Erich Auerbach. Geschichte und Aktualität eines europäischen Philologen* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2007); Jürgen Paul Schwindt (ed.), *Was ist eine philologische Frage? Beiträge zu Erkundung einer theoretischen Einstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009); Kai Bremer and Uwe Wirth, *Texte zur modernen Philologie* (Ditzingen: Reclam, 2010).

4 For sources regarding Plasis and Plasticity, see Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', *Archivum Romanicum* 22 (1938), 438-440; Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in: *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 13-16; Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Plastik: Einige Wahrnehmungen über Form und Gestalt aus Pygmalions bildendem Träume* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1778); Erwin Panofsky, *Die Deutsche Plastik des Elften bis Dreizehnten Jahrhunders* (Munich: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1924); Pierre Francastel, 'Espace genetique et espace plastique', *La Réalité figurative. Éléments structurels de sociologie de l'art* (Paris: Denoël-Gonthier, 1965), 127-148.

5 Especially in his *Scienza Nuova* (c. 1744). With special relevance to the present paper see Erich Auerbach's translation. Giambattista Vico, *Die neue Wissenschaft – über die gemeinschaftliche Natur der Völker*, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Erich Auerbach (Munich: Allgemeine Verlagsanstallt, 1924).

6 For Auerbach's main writings concerning Vico see Erich Auerbach, 'Giambattista Vico und die Idee der Philologie (1936)', in: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie*, ed. F. Schalk (Bern: Francke, 1967), 233-241; Erich Auerbach, 'Vico and Aesthetic Historism', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8/2 (December 1949), 110-118; Erich Auerbach, 'Vico und der Volksgeist (1955)', in: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 242-250.

7 Karl Löwith, *Vicos Grundsatz: verum et factum convertuntur – Seine theologische Prämisse und deren säkulare Konsequenzen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1968); James C. Morrison, 'Vico's Principle of verum is factum and the Problem of Historicism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39/4 (October 1978), 579-595. David L. Marshall argued recently for the need to differentiate better between 'factum' and 'certum' in Vico's oeuvre; according to Marshall, in as much as 'factum' regards human deed, 'certum' 'denotes that which is free from doubt and particularized (particularized in a double sense) ... the particular judgments of the law'. See David Marshall, *Vico and the Transformation of Rhetoric in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 65-66.

8 See Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1934), 334-337 (1140a); Aristotle, *Poetics* (with Longinus, *On the Sublime* and Demetrius, *On Style*), Loeb Classical Library, trans. Stephen Halliwell (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4-7 (1447a).

9 Auerbach, 'Giambattista Vico und die Idee der Phologie'.

10 For example see Georg Curtius, 'Über die Geschichte und Aufgabe der Philologie, Vortrag gehalten im Kiel am 22 Februari 1862', in: *Ausgewählte Reden und Vorträge* (Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1886), 128: 'Das Ziel ist offenbar das, den Zusammenhang der Menschlichen Culture zu erhalten'.

11 Examples are too abundant to note in full, but for example see Curtius, 'Über die Geschichte und Aufgabe der Philologie', 129: '... Der Philolog sucht mit dem Volk zu leben, das er studiert'. See also Geoffrey Galt Harpham, 'Roots, Races and the Return to Philology', *Representations* 106 (Spring 2009), 34-62.

12 Auerbach, 'Figura', 451; Auerbach, 'Figura', 29.

13 As Auerbach suggested in his famous Erich Auerbach, 'Philologie der Weltliteratur (1952)', in: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie* (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1967), 301-310.

14 See F. E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms: A Historical Lexicon* (New York: New York University Press, 1967), 110-112.

15 See Frithjof Rodi, '"Erkenntnis der Erkannten" – August Boeckhs Grundformel der hermeneutischen Wissenschaften', in: Hellmut Flashar, Karlfried Gründer and Axel Horstmann (eds.), *Philologie und Hermeneutik um 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte und Methodologie der Geisteswissenschaften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 68-73; Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 23.

16 Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire: Essai sur la relation du corps à l'esprit* [1896] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008).

17 Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History*, 23.

18 I am pointing out this notion as I consider the concept of 'Habitude' a central instrument for figural philology. Erwin Panofsky used the notion of 'mental habit' as an explanatory principle in his *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* [1951] (New York: New American Library: New American Library, 1976). See also on this notion Félix Ravaisson, *De l'habitude* [1838] (Paris: Allia, 2007); Adi Efal, 'Habitude Against Itself: Re-Defining the "Symbol" in Turn-of-the-Century French Visual Symbolist Discourse', *Canadian Aesthetic Journal* 13 (Summer 2007), URL: http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/Vol_13/libre/efal2.htm.

19 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology. Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 24-40.

20 *The New Testament*, Mathew 17: 1-9; Mark 9: 2-8; Luke 9 28-36.

21 August Boeckh, 'Die Idee der Philologie oder ihr Begriff, Umfang und höchster Zweck', in: *Enzyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenchaften* (c. 1877), Erster Haupteil. Formale Theorie der philologischen Wissenschaft (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1966), 3-33; Pierre Swiggers, 'Les Débuts et l'évolution de la philologie romane, surtout en Allemagne', in: Sylvain Auroux (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences: An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present*, vol. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 1272-1286.

22 Boeckh, 'Idee der Philologie', 12, 24; Georg Curtius, 'Über die Geschichte und Aufgabe der Philologie (1862)', in: *Ausgewählte Reden und Vorträge* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1886), 117-121.

23 An elaborated account of the intimate relationship between painting and humanist scholarship in the proto-Renaissance and early-Renaissance periods can be found in Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

24 Erwin Panofsky did indeed dedicate a book to the exploration of the return to antiquity in Renaissance humanism. See Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960).

25 Following Johann Gottfried Herder, Christian Gottlob Heyne and Friedrich August Wolf integrated the science of language (Sprachwissenschaft) into the historical

science of ancient cultures. Notable names belonging to the nineteenth century wave of philology in Germany are Gottfried Jakob Hermann (1772-1848), August Böckh (1785-1867), Georg Curtius (1820-1885), Hermann Usener (1834-1905), Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931) or Werner Jaeger (1888-1961). See Robert S. Leventhal, 'The Emergence of Philological Discourse in the German States 1770-1810', in: *The Disciplines of Interpretation: Lessing, Herder, Schlegel and Hermeneutics in Germany 1750-1800* (Berlin and Amsterdam: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 235-255; Ingo Gildenhard, 'Philologia perennis? Classical scholarship and Functional differentiation' in I. Gildenhard & M. Ruehl (eds.), *Out of Arcadia: Classics and politics in Germany in the Age of Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Wilamowitz* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2003), 161-204.

26 Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History*, 6.

27 Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses, une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966), 314-315: 'Pour les philologues, les mots sont comme autant d'objets constitués et déposés par l'histoire'.

28 See Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989); François Hartog, 'The Double Fate of the Classics', *Critical Inquiry* 35 (Summer 2009), 964-979.

29 See especially Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* [1755] (Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag, 1995). The nineteenth-century philologue Hermann Usener, wrote in 1882 : 'Johann Joachim Winckelmanns Geschichte der alten Kunst (1764) ist der Ausgangpunkt nicht nur der Archäologie, sondern auch unserer deutschen Philologie, in gewissem Sinne darf man sagen der modernen geschichtswissenschaft.' Hermann Usener, 'Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft (1882)', in: *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1907), 6.

30 Friedrich Schlegel, 'Zur Philologie I, Zur Philologie II (c. 1797)', in: Ernst Behler (ed.), *Kritische Ausgabe* (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna: Schönigh, 1959-1990), vol. 16: 37, 39, 42, 44, 61, 81.

31 For example see Usener, 'Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft', 6: 'Johann Joachim Winckelmanns Geschichte der alten Kunst (1764) ist der Ausgangspunkt nicht nur der Archäologie, sondern auch unserer deutschen Philologie, in gewissem Sinne darf man sagen der modernen geschichtswissenschaft'.

32 Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung*, 29-32.

33 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*: Books I-IX, original and Engl. trans. Hugh Tredennick (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 284-285 (1024a).

34 For the writings of the early stages of the development of the discipline of art history in Germany, see Wolfgang Beyrodt (ed.), *Kunsttheorie und Kunstgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente, Band 1* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982).

35 Erwin Panofsky, 'Der Begriff des Kunstwollens', in: *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, eds. Hariolf Oberer and Egon Verhezen (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1964), 33; Erwin Panofsky, 'The Concept of Artistic Volition', transl. Kenneth J. Northcott and Joel Snyder, *Critical Inquiry* 8/1 (Autumn 1981), 18.

36 On the influence of Renaissance art on the formation of the history of art see Michael Ann Holly, *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

37 See John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

38 Erwin Panofsky, 'Der Begriff des Kunstwollens', 33-34; Erwin Panofsky, 'The Concept of Artistic Volition', 18: 'It is the curse and the blessing of the academic study of art that its objects necessarily demand consideration from other than purely historical point of view'.

39 For the fiercest anti-historicist philological manifesto see Servais Etienne, *Défense de la philologie et autres écrits* (c. 1933) (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du livre, 1965).

40 This concept is developed by Riegl in Alois Riegl, 'Wesen und Entstehung des modernen Denkmalskultus (c. 1903)' in: Ernst Bacher (ed.), *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 52-97. The essay was published earlier as Alois Riegl, 'Der Moderne Denkmalskultus sein Wesen und seine Entstehung' in: Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Karl M. Swoboda (Augsburg and Vienna: Filser Verlag, 1929), 144-193.

41 On the relationship between hermeneutics and philology, see Helmut Flashar, 'Die methodisch-hermeneutischen Ansätze von Friedrich August Wolf und Friedrich Ast: Traditionelle und neue Begründung' in: *Philologie und Hermeneutik*, 21-31; Reiner Wiehl, 'Schleiermachers Hermeneutik: Ihre Bedeutung für die Philologie in Theorie und Praxis', in: Flashar a.o. (eds.), *Philologie und Hermeneutik*, 32-68; Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs, 'Textauslegung und hermeneutischer Zirkel: zur Innovation der Interpretationsbegriffes von August Boeckh', in: Flashar a.o. (eds.); *Philologie und Hermeneutik*, 84-102; Kristin Gjesdal, 'Hermeneutics and Philology: A Reconsideration of Gadamer's Critique of Schleiermacher', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 14/1 (2006), 133-156; Gumbrecht, *Powers of Philology*, 41-54.

42 See Erich Auerbach, 'Introduction: Purpose and Method', in: *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 12.

43 See Auerbach, 'Introduction: Purpose and Method', 12; Waizbort, 'Erich Auerbach im Kontext der Historismusdebatt', in: *Erich Auerbach: Geschichte und Aktualität*, 294-296.

44 Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Wir Philologen', in: *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. Karl Schlechta (Munich: Hanser Verlag, 1954), Band 3, 323-332.

45 See Helmut Holzhey, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil des Wertbegriffs in der Kulturphilosophie', in: Peter-Ulrich Merz-Benz and Ursula Benz (eds.), *Ethik oder Ästhetik? Zur Aktualität der neukantianischen Kulturphilologie* (Würzburg: Königshausern und Neumann, 2004), 87-114.

46 Ernst Vogt, 'Der Methodenstreit zwischen Hermann und Böckh und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Philologie', in: Flashar a.o. (eds.), *Philologie und Hermeneutik*, 103-121.

47 On the notion of 'value' in Neo-Kantian thought see Holzhey, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil des Wertbegriffs', 155-188. Also Heinrich Rickert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (1899) (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1986), and Hermann Seidel, 'Wirklichkeit als Alternative zum Wert' in: *Wert und Wirklichkeit in der Philosophie Heinrich Rickerts* (Bonn: H. Bouvier Verlag, 1968), 65-79; Guy Oaks, *Die Grenzen kulturwissenschaftlicher Begriffsbildung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990).

48 Viktor Pöschl, 'Nietzsche und die klassische Philologie', in: Flashar a.o. (eds.), *Philologie und Hermeneutik*, 141-155.

49 Foucault, *Les Mots et les choses*, 316-317.

50 On this see especially James Porter, *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2001.

51 On Warburg's method in relation to philology, and most notably to Hermann Usener and Karl Voßler, see Roland Kany, *Mnemosyne als Programm: Geschichte, Erinnerung und die Andacht zum Unbedeutenden im Werk von Usener, Warburg und Benjamin* (Tübingen:

Max Neimeyer Verlag, 1987); Anna Guillemin, 'The Style of Linguistics: Aby Warburg, Karl Voßler and Hermann Osthoff', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69/4 (October 2008), 605-626.

52 Paul De Man, 'The Return to Philology', in: *The Resistance to Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 3-26; Edward W. Said, 'Erich Auerbach, Critic of the Earthly World', *Boundary 2* 31/ 2 (Summer 2004), 11-34; Emily Apter, 'The Human in the Humanities', *October* 96 (Spring 2001), 71-85; Harpham, 'Roots, Races and the Return to Philology'.

53 English translation in James I. Porter, 'Erich Auerbach and the Judaizing of Philology', *Critical Inquiry* 35 (Autumn 2008), 146. Original in Erich Auerbach, 'Giambattista Vico und die Idee der Philologie', 241: 'Das ist seine [Vico's, a.e] Humanität; etwas weit Tieferes und Gefährlicheres als das, was man zumeist unter diesem Worte versteht'.

54 Auerbach, 'Figura', 436-489; Auerbach, 'Figura', 11-76.

55 Many philologists, amongst them Boeckh and Usener, held to that view. For example see Schlegel, 'Zur Philologie I' 42 [fragment 98]: 'Die Philologie ist jetzt eine bloß *formelle* Wissenschaft d.h. Kunst'.

56 Walter Benjamin chose to talk about the 'Geiste wahrer Philologie' of the Viennese school of art history issuing from Riegl. See Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* vol. III, ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag) III), 371. I am thankful to Steffen Haug for pointing this out. Henri Zerner similarly referred to Riegl as 'excellent philologue,' Henri Zerner, 'l'Histoire de l'art d'Alois Riegl: un formalisme tactique', *Critique* 339-340 (August-September 1975), 941.

57 Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (1924) (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1985); Julius von Schlosser, *Stilgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte der bildenden Kunst: Ein Rückblick* (Munich: Verlag d. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935); See also Ricardo de Mambro Santos, 'The Concentric Critique: Schlosser's Kunstliteratur and the Paradigm of Style in Croce and Vossler', *Journal of Art Historiography* 1 (December 2009), URL: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_152491_en.pdf; Ricardo Di Mambro Santos, 'Words of Suspension: The Definition of "Written Sources" in Julius von Schlosser's Kunstliteratur', *Journal of Art Historiography* 2 (June 2010), URL: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_152491_en.pdf.

58 Warburg referred to his own 'philological gaze' ['philologischen Blick']. See Aby Warburg, 'Nimfa Fiorentina (1900)', in: Mertin Treml and Siegrid Wiegel (eds.), *Aby Warburg: Werke in einem Band* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2010), 203.

59 Mostly in Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958).

60 Focillon's relation to philology lies in the manner in which the former is explicitly dealing with the metamorphosis of forms and not with forms as such. See Henri Focillon, *Vie des formes* [orig. 1934] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995); see also Willibald Sauerländer, 'En face des barbares et à écart des dévots, l'humanisme médiéval d'Henri Focillon', in: Mathias Waschek (ed.), *Relire Focillon* (Paris: Louvre et ensb-a, 1996), 53-74.

61 Especially in Ernst Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance 2* (London: Phaidon Press, 1972). The philological element in Gombrich's art history is an elusive and a complex one, especially due to the sceptical nature of Gombrich's thought, as well as to the attention he has given to the communicative element in works of art.

62 On Panofsy as a 'frustrated philologist' see Joan Hart, 'Erwin Panofsky and Karl Manheim: A Dialogue on Interpretation', *Critical Inquiry* 19 (Spring 1993), 551-554.

63 Erwin Panofsky, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition', in: *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955) (Garden City, N.Y.: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 295-320. See also on this essay Oskar Bätschmann, '"Pan deus Arcadiae venit." Panofsky und Poussin', in: Bruno Reudenbach (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky: Beiträge des Symposions Hamburg 1992* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), 71-82.

64 Panofsky, 'Et in Arcadia Ego', 296-297. This process of achieving truth by errors of translation fits exactly the method of 'Supplation' in the Warburg-Voßler sense, or the working with the 'variante' in the French branch of philological research. See Guillemin, 'Style of Linguistics', 613-622; Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, passim.

65 In Erwin Panofsky, 'The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline (1940)', in: *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 1-25.

66 The relationship between Panofsky and Auerbach must be researched further by consulting the unpublished letter exchanged between them. For a preliminary discussion of the relation between the two see my Adi Efal, 'Panofsky's Idea and Auerbach's Figura: Two Iconodulist Philological Experiments', *The Protocols of the History and Theory Department of the Bezalel Academy at Jerusalem* 14 (October 2009), URL: http://bezalel.secured.co.il/zope/home/en/1252746792.

67 Notably, the letters exchanged with both philologists is dated around the years 1950-1951. Erwin Panofsky, *Korrespondenz, Vol. 3 – 1950 bis 1956*, ed. Dieter Wuttke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006) 64-65, 159, 223-229, 1495 (letters exchanged between Panofsky and Spitzer); 116-117, 162-163, 208 (letters exchanged between Panofsky and Auerbach).

68 Giulio Carlo Argan, 'Ideology and Iconology', transl. Rebecca West, *Critical Inquiry* 2/2 (Winter 1975), 297-305; Michael Ann Holly, 'Later Work: An Iconological Perspective', in: *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, 158-193.

69 As is exemplified by Auerbach's widest-ranging masterpiece, Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (1946) (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1946); the same idea comes up in Auerbach's concept of 'World literature' in Auerbach, 'Philologie der Weltliteratur'.

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VI

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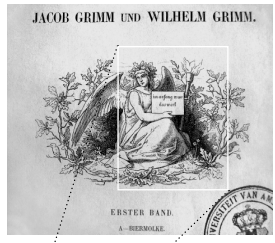

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Bourgeois versus Aristocratic Models of Scholarship[1]

Medieval Studies at the Académie des Inscriptions, 1701-1751

Alicia C. Montoya

Much attention has recently been focused on the construction of new, bourgeois models of authorship during the course of the French Enlightenment.[2] Less attention has however been paid to the concomitant emergence of bourgeois models of scholarship, that indeed went hand in hand with the increasing autonomization of the literary field at large. Similarly to the case of literary authors, the construction of new models of the professional – as opposed to the amateur – scholar owed much, in turn, to the creation of secular institutions capable of supporting this emerging category. Libraries accessible to the public, official associations, and state-supported academies all played a crucial role in the professionalization of the humanities. During the early decades of the eighteenth century, one of these institutions was the Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Originally founded by Louis XIV to compose Latin commemorative inscriptions in his honour, the Academy gradually evolved into a scholarly body, focusing more exclusively on historical and philological activities. This increasing autonomy and shift in emphasis was marked by the reorganization of the academy in 1701, accompanied by the drawing up of new statutes. The movement was consolidated, finally, by the creation of a prestigious new academic journal, the *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, that began publication in 1717 and continued uninterrupted until the revolutionary era.

Yet even following its reform, two models of scholarship continued to find a home in the Académie des Inscriptions during the first decades of the eighteenth century: an older, aristocratic model of amateur scholarship, and a newer, bourgeois model of professional historiography, that only really carried the day in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the rising party of progressive, secular intellectuals began to consolidate its hold on public opinion. While recent studies have foregrounded the academicians' slowness to adopt the methods and approaches of modern historical scholarship – including reliance on archaeological and non-literary sources[3] – they have not sufficiently

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noted the way class allegiances also underlay differing stances with regard to the methods and aims of scholarship. This essay proposes therefore to explore the tension between two distinct conceptions of the humanities by focusing on two figures that I take to be representative of them. On the one hand, I consider Jean-Baptiste La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, long regarded as the founding father of eighteenth-century medieval studies, as part of an emerging group of professional historians, who had ideological affinities with the coterie of Enlightenment philosophers headed by Diderot and Voltaire. On the other hand, I consider Anne-Claude de Tubières, comte de Caylus, like Sainte-Palaye an active member of the Académie des Inscriptions, as representative of a looser group of men of letters associated with aristocratic connoisseurship, and whose more belletristic approach to historical work was eventually displaced by Sainte-Palaye and his followers. The history of how modern models of scholarship in the humanities were constructed, in a process that foregrounded a distinctly Cartesian-influenced ideal of impartial, disembodied scholarship, was, I contend, partially the result of these tensions and the differing responses scholars offered to them.

Medievalism at the Académie des Inscriptions: Beyond Sainte-Palaye

With the professionalization of the work undertaken at the Académie des Inscriptions came a change in scholarly focus. Whereas classical subjects had taken centre stage under Louis XIV, in the eighteenth century a new field was defined that increasingly retained the academicians' attention and that, indeed, may represent their most original contribution to the history of the humanities: medieval studies.[4] Following the reform of 1701, the number of papers dealing with medieval topics increased substantially, rising to a quarter or even a third of the total number of pages in each volume before 1751.[5] The preface to the first volume of the *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions* distinguished four classes of papers or *mémoires* read by members during the academy's sessions. Among them, papers on the medieval past were, for the first time, considered a separate category:

> The fourth class of works finally, is composed of treatises and elucidations on different points concerning the history of the Middle Ages (*moyen âge*), particularly those concerning our Monarchy, our first poets, our old authors of romances (*Romans*) and other writers.[6]

The use of the term *moyen âge* was significant. Having been almost completely absent in the works of the previous generation of historiographers, including the founder of medieval diplomatics (and honorary member of the academy), Jean Mabillon,[7] the term was now deployed to stake out a new field of study. By transferring the methods of humanistic philology onto vernacular texts, the academicians were echoing a previous shift that had taken place already, among aristocratic, non-professional readers, whereby works of chivalric fiction were gradually assuming the status of modern classics.[8] Medieval studies decisively entered a new phase in the 1720s and 1730s, when they were taken up by an illustrious group of scholars that included abbé Vertot, Denis François Secousse, Jean-Baptiste La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Antoine Lancelot, Camille Falconet and the comte de Caylus, among others.[9]

Of the scholars affiliated with the eighteenth-century Académie des Inscriptions, Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781) has been generally singled out and hailed as the most important medievalist, if not the actual founder of modern medieval studies, well before the more well-known nineteenth-century French medieval philologists. His articles, books and manuscripts run to over a hundred volumes, and in many cases laid the foundations for encyclopaedic works that reached completion only in the nineteenth century. Sainte-Palaye's most influential publication – and one of the few to actually appear in print during his lifetime – was however a series of *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* that started to appear in 1746, and became one of the primary sources on medieval chivalry consulted by the early romantics, from Herder in Germany – who admitted that the chapter 'Rittergeist in Europa' in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-1791) was entirely based on Sainte-Palaye[10] – to Chateaubriand and Charles Nodier in France, and Walter Scott in the English-speaking world.[11] Thus, Sainte-Palaye is often placed teleologically at the beginning of an evolution that, passing through the later academicians François-Juste-Marie Raynouard – who joined the Académie a half-century later – and Paulin Paris – who succeeded Raynouard in 1837 –, culminated in Gaston Paris's election to the Académie in 1876, where he became the first of a new generation of medievalists whose primary affiliation was now not to a royal institution, but to a modern university.[12]

But the traditional emphasis on Sainte-Palaye, that itself builds on the example set by Lionel Gossman in his seminal *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye* (1968), may actually obscure, rather than clarify, the development of medieval studies in France. For this development took place within a larger configuration of power relations, in which Sainte-Palaye's particular approach can be considered a strategy to distinguish himself from other, seemingly more amateuristic traditions of engagement with the Middle Ages. Rather than being the first of his kind, Sainte-Palaye drew

on the work of other scholars, whose contribution to medieval studies has not always been fully appreciated. I would therefore propose here, following some recent, critical reevaluations of the role Sainte-Palaye played in constructing – and sometimes, closing off – the field of medieval studies,[13] that perhaps present-day academics have made too much of him. Modern-day scholars may indeed be overly attracted to Sainte-Palaye because he reminds us so much of ourselves. Like us, modern academics, he regularly delivered his papers – work in progress – before his colleagues at the Académie des Inscriptions. Like us, he published his findings in the major peer-reviewed journal of his day. The rate of his publications, while it would not perhaps earn him tenure at a modern-day research university, was certainly much more impressive than that of his more complaisant colleagues at the Académie. And his impact factor, if I may be permitted the anachronism, was amazing: who of us today could ever hope to be cited, as Sainte-Palaye was, not only by every major medievalist that succeeded him in the following century, but also by the likes of Chateaubriand and Walter Scott? In short, Sainte-Palaye represents a model of academicism that is still, largely, our own, and that – for reasons I will elucidate below – corresponds to a specifically modern, bourgeois conception of the professional scholar.

Sainte-Palaye and the comte de Caylus

If Sainte-Palaye's conception of scholarship was essentially a bourgeois one, it was so particularly in relation to other, older models that drew instead on long-standing aristocratic traditions. One of the most obvious aristocratic counterparts to Sainte-Palaye's bourgeois academicism was furnished by his colleague at the Académie des Inscriptions the comte de Caylus (1692-1765), who formally entered the academicians' ranks in 1742, eighteen years after Sainte-Palaye's own election. They were, age-wise, near contemporaries, with Caylus merely five years older than Sainte-Palaye. Caylus's earlier death, however, meant that he did not, like Sainte-Palaye, live to witness the revival in popular interest in the Middle Ages that took hold of France in the 1760s, partly influenced by developments elsewhere in Europe, including the Ossianic vogue recently launched on the British isles by James McPherson. Sainte-Palaye's longevity – he died only in 1781 – may go a long way in explaining why his particular kind of scholarship finally triumphed in the academic field. Just as literary sociologists have established the importance of recognized 'heirs' in safekeeping literary legacies and in contributing towards the posthumous canonization of specific authors, so too scholars who, like Sainte-Palaye, were in a position to designate their own successors may have been more likely to see their methods and approaches adopted by others.

Although at the Académie des Inscriptions in the 1740s, Sainte-Palaye and the comte de Caylus were on friendly terms with one another, their roles in the academy differed in several respects. In some instances, their works appeared to complement each other. Thus Sainte-Palaye collected the extant manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut's lyric works, while Caylus analyzed them in two 'Mémoires' he read at the academy in 1747. Both authors repeatedly alluded to the same manuscripts or texts, including among others Eustache Deschamps's late medieval poetry and the known corpus of French *fabliaux*. Yet there were also differences. After briefly dabbling in classical studies, Sainte-Palaye devoted his scholarly life entirely to the Middle Ages, producing literally thousands of pages, both published and unpublished, on the subject. Excepting a single excursion into the domain of independent, *mondain* literary creation,[14] he tenaciously stuck to his own self-conscious self-fashioning as scholar rather than literary author. Like Gaston Paris a century later, and incidentally demonstrating how the seemingly innovative elements of nineteenth-century academic medievalism often repeated the critical stances adopted a century earlier, '[his] philological programme explicitly took the opposite track of the rhetorical, *belle-lettriste* tradition of his day, and thus focused less on the aesthetic aspect than on the historical and social side of the texts he studied'.[15]

Caylus, by contrast, although he presented some fifty papers at the Académie, addressed medieval topics there on only six occasions, and in a few additional, separate publications. In his own day, Caylus was known primarily as a great collector of art and antiquities, patron of contemporary artists, and occasional artist himself. References to painting, and the language of plastic representation and colour, permeated his writings. As a scholar, his major work was a seven-volume *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* (1752-1767) whose importance for the development of modern archaeology is only now beginning to be recognized.[16] He contributed to the field of archaeology not only through his own work, but also by first having Winckelmann's works translated into French. Finally, Caylus was also the author of dozens of mostly anonymous comedies, novels, fairy tales and other short works of fiction. In other words, while medieval studies were central to Sainte-Palaye's scholarly identity, they constituted only a small part of Caylus's enormous literary and scholarly output. While Sainte-Palaye offered an example of academic specialization familiar to us today, Caylus was a late representative of another category of multitalented, polyvalent connoisseurs. In short, to Sainte-Palaye's ideal of analytical separation and specialization of academic disciplines, Caylus opposed a view of the basic unity of the arts and scholarship.

More importantly, there were also significant class differences between the two men. Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestels de Lévi, comte

de Caylus, as the multiple particles indicate, was a member of one of France's great aristocratic families, whose lineage went back at least to the thirteenth century. This made the study of medieval antiquity, as for many other aristocratic ancien régime historians – most notably, his sometime associate Montesquieu, another member of the ancient *noblesse d'épée* – part of his own genealogical consciousness. Long-standing aristocratic practices conceived continuities between the medieval and the (early) modern, at the most basic level, in family, personal terms. Aristocratic members of the *noblesse d'épée* experienced the Middle Ages as a defining element of their own genealogical identity, for belonging to the ancient nobility – as opposed to the more recent *noblesse de robe*, whose ranks were rapidly growing with the expansion of the royal state apparatus – rested on family histories that went back to a medieval, chivalrous past. Called upon to back up their claims to nobility with written proofs, members of the old aristocracy developed a heightened interest in medieval charters, genealogies and chivalric orders. This was in turn complemented and made possible by Mabillon's recent, groundbreaking work in diplomatics, as well as new questions arising in scholarly circles surrounding (biblical) chronology. Thus, there was a well-established tradition of aristocratic engagement with the medieval past that helped shape Caylus's attitudes and scholarship on this period.

Sainte-Palaye's family, by contrast, had only recently risen from bourgeoisie to aristocracy, acquiring royal offices in the judiciary and thereby entering the ranks of the *noblesse de robe*. The Académie des Inscriptions, as Gossman has pointed out, was 'the special stronghold of the robe',[17] which may help to explain why Sainte-Palaye joined its ranks already in 1724, but Caylus did so only in 1742. Some sense of the class identities involved can be gained from the way one of Sainte-Palaye's opponents described him to another candidate, during his candidacy for a seat at the Académie Française, as 'someone who has neither your rank in society, nor your merit in letters'.[18] The class of jurist *robins*, of course, also had its own history of interest in the medieval past. Starting with humanist historians such as Jean Bodin, Etienne Pasquier and Claude Fauchet in the sixteenth century, French jurists had established a solid tradition of studying medieval antiquity in order to trace the origins of French laws. This was then primarily a scholarly, rather than familial interest. Attention to the medieval past early on took the form, for the *robin* scholars, of a patriotic, royalist commitment, rather than a class-based, potentially even anti-monarchical one. The class differences between Caylus and Sainte-Palaye in turn underlay different ideological positionings. In the aftermath of the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, Sainte-Palaye aligned himself with the forward-looking Moderns and their successors the *philosophes*, while Caylus remained a self-proclaimed Ancient. While in a patriotic perspective, Sainte-Palaye argued that medieval manners were 'as worthy of study, es-

pecially for a Frenchman, as those of the Greeks, being even superior on some counts, to the heroic times sung by Homer',[19] for Caylus classical Antiquity remained always his primary reference-point.

Finally, while Sainte-Palaye proudly wore the label of scholar-historian, Caylus fashioned himself an aristocratic dilettante, a *collectionneur* or amateur antiquary rather than a serious scholar, even going so far as to explicitly satirize scholarship in several publications. Thus, with his friends at the dinners of the so-called Bout du banc salon – that included among others Montesquieu – Caylus founded several mock academies, including an 'Académie de ces Dames et de ces Messieurs', that produced a series of facetious texts parodying the likes of the Académie des Inscriptions' *Mémoires*. This attitude could be seen as a byproduct of what another aristocratic historian, the comte de Boulainvilliers, described as the characteristic aristocratic 'pride in ignorance, to the point of feeling degraded by study'.[20] Distrust of academicism, in turn, went hand in hand with distrust of the party of the philosophes, who actively sought to take over the official institutions capable of conferring on them a new status as professionals. Diderot and Grimm denigrated Caylus's works in their highly influential *Correspondance littéraire*, and Caylus retorted by privately and publicly expressing his dislike of the Encyclopedists, whose reformist agenda he considered a new form of political sectarianism. This hostility was in essence a class one: Caylus the great aristocrat, as representative of an independent, *belle-lettriste* conception of erudition, was anathema to the philosophes' ideal of the institutionalized, bourgeois professional.

Defining the object of study

Sainte-Palaye's and Caylus's differing class allegiances also had implications for the way in which they regarded their chosen object of study, medieval texts. Because of his ties with the *robin* tradition of legal history, Sainte-Palaye considered the study of medieval texts not as an end in itself, but as a tool in recovering the ancient customs of the French. Medieval philology had a very practical use in bolstering the legitimacy of the monarchical state, to which the class of *robins* owed their existence. In this historiographic perspective, medieval studies were justified by their usefulness in uncovering the origins of the territorial entities of which present-day France was made up, the origins of its laws, and the ethnic origins – Gallic or Frankish – of the French people and monarchy. Because Sainte-Palaye studied literary texts as historical documents, he had little interest in their aesthetic qualities. Rather, he lingered on the supposed obscurity of the medieval period, labelled a period of inaccessible darkness, only to underscore by

contrast his own merit in shining the light of scientific reason on these hidden recesses. By thus referencing the foundational rhetorics of the Enlightenment, Sainte-Palaye was making a conscious statement. Like Diderot, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, Sainte-Palaye adopted the Modern, progressivist view of history reflected in the metaphor of present-day light contrasted to medieval darkness.[21]

Unsurprisingly, when Sainte-Palaye did consider medieval texts' aesthetic qualities, he was quick to condemn them. According to him, medieval texts were characterized by an excessive love of ornamentation, lack of order and a propensity to prefer decorative frills to truly significant elements, the contingent to the essential. While according to prevalent standards of literary idealism, which themselves drew on the Cartesian ideal of disembodied, abstract knowledge, good works of literature were supposed to carry universal meanings, Sainte-Palaye noted with special disdain the tendency of medieval authors to linger on descriptions of particulars. In a paper on Froissart that he delivered at the Académie des Inscriptions in 1738, he elaborated this point by establishing a parallel between medieval literature and painting. Significantly of course, painting was one of the art forms with which his fellow academician Caylus was most often associated:

> Painters emerging from the greatest barbarism, seized in detail all the little objects with which nature presented them, attached themselves to the insects, flowers, birds, decorated them with the most vivid colours, drew them with an exactitude that we admire still in the vignettes and miniatures of medieval manuscripts ...
>
> The poets, as sterile as the painters, speak only of a fine springtime, of the green in the countryside, of the tint of the meadows, the feathers of a thousand different types of birds ... they cannot imagine anything beyond this, incapable for the rest of giving any order or connection to their ideas.[22]

The decorative, picturesque detail as such had no value for Sainte-Palaye, because it was of no interest in recording or reconstructing historical events. In his bourgeois valorization of his own work and the painstaking labour of scholarship, usefulness prevailed, a stance that contrasted markedly with the traditional aristocratic aesthetics of *négligence*, of non-utilitarian style as an end in itself. Sainte-Palaye repeatedly stressed the sheer tedium of his own scholarly activities, in a stance that was reminiscent of the philosophes' bourgeois rehabilitation of manual labour above mere aristocratic frivolity. Sainte-Palaye described himself, the prototypical scholar, in the traditional pose of Saint Jerome, bent over his manuscripts in his solitary cell:

> People will surely be astonished at the time I employed to read such a work in which, in close to four thousand verses, not even two can be found that are tolerable. I was the first to be astonished, but the continuous hope of discovering some particularity concerning an author that, as an historian of France, I wanted to read, made me pass over all the disgust, and sustained me to the end in an endeavour capable of repelling the most patient reader … One can offer no more useful service to men of lettres (*gens de lettres*) than to free them from the necessity of undertaking an infinity of readings, from which scrupulous authors feel they cannot exempt themselves, and from which they often draw no other advantage than to realize their entire uselessness. By doing so, one would save a lot of good minds not only a lot of tedium (*ennui*), but also much time that they could employ more agreeably and more usefully, and whose fruit would then spread to all literature.[23]

In thus emphasizing his own painstaking work, Sainte-Palaye was doing more than merely describing his daily activities. He was defining scholarship itself as a process of more or less hard, at times even unpleasant labour, and placing it within the framework of a broader work ethic that was increasingly associated, in the eighteenth century, with a specific social group: the bourgeoisie and associated professional groups, including royal bureaucrats and state-funded academicians such as himself.

From details to a materialist approach

Caylus's stance as an academician appeared, at least at first sight, to be similar to Sainte-Palaye's. Thus he explicitly concurred with his opinion that 'the way to give some value and attract some consideration to our old poets, is in my opinion, to collect all the historical facts their works contain'.[24] Like Sainte-Palaye and his fellow academicians, he claimed to value medieval texts for their historical rather than artistic value. His stated aesthetic ideals also appeared similar, for on the whole, he condemned medieval texts as being unworthy of serious aesthetic consideration.

Yet, despite these apparently conventional views, in Caylus's writings on medieval authors there was room for exceptions, and for another discourse that, on the contrary, valued at least some medieval texts on their own aesthetic terms. This was the case, especially, for the *fabliau*, a short narrative genre that Caylus unabashedly enjoyed and defended in a 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux', read in July 1746 before his fellow academicians. This text is exceptional within the larger corpus of academicians' writings, and indeed within the history of medieval philology

more generally. While at the beginning of the paper, Caylus emitted the standard rejection of decorative detail, this position evolved as his argument progressed. Later in the *mémoire*, he wrote that 'portraits and images are the most essential parts of poetry and make it the sister of painting'.[25] Because *fabliaux* excelled in such portraits and images, i.e. because they possessed painterly qualities, they became for him the ultimate measure of all medieval poetry. Delivered six years after Sainte-Palaye's unfavourable comparison of medieval paintings and poetry, Caylus's paper seems to offer a critical riposte to his colleague's more conventional view. What was at issue was, in fact, an opposition between an analytic approach, that valued the separation of art forms, and a more holistic, synthetic ideal in which art forms could mutually influence one another.

Caylus's unusual, non-scholarly appreciation of detail betrayed a deeper affinity that can be linked to his own practice both as an author and collector of antiquities. As a collector, he preferred the utilitarian or everyday to the great works of art. In his literary writings, likewise, he paid remarkable attention to the specific and to the material. Caylus helped shape a new literary genre, that of *poissard* (literally: fishmongers') literature, whose defining characteristic was its use of characters and language drawn from the urban lower classes – i.e. a focus on detail and local colour that was exceptional within the context of early eighteenth-century neo-classicism. Where Sainte-Palaye had categorically condemned the nature descriptions in medieval poetry, Caylus homed in on precisely these elements, but assigned to them a new aesthetic value. Describing a codex containing primarily *fabliaux*, he alluded too to the rest of its contents:

> In the romances (*romans*) in this codex there are paintings of springtime, and other interruptions so agreeable that they can be compared with everything that is best of this sort. I think I have reported enough examples to prove what natural spirit and taste can achieve without the aid of artifice. What surprises me, I admit, is that with such models, our poetry and our understanding should have reverted again to barbarism ...
>
> ... I have shown how in that time ideas were regulated, language was finished, and in short simplicity and naiveté, which will always be the basis of true taste, and from which writers depart too much today, were well known.[26]

This passage is doubly illuminating. Not only did it offer a reply to Sainte-Palaye's earlier, negative assessment of medieval nature descriptions, but it also offered a re-evaluation of medieval literature, prized now for its painterly qualities. The crucial terms, here, were 'simplicity and naiveté', both characteristics that had already been ascribed to the medieval era by previous authors. But whereas

Sainte-Palaye used the *topos* of medieval naiveté in a neutral fashion, Caylus gave it a distinctly aesthetic – and ethical – dimension. The naïveté of the Middle Ages, indeed, rendered medieval literature closer to nature than modern literary works, making the medievals morally superior to the moderns. It was related to another view that was emerging during these same decades, in the aftermath of the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, and that increasingly valued 'primitive', Homeric epic above its more refined Latin counterparts.[27] This re-evaluation laid the aesthetic groundwork for the rediscovery of medieval literature, too, and its recreation through the works of, among others, James McPherson's Ossian.[28] The contrast Caylus established between present-day literary corruption and medieval simplicity thus implied, also, a characteristically aristocratic, Ancient take on history. History did not, as in the bourgeois valorization of (technological) progress, move forward, making the present invariably superior to the past, but rather, it moved cyclically, with periods of decay following periods of achievement. Caylus drew on the crucial notion, in Ancient aesthetic sensibility, of a past Golden Age, which the *noblesse d'épée* equated with the medieval because therein lay the source of their own class identity. Paradoxically thus, while the progressivism of the Moderns and the bourgeois ideals of the philosophes could have enabled an historicist attitude conducive to medieval studies, in Caylus's case his Ancient stance made possible an aesthetic appreciation of at least some medieval literary productions.

Caylus's non-scholarly, literary works, finally, suggested also a personal engagement with the medieval that differed markedly from Sainte-Palaye's stance of scholarly detachment. Moving beyond his theoretical 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux', Caylus published a modern edition of one of the manuscript *fabliaux* he had studied in the Bibliothèque du Roy, the twelfth-century 'Cor mantel', and then further authored several original *fabliaux*, short tales and fairy tales of his own. Like their medieval models, many of these literary texts played up their oral rather than literate status. Emanating from salon games, their authorship in many cases was diffuse and collective, inscribing them in a larger context of social performance. But Caylus's most important literary work was arguably his modern adaptation of the fifteenth-century Catalan chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanch*, which he based on one of the few extant copies of its later, Spanish translation. In fact, despite or actually because of the great liberties he took with the text, his adaptation worked strikingly well as an elegant example of an eighteenth-century medievalist novel, and was appreciated as such by the likes of Rousseau, Catherine the Great and Walter Scott. Caylus's *Tiran le Blanc*, as he called his own version, offered a picture of the institution of medieval chivalry, told from the perspective of the eponymous protagonist, that appealed to many readers. Yet at the same time, the scholarly value of this adaptation should not be underrated. For over a century,

this was the only version of *Tirant lo Blanch* available to the reading public. When the first Spanish philologists started to study the text in the nineteenth century, it was to Caylus's version that they turned, at least until the Catalan original was reedited in 1873.[29]

Through his literary works, Caylus the aristocratic *homme de lettres* thus positioned himself within a longer tradition of creative authors and adapters, rather than scholars, that went all the way back to the Middle Ages themselves. Within the context of aristocratic identity politics, the medieval was not a closed-off realm in history, but the source of traditions and texts that were continually being recreated. Rejecting the model of the single 'authentic', fixed (and dead) text, his own practice foregrounded textual *mouvance*, making of medieval literature through his own successful adaptations a still-living organism. Emphasizing this hermeneutic fusion of horizons, in the 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux' Caylus argued that modern authors such as Rabelais and La Fontaine had also drawn on medieval sources when composing their own works. There was, in other words, an unbroken line uniting the medieval past with the post-Renaissance present. Just as importantly, this continuity could also be inscribed into an Ancient genealogy, for according to Caylus the line extended all the way back to classical Antiquity, too. As Caylus wrote in his paper 'Sur la féerie des Anciens', 'from the ancient Greek authors to our first romances, a chain extends that is more or less taut, but that was never broken, and the ideas of the former, albeit altered and bastardized, still reached the latter.'[30] Not only because of the intrinsic value of the medieval for aristocratic scholar-authors, but also because of their nearness to the Ancients, medieval literary productions were, in some cases, aesthetically and morally superior to modern ones. In short, Caylus's medievalism was defined not by a sense of a break with the past but by a sense of continuity, not by objective distance but personal proximity to his object of study.

Scholarly detachment versus engagement

Contesting the personal, aristocratic engagement with the medieval exemplified by Caylus, Sainte-Palaye sought to define instead a new, autonomous role for the medievalist scholar. His most effective instrument in this effort was, paradoxically, his very refusal to acknowledge any aesthetic merits in medieval literature, for this refusal demonstrated his own critical detachment. In November 1746, four months after Caylus's 'Mémoire sur les fabliaux', Sainte Palaye started reading his own *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* at the Académie, implicitly responding through them to his aristocratic colleague's previous publications. Whereas Caylus's *Tiran le Blanc* had offered readers a novelistic account of the institu-

tion of chivalry, described from within, and emanating from the pen of an author whose own chivalric antecedents were indisputable, Sainte-Palaye instead offered a scholarly treatise. In the final 'Mémoire' especially, Sainte-Palaye broke radically with the idealized image of the Middle Ages that Caylus had suggested. Medieval chivalry was an institution that, despite its noble intentions, was according to him fatally corrupt. Questioning the view of medieval morality as superior to present-day decadence, Sainte-Palaye accused medieval men instead of being sexually dissolute, superstitious religious fanatics. By openly criticizing the idea of *noblesse*, that projected moral qualities both onto medieval knights and onto the present-day aristocrats who were their direct descendants, Sainte-Palaye revealed his own *robin* position, and the increasing acceptance of bourgeois ideals of merit through labour rather than through birth. 'Never,' he concluded, 'were morals more corrupt than in the time of the knights, and never was debauchery more universal'.[31] In a significant note, his rejection of the medieval also took aim specifically at the genre of the *fabliaux*, which Caylus had previously sought to rehabilitate:

> If we judge the morals of a century by the writings it has left us, we would be right to think that our ancestors poorly observed the laws that decency and honesty prescribed. The most indecent modern-day poets have not surpassed our old French ones; I wouldn't dare to believe that the courts of the noblemen, for whom tales and fables had so many charms, could have listened with patience to *some of our fabliaux*. Few people would be able to stand reading them today, if it were not for their extreme desire to find in them some instructive details pertaining to our history and our antiquities. … After that, let anyone dare to praise these centuries of ignorance and barbarism! (my emphasis, ACM)[32]

It was clear, therefore, that Sainte-Palaye was responding specifically to Caylus's more positive, characteristically aristocratic stance towardss the medieval. To his previous rejection of the aesthetic qualities of medieval texts, Sainte-Palaye now added a resounding rejection of their ethical qualities. The stance of Cartesian critical disembodiment and the refusal of personal engagement with his object of study was crucial to Sainte-Palaye's bourgeois, scholarly self-fashioning because he viewed his work as a tireless labour to unearth 'the constant and impartial truth that is sought in the study of history'.[33] This stance suggests why he saved his most trenchant condemnation of the idealized Middle Ages for the notes of his *Mémoires sur la chevalerie* – which are, in fact, considerably longer than the main text. The notes, because they remained on the margins of his main text, assumed like Sainte-Palaye himself a critical distance that guaranteed proper objectivity.[34] Rather than personally engaging with the medieval, as Caylus had done,

Sainte Palaye showcased his distance from his object of study, proposing thereby a new, 'objective' approach to medieval texts.

Yet ironically, given the ultimate triumph of the philosophes' version of eighteenth-century history, chronologically it was Caylus who had the last word. In 1752, he had begun publishing his magnum opus, the *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et grecques*. This work was groundbreaking in that it favoured an archaeological approach to the past, whereby material objects, properly contextualized, took precedence over literary evidence. Once again, Caylus's attention to detail and to the material aspects of culture opposed him to the explicitly moralistic conception of historiography that, supported by the philosophes' concept of 'philosophical history' (*histoire philosophique*), dominated scholarship at the Académie des Inscriptions. Steadily enlarging his field of study, when he arrived at volume 3, Caylus made the crucial decision to include also Gallic antiquities in his field of study. As if taking stock of the importance of this decision, he reformulated his own principles as an antiquarian in the preface to the new volume, writing that antiquarians should also familiarize themselves with the material practice of the arts they studied:

> One cannot expect of an Antiquarian, that he wield the pencil with elegance, nor that he compose like an Artist; these talents would be useless to him; I ask only that he be experienced enough in this genre, to have acquired the precision of eye, and the ability to embrace an object sufficiently to seize its perfections, or its defects ... the basis and the foundation of everything that is called *Connoisseurship* [is] established on that which we know in painting as *Manner (Manière)*.[35]

It is noteworthy that Caylus explicitly lays claim to the status of antiquarian, as opposed to the more prestigious label 'historian'. Rather than attempting to distill general moral or political lessons from his scholarly activities, i.e. to make them socially useful, he was content, as an aristocratic 'dilettante', to simply collect and creatively reconstruct the past. Caylus's stance as an antiquarian, more importantly, suggests also a revealing parallel with his work as literary historian. Just as, according to him, art historians should acquire the basics of draftsmanship in order to be able to evaluate *Manière* or style, so literary historians too should acquire the basics of literary composition in order to be able to properly understand works of literature from past ages. Theory and practice, in other words, were inseparable, making Caylus's own work as an author an essential part of his scholarship.

Conclusion

The example of Sainte-Palaye and Caylus illustrates the opposition in the eighteenth century between two kinds of scholarship: a modern, bourgeois one that prized Cartesian disembodiment, analytic separation of fields and social usefulness, and an older, aristocratic one that emphasized a praxis uniting aesthetic appreciation and understanding. This opposition in turn reflected a larger philosophical shift that, according to Stephen Toulmin, marked the beginning of modernity: a shift from the oral to the written, from the particular to the universal, from the local to the general, and from humanism to rationalism.[36] With the triumph of the new scholarly method, the newly constructed Middle Ages became emblematic for all objects of scholarly study, for the period was now marked by its otherness, by distance and inaccessibility, rather than by affective proximity. Buttressed by the modernist agenda of the philosophes, eighteenth-century bourgeois scholarship constructed the humanities as the site not of aesthetic pleasure or personal engagement, but of painstaking, socially useful – and ideally, state-funded – intellectual labour. Yet, in the actual practice and development of modern medieval studies, Caylus's aristocratic dilettantism and Sainte-Palaye's self-conscious academicism both made important contributions, whose productive interaction has too often been obscured by the exclusionary rhetorics of later histories if the discipline.

Notes

1 Research for this paper was made possible by a Veni-grant generously provided by the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

2 See Geoffrey Turnovsky, *The Literary Market: Authorship and Modernity in the Old Regime* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) for an overview.

3 Claudine Pouloin, 'Tensions et débats autour de l'écriture de l'histoire savante à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', in: Claudine Poulouin and Jean-Claude Arnould (eds.), *Bonnes Lettres / Belles Lettres: Actes des colloques du Centre d'études et de recherches Éditer/ Interpréter de l'Université de Rouen (26 et 27 avril 2000 – 6 et 7 février 2003)* (Paris: Champion, 2006), 323-341.

4 Some of this chapter offers a translation and reworking of material first presented in another article, 'L'Académie des Inscriptions entre érudition et imaginaire littéraire, ou de la construction d'un discours savant sur le Moyen Age', in: Michèle Guéret-Laferté and Claudine Poulouin (eds.), *Accès aux textes médiévaux de la fin du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2012), 333-354.

5 After this date, the percentage increased even further. The prevalence of medieval subjects before 1751 is remarkable, given the common assumption that interest in the medieval was virtually nonexistent in the first half of the eighteenth century.

6 'Préface', in: *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1717), no pagination. Further references to the papers published

in the *Mémoires* use the abbreviation *MAI*, followed by the year of the paper's reading in brackets.

7 Mette B. Bruun, 'Jean Mabillon's Middle Ages: On Medievalism, Textual Criticism, and Monastic Ideals', in: Alicia C. Montoya, Sophie van Romburgh and Wim van Anrooij (eds.), *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 427-444. On evolving uses of the term *moyen âge*, see Jürgen Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs* (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1972).

8 On this development, see chapter 3 of my book *Medievalist Enlightenment: From Jean Chapelain to Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer), forthcoming in 2013.

9 On medievalist scholarship in the eighteenth-century Académie des Inscriptions, the fullest overview is still Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1968). Substantially shorter, but also useful, is Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs*, 232-252.

10 Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies*, 331-332.

11 Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies*, 291-295.

12 Studies that assign this role of precursor to Sainte-Palaye include R. Howard Bloch and Stephen G. Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1996) and Simone Bernard-Griffiths, Pierre Glaudes and Betrand Vibert (eds.), *La Fabrique du moyen âge au XIXe siècle: Représentations du moyen âge dans la culture et la littérature françaises du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2006).

13 Peter Damian-Grint, 'From *Trésor de Recherches* to *Vocabulaire Austrasien*: Old French Dictionaries in France, 1655-1777', in: *Medievalism and* Manière Gothique *in Enlightenment France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006), 99-123.

14 I.e. his version of the medieval 'chantefable' *Aucassin et Nicolette*, first published in 1752.

15 Ursula Bähler, '"Chansons de geste" et "romans courtois" ou le spectre de Gaston Paris', in: Isabelle Diu, Elisabeth Parinet and Françoise Vieilliard (eds.), *Mémoire des chevaliers. Edition, diffusion et réception des romans de chevalerie du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Ecole des chartes, 2007), 99-100.

16 Witness the 2010 exhibition at the Louvre dedicated to eighteenth-century antiquarianism, and Marc Fumaroli's recent publications on Caylus. For a brief introduction, see Irène Aghion (ed.), *Caylus, mécène du roi: Collectionner les antiquités au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2002). For a list of Caylus's publications, see Kris Peeters, 'Bibliographie critique du comte de Caylus', in: Nicholas Cronk and Kris Peeters (eds.), *Le comte de Caylus: Les arts et les lettres* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 277-363.

17 Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies*, 148.

18 Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies*, 103.

19 Introduction to Sainte-Palaye, 'Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie', *MAI* XX, 595.

20 Comte de Boulainvilliers, *Histoire des Anciens Parlements de France* (London: Jean Brindley, 1737), 3.

21 Montoya, 'Medievalism and Enlightenment, 1647-1750: Jean Chapelain to Jean-Jacques Rousseau', *The Romanic Review* 100.4 (2009), 494-512.

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28 Peter Raedts, personal communication.
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Ancients, Moderns and the Gothic in Eighteenth-Century Historiography

Neus Rotger

In his *Querelles littéraires* (1761), the abbé Augustin-Simon Irailh puts forward a two-volume history of European poetics through the ordering and description of the main literary polemics from Homer to his day. The essay, bearing the secondary title of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des révolutions de la République des Lettres*, is presented in the preface as a collection of 'secret' records of literary history, a humorous *Théatre de la vérité* in which cultural history appears dramatized through the most conspicuous moments of crisis and disturbance. Focusing on cultural change (the 'revolutions' of the Commonwealth of Letters), Irailh gives priority to the inner workings of intellectual history and thus considers literary quarrels as a genre especially suited to reveal the particular insights and motives of literary transformation: 'Amongst all these disputes, held by one side and the other with so much heat, through this chaos of insults and abuse, among these continual revolutions, the reader can follow the thread of our learning, the progress of taste, the march of the human spirit'.[1]

Irailh understands the exercise of quarrelling over literary matters as the product of illness, violence and hate. He labels it as 'cette espèce de maladie' in which sometimes the merits of the discussion get lost amid the turbulence of personal insult. 'Les passions aveuglent', and the participants in a quarrel do not always act in good faith (Irailh compares them to beasts fighting in a circus). However, despite or because of their brutal nature, these particular literary revolutions appear to be a thorough manner to get to the bottom of things, if not to fully uncover the truth. Spurred on by this conviction, and also by the amusing sight that this erudite show offers, Irailh selects those quarrels most worthy of attention, either for the interest of their subject matter or for the outrageous claims of their contestants. The commentary of the different quarrels serves Irailh to put together a historical narrative that advances teleologically (and often spuriously) from the quarrel between Homer and the forger Thestorides to the account of the disputes surrounding the *Encyclopédie*.

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The kind of history outlined by Irailh is on the one hand reminiscent of the Renaissance cyclical theory of history, namely the belief in periodic moments of destruction. On the other, it presents a typically modern faith in perfectibility, whereby literary history evolves through an agonistic succession of battles or single combats towards a constant and progressive conquest of truth. The quarrel that will take centre stage in our discussion, that between the Ancients and the Moderns, is accordingly assessed not as a singular and isolated phenomenon but as one of the many violent revolutions shaping and furthering literary and cultural progress. The war metaphor employed by Irailh to describe and classify the object of study cannot be more significant in this respect: 'One can compare *particular Quarrels* to single combats; *general Quarrels* to wars between nations; *Quarrels of different corps* to those battles one fights party against party'.[2] The *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* (known as the *Battle of the Books* in his English phase) belongs to the general quarrels of Irailh's outline: that is, to the type of wars confronting nation to nation, and being fought in our case amid the nations of the European Republic of Letters ('All writers in Europe set themselves up as judges: each nation had its party leader') [Fig. 17].[3]

It is relevant to note the European scope that the author bestows on the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, for tradition had stressed the centrality of Paris as the primary, if not the exclusive, scenario for the dispute. But more important to our argument is the conclusiveness granted to the Quarrel by Irailh, because it compromises the continuity of the debate into the eighteenth century. Far from emphasizing the philosophical dimension of the *Querelle* and its consequences in seventeenth-century literature and later, Irailh locates the Quarrel firmly in the past, with barely any consequences for the present. In a few pages, the conclusion of a contest that had dictated the terms of humanistic education and scholarship for more than two generations is rapidly dispatched with the staging of two fundamental conciliatory gestures. The first one, evoked to signal the end of what began in Paris in 1687, is the public embrace between Boileau and Perrault performed in the middle of the Académie Française in 1694. A move that would put an end to the prolonged enmity between the two leaders of the Ancients and the Moderns and that found poetic confirmation some years later in Boileau's celebratory epigram about the restoration of peace.[4] The second conciliatory move towards the end of the Quarrel came through Jean-Baptiste de Valincourt. In 1716, this French admiral and man of letters held a supper party for Anne Dacier and Antoine Houdar de La Motte, members of the Academy and chief adversaries in the so-called *deuxième Querelle* or *Querelle d'Homère*. He made them raise their glasses and toast to the end of the dispute that had concerned first France, then all of Europe for at least thirty years. An embrace and a toast, used here, by Irailh, as symbols of the end of a war in which both sides appeared equally as vic-

Fig. 17: A fragment from an engraving of Jonathan Swift's 1705 edition of *The Battle of the Books*

tors. So much so that forty-five years later our French historian could summarize the Quarrel as having ended in a state of total conciliation: 'today everything is reduced to its true point of view': 'the unanimous suffrage of all nations has celebrated the writers of the age of Louis XIV, as well as the great men of the age of Alexander and that of Augustus'.[5]

This final compromise between the Ancients and the Moderns, known in eighteenth-century historiography as the 'solution of 1717', was a reconciliation based on historically relativistic premises. For, if the key question of the Quarrel was the extent to which new genres – like sonnets, *novellas* or *romanzi* – had to be governed by old rules (Aristotelian or Horatian ones), and whether the quality of contemporary literature could match, or even surpass, that of the great literary monuments of antiquity, what was claimed in 1717 as a solution was that the merits and authority of ancient and modern literature had to be evaluated according to the taste and principles of their age. This relativistic approach to the past and present of literature provided a new critical perspective to the Quarrel. Now, far from *solving* it, this nascent historicism posed even more urgent questions that inspired a significant transformation of the Quarrel throughout the eighteenth century. In what follows, I shall try to assess some of these questions, like those concerning the role of history as a method for the study of literature, the implications of the new category of the Gothic in the revaluation of the Quarrel, and the ways in which this third element came to complicate the symbiotic pairing of Ancients and Moderns.

Eighteenth-century transformations of the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns

It is worth thinking about eighteenth-century claims on the non-problematic ending of the Quarrel soon being undermined by contemporary voices. Historians and critics of the second half of the eighteenth century, although traditionally perceived only as epilogues to the debate, in fact demonstrate that the distinction and comparison between the Ancients and the Moderns continued to be a matter of concern. The very same year that Irailh's history appeared, Edward Gibbon's first publication, the *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature*, was issued in French. The dedicatory, in English, was addressed 'to that truly paternal care which, from the first dawnings of my reason, has always watched over my education'[6], and one may be prompted to think that it was precisely this filial compromise with the integrity of learning what impelled Gibbon to reflect on the actual state and use of the study of literature, becoming thus actively involved in the controversy between Ancients and Moderns. Clearly siding with the Ancients,

the young historian bitterly identified the decline of contemporary literature as a direct consequence of the Moderns' ascendancy in the Quarrel: 'it was in the famous dispute, concerning the Ancients and the Moderns, that Letters received the mortal blow. Never sure was carried on so unequal a combat!'.[7] Gibbon felt that the present abandonment of classical scholarship in favour of natural science was the worst and most enduring effect of the old dispute between Ancients and Moderns. Claims for amendment would not cease to be heard, with differences in method and purpose, throughout Gibbon's work and, in effect, throughout the century.

From the Moderns side, but arguing for the same endurance of the Quarrel, Voltaire treated the history of the confrontation in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1770). Under the title of 'Anciens et Modernes', Voltaire begins his reflection with the claim that the battle is far from being over, let alone being resolved: 'The great trial between the Ancients and the Moderns is not yet cancelled; it has been on the table since the Silver Age, which succeeded the Golden Age'. Noting, as Irailh did before him, that the defence of antiquity was in itself very old ('Men have always claimed that the good old days were much better than the present time'),[8] Voltaire questions the premises of the Quarrel itself: he refutes the traditional argument for the superiority of the Ancients based on nature's purported continuous and relentless process of degeneration. To this author, what really matters is not the Ancients' or Moderns' natural disposition for achieving excellence. What need to be established are their actual accomplishments, and their value and authority as models for modern times as well.

Outside the French context, Johann Gottfried von Herder offers another example of the Quarrel's enduring presence in eighteenth-century historiography. The dispute between Ancients and Moderns was Herder's lifelong preoccupation too. He insistently wrote about the impossibility of ending a debate that was misconceived from the beginning: 'Known is the futile quarrel which raged for half a century in France, England and Germany, especially, however, in the first of these, over the preferences of the Ancients over the Moderns. Although much was said by both parties which was good, the quarrel nevertheless could not come to an end because it had been started without a clear perspective of the question, and because almost always it was vanity that carried the day'.[9] Herder rebuked the greatest part of the critics on both sides of the Quarrel who misjudged the genius and models of the past on the basis of an abstract and ahistorical position of the Ancients' superiority. In Herder's view, history consists in a process of integration of the old in the new, and any attempt to compare cultural categories based on historical parallels is doomed to fail in the understanding of tradition. History *marches*. It cannot be arrested in merely static stages, each one definable in contrast to the other or related to a universal standard.

Despite these three author's different positions regarding the Quarrel, an important common feature is their criticism of the limitations in historical and philosophical scope that blind any thorough assessment of literature (ancient or modern). Gibbon, Voltaire and Herder, each from his own perspective and set of interests, pledge their commitment to history as a method to think again about the Quarrel's central question. According to Gibbon, the Moderns cannot incarnate the 'philosophical spirit' of their age without a historically well-grounded study of the literature of the past; that is, without 'the habit of becoming, by turns, a Greek, a Roman, the disciple of Zeno or of Epicurus'.[10] Just as dangerous as the blind worship of antiquity, in his view, is the historical scepticism of the Moderns, for it allows and even promotes a future of absolute ignorance concerning the classics: 'all the graces, all the delicacies of their writings escape us; and we are apt to abuse their contemporaries for want of taste, in lavishing such encomiums on those merits we are too ignorant to discover'.[11]

To Voltaire, blindness comes from the all too frequent tendency to hypostatize literature in its moment of foundation, disregarding change and transformation over time. Hence his censure of 'the weakness of men, who mistake commonly the beginning of an art, for the principles of the art itself, and are apt to believe, that every thing must be by its own nature, what it was, when contrived at first'.[12] Criticizing both ancient and modern historiography, Voltaire attacks what he sees as a direct repercussion of the Quarrel in historical writing and thought, namely an utterly uncritical attitude towards historical representation. He therefore opens the *Remarques sur l'histoire* (1742) with a lament concerning the too fabulous accounts of the Ancients on the one hand, and the weakness and inaccuracy of the Moderns, who mimetically repeat old myths and superstitions, on the other. What both Ancients and Moderns are lacking is, again, 'philosophical spirit': 'If one wants to use reason instead of memory, and examine more than transcribe, one must not multiply books and errors to infinity but write only new and truthful things'.[13] No doubt he is referring in this passage to Charles Rollin's universal work *Histoire ancienne*, which began to be published in 1730 and was to become material of instruction for generations to come, but was in Voltaire's eyes the epitome of indolent and naive historiography.

Voltaire's comments on the consequences of the Quarrel for historical writing can be extended to Herder's particular view of the underlying methodological problems raised during the confrontation of Ancients and Moderns, specifically as they are related to the philosophy of history. As we have seen, the suspicion over the uniformity of critical standards was at the core of Herder's dismissal of the battle as ridiculous and futile, but at this point it is also important to acknowledge that he never really managed to escape the arguments dictated by the Quarrel. In the fashion of Gibbon and Voltaire, Herder attempts to foster

an accurate and critical (philosophical) knowledge of history as a way to resolve the old opposition between the Ancients and the Moderns. His critique of the Quarrel is nevertheless geared towards something far removed from Voltaire's presentism and from Gibbon's classicism, for it aims not only at a fair assessment of ancient and modern history but also at the exploration of other distant times and cultures. The conciliation between both conflicting factions ultimately implies, in Herder's view, the loss of any ancient and modern historical singularity, and therefore a door opened towards the possibility of alternative perspectives on the European tradition.

The conceptual changes that affected the study of literature during the second half of the eighteenth century were guided by this process towards a greater historical consciousness. As Joseph Levine has put it, the battle of Ancients and Moderns was above any other considerations 'a quarrel about history'.[14] And this is more so if we examine the Quarrel in the context of its eighteenth-century transformations. We have seen how issues around historical representation and thought were essential in some of the most conspicuous criticisms of the unresolved debate. What I would like to discuss in the following pages is the ways in which this historical reassessment of the relationship between the Ancients and the Moderns led to the realization of the historicity of the categories themselves, thus expanding and complicating their meaning. To address this, I will turn to the notion of the Gothic, for, however ambiguous, the vindication of a Gothic tradition resumes the mid-century interest in seeking ways of interpreting and recreating literary history outside the strict terms of the Quarrel.

Towards the invention of a new *ancienneté*

The revival of a new *ancienneté*, most notably 'Gothic', was part of a larger project aimed at the redirection of historical narrative. The study of history had to provide a legitimation for a national, medieval past, that had previously been dismissed as a mere transitional age between classical antiquity and modernity, or even rejected entirely as an age of brutality and barbarism. The emergence of a historicist mode of criticism, particularly interested in and attentive to the causes of cultural change, had paved the way to challenge the invisibility to which the Quarrel had relegated the Middle Ages, typically discarded in the arguments of both sides of the contest. In eighteenth-century historiography, the term 'Gothic' maintained the dark and derogatory implications allotted to it in the Renaissance, but views on the Gothic as a style in the arts and letters, however controversial, became a current theme in literary debates, such as those relating to imitation and originality, the sublime and the problem of the canon.

As a measure of historical distance, the Gothic was broadly identified with 'the Dark Ages of Christian Europe'. So we can find it, for example, in Nathan Drake's *Literary Hours* (1798), where the beginning of the Gothic era is roughly located in the sixth century AD, when the Visigoth invaders, 'ignorant of letters, and altogether addicted to the love and exercise of arms', had nearly destroyed 'every vestige of human learning' and were leaving behind a 'degraded Europe' that was not to recover until the revival of classical culture in the Renaissance.[15] It appears from Drake's account, which many others repeated with slight variation throughout the century, that the idea of a Gothic past was very much dependent on the early humanists' distorted conceptions of the Middle Ages.[16] Interestingly enough, though, an examination of the notion of the Gothic in the conceptual framework of the Quarrel shows that, when discussed in relation to ancient and modern assumptions, its role becomes less subsidiary. Even in negative appraisals of the Gothic, like the one Joseph Addison published in the *Spectator* (11 May 1711), it is presented as a competing category, capable of rivalling with (if not superseding) the Ancients:

> Poets who want this strength of genius to give that majestick simplicity to nature, which we so much admire in the works of the Ancients, are forced to hunt after foreign ornaments, and not to let any piece of wit of what kind soever escape them. I look upon these writers as Goths in poetry, who, like those in architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful simplicity of the old Greeks and Romans, have endeavoured to supply its place with all the extravagancies of an irregular fancy.[17]

As per Addison's remarks, the Gothic stands for the failure of the Moderns in front of the Ancients in their attempt to excel in poetry. The comment is indeed disparaging, but it is one of the first pieces of criticism in which the Gothic contends on more or less equal footing with the central critical categories of the Quarrel. In previous accounts, the Gothic implied a pseudo-historical narrative of decline – decline of the Roman Empire, of classical learning and civilization, of poetry and the arts. Here, the Gothic is also the sign of decay and fall, but it not only refers to a particular period in history and the arts but also serves to criticize a noteworthy relation of the Moderns with nature and poetry. The Gothic is a modern disposition towards poetry: a desperate and unsuccessful hunt for novelty, according to Addison; an inspiring appeal to innovation and freedom, in the view of later and more positive relations of the term. Either way, it is interesting to observe how the literary discussion benefited from (and contributed to) a parallel development for a Gothic taste in the visual arts, especially architecture. The interest in 'the extravagancies of an irregular fancy' of the Goths began with

antiquarian studies focused on objects and monuments and the transfer of historical and architectural language to the aesthetic discourse started to be a common feature among the first Gothic advocates.

One of the best examples of this connection between disciplines can be found in the third of Richard Hurd's *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759), in which the reflection on Gothic poetry is directly motivated by the sight of a ruinous Gothic castle. It is in an imaginary journey to Warwick, and at the prospect of the Gothic ruins of Kenilworth Castle, that Mr Addison argues with Dr Arbuthnot (Hurd's alter ego) about the significance of the medieval past for the present age. The sight of 'so many antique towers falling into rubbish, contrasted to the various beauties of the landskape' strikes Arbuthnot with melancholic and sublime reflections, and leads him to reinforce his devotion to 'the pure love of antiquity'. Addison, on the contrary, sees the Gothic remains as the 'triumphs of time and fortune', and they inspire him with the pleasing idea of the present taking revenge on an age of tyranny and barbarism now reduced to a scene of destruction and decay.[18] The dialogue continues in front of their host, a neutral Mr Digby, who witnesses, with us, the unfolding of these two conflicting points of view. Arbuthnot and Addison develop interesting arguments for and against the Gothic, but, curiously enough, they both refer to Gothic times as 'ancient'; that is, not in opposition to antiquity but as a natural continuity of it. The Gothic, however polemical, is thus acknowledged throughout the dialogue as a manifestation of the old *ancienneté*. And Hurd's main purpose is – as Arbuthnot says to Addison at the end of their discussion: 'only to hint to you, in opposition to your invective against the memory of the old times, awakened in us by the sight of this castle, that what you object to is capable of a much fairer interpretation'.[19]

Three years after the issue of the *Dialogues*, Hurd put forward a full, 'much fairer' interpretation of the Gothic in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), 'Serving to illustrate some Passages in the Third Dialogue'. Through the twelve letters that make up the volume, Hurd fosters a revaluation of taste for the Gothic, inquiring about its origin in medieval chivalry and romance and identifying some of the possible causes of its present decadence. Tracing back the Gothic term and features to Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton, and praising the gothicism he finds in their works, Hurd intends to undermine the widespread ideas about the barbarous nature of both the Gothic age and its literary spirit. In this regard, he believes that not only can the Gothic be compared (and thus equated) to classical antiquity, with which it shares archetypes and motifs, but it can also be demonstrated, by a thorough comparison of their differences, that the Gothic is a superior, more poetical, mode of writing. A few passages of the *Letters* will suffice to show the validity of this last statement: '*Greek* antiquity', we

read in the fourth Letter, 'very much resembles the *Gothic*. For what are Homer's *Laestrigons* and *Cyclops*, but bands of lawless savages, with, each of them, a Giant of enormous size at their head? And what are the *Grecian* Bacchus and Hercules, but Knights-errant, the exact counter-parts of Sir Launcelot and Amadis de Gaule?'.[20] And, as far as the superiority of the Gothic over the Classic, Hurd concludes the final section of the sixth Letter stating that 'the fancies of our modern bards are not only more gallant, but, on a change of the scene, more sublime, more terrible, more alarming, than those of the classic fablers. In a word, you will find that the *manners* they paint, and the *superstitions* they adopt, are the more poetical for being *Gothic*'.[21]

Do note that when Hurd refers to Gothic writers he presents them as 'modern', an adjective, significantly preceded by the possessive 'our', that he sometimes alternates with that of 'romantic'. We see thereby how what was called to serve as the basis of a new and alternative *ancienneté*, came in fact to problematize the pairing categories of the Quarrel in order to include medieval and Renaissance texts in the orbit of the contemporary. Thus for instance the kind of compilations that proliferated up to the end of the century, such as Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), where old texts (in this case, a seventeenth-century manuscript containing 'select remains of our ancient English bards and minstrels') are presented, however apologetically, for contemporary inspiration and delight.[22] This new taste for the old was but a confirmation of what Hurd defended as a key element in the reassessment of the Gothic, namely, a historicist mode of criticism: 'When an architect', we read in the eighth Letter, 'examines a *Gothic* structure by *Grecian* rules, he finds nothing but deformity. But the *Gothic* architecture has its own rules, by which when it comes to be examined, it is seen to have its merit, as well as the *Grecian*. The question is not, which of the two is conducted in the simplest or truest taste: but, whether there be not sense and design in both, when scrutinized by the laws on which each is projected'.[23]

This is precisely what Hurd meant by a 'fairer interpretation': an approach that judged the Gothic by its own premises. Taste and value were now interpreted as relative to critical expectation and context, and the only way of persuading readers about the interest of the Gothic was through the confrontation of cultural and historical difference. Hurd's claims of historicism pursue the completion of the Gothic as a valid critical category, but they also stem from a certain unease regarding the present. Within the balance of the current state of things, Hurd's text betrays a profound nostalgia for what is felt to be vanishing under the pressures of modernization. We read by the end of his final Letter: 'What we have gotten by this revolution, you will say, is a great deal of good sense. What we have lost, is a world of fine fabling'.[24] In Hurd's view, what is lost is what is worth having back.

And that is indeed his assignment for the true poetical genius: to retrieve the loss, and, from the poet's own vivid and enthusiastic imagination, to bring back to the reader the world as it was.

The Gothic as a historiographical myth

The same year of Hurd's publication of the *Letters* (1762), one of the seminal works by Thomas Warton, the *Observations on the Fairie Queene*, latter to be developed in his monumental (though incomplete) *History of English Poetry* was also issued. The younger of the Warton brothers, with whom Hurd often corresponded, shared with him the same enthusiasm for Gothic literature, and a similar historicist approach to literary criticism. As in Hurd's defence of the Gothic, there is in Warton's conception a bold expansion in scope and meaning of the idea of antiquity, widened to embrace a more recent past. In his study of *The Faerie Queene*, Warton considers the Gothic in the larger context of a national poetic tradition, the history of which he seeks to recover from oblivion. Warton pursues this forgotten thread in the history of English poetry, from its origins with the British Bards to Gower and Chaucer (who 'introduced *invention* into our poetry'), and up to its decline in the seventeenth century after Spenser, depicted as 'a *romantic* Poet'. In this narrative, altogether different from any other current accounts, poetry is praised for its 'imagination', 'sublimity of description' and 'majestic imagery', and its decadence in the present is blamed at the 'correctness' of classical taste and good sense, by which 'the nicer beauties of happy expression were preferred to daring strokes of great conception'. [25]

In a Postcript to the *Observations*, Warton goes back to the bulk of his work and explains, anticipating the negative reception of his book by 'mechanical critics', his reasons for paying so much attention to the 'ancient' and 'dark' ages of English literature. In particular, Warton is willing to justify the merit and value of the Gothic, for 'however monstruous and unnatural these compositions may appear to this age of reason and refinement' they present us with 'the pictures of ancient usages and customs; and represent the manners, genius and character of our ancestors. Above all, such are their Terrible Graces of magic and enchantment, so magnificently marvellous are their fictions and failings, that their contribute, in a wonderful degree, to rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination: to store the fancy with those sublime and alarming images, which true poetry best delights to display'.[26] The Gothic is thus applauded because it informs us of a valuable period of national history – that of our forefathers – and, even more momentous, because it fosters the imagination and appeals to innovation and freedom in the exercise of poetry.

The idea of the Gothic being the vivid portrait of old generations became a recurrent motto among eighteenth-century romantic advocates, willing to find in medieval history key traces for the understanding of their own proximate past. Another observation of the kind can be found in Joseph Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writing of Mr Pope* (1756-1782), a work that was largely written in the same year of his younger brother's *Observations* and that presents a similar view on the supremacy of poetical imagination. The comment, this time dedicated to Chaucer, pleads for the value of the Gothic by pointing out the importance of having an image of past generations. So, if the *Canterbury Tales* is a highly valuable work, states the older of the Warton's, it is mainly because 'it preserves to us the liveliest and exactest picture of the manners, customs, characters and habits of our forefathers, whom he has brought before our eyes acting as on a stage, suitably to their different orders and employements'. Besides, what Joseph Warton admires in Chaucer's portrait of the old age is, precisely, that his writing is 'purely original and his own'.[27] Warton's defence of originality and his appraisal of the imagination as the capital faculty of the true genius are both arguments against the lack of invention and incapacity for the sublime of the Augustan poets in general, and of Pope in particular. According to Warton, '*Gothic charms* are in truth more striking to the imagination than the *classical*', for: 'Who, that sees the fable *plumes* waving on the prodigious helmet, in the castle of Otranto, and the gigantic *arm* on the top of *the great staircase*, is not more affected than with the paintings of Ovid and Apuleius?'[28]

In this new opposition between 'Gothic' and 'classical' imagination, Warton mentions Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) as a celebrated manifestation of the former's superior capacity to affect the reader. In Walpole's novel, of which supernatural prodigies we are informed by Warton, there is an even more striking scene. I am referring to the passage, surely remembered by all its readers, where the portrait of the protagonist's dead grandfather, Otranto's legitimate sovereign, is brought to life and walks out of its frame. As in a literal interpretation of the Gothic motto, Walpole's vivid portrait of Otranto's ancestor entails a vindication of the legitimate claims of the past over the corruption and miseries of the present. For, as he confided in a letter to George Montagu (January 5, 1766): 'Old castles, old pictures, old histories and the babble of old people make one live back into centuries that cannot disappoint one. One holds fast and surely what is past. The dead have exhausted their power of deceiving'.[29] Walpole's Gothic has a very clear aesthetical agenda. When a second edition appeared in April 1765, the word 'Gothic' was added to the title: *The Castle of Otranto: a Gothic Story*, and in a new preface Walpole explained how the story was an attempt 'to blend the two kinds of romance: the ancient and the modern'.[30] Walpole's 'new species of romance' was conceived partly as a playful experiment – as he professed to his old friend

Madame du Deffand, it was composed 'in dépit des règles, des critiques, et des philosophes'.[31] But his desire to reconcile, despite all rules, the ancient and the modern romance into a Gothic sinthesis had important aesthetical as well as political motivations. In this regard, it is interesting to read another passage of his massive correspondence, now regarding Walpole's musings on Britain's struggle with her American colonies. The letter was written 13 November 1781, and addressed to the Reverend William Mason. Walpole states how 'Our empire is falling to pieces; we are relapsing to a little island. In that state, men are apt to imagine how great their ancestors have been... the few, that are studious, look into the memorials of past time; nations, like private persons, seek lustre from their progenitors'.[32]

Invoked by those who, like Walpole, were developing very critical views towards the present, the Gothic constituted a reassuring narrative of origins. Constructed as a mythical rather than as a historical category, the Gothic appealed to a national culture that readers could begin to relate to and search for valuable traits of their own identity. Thus, far removed from the traditional view that identified the Gothic with the barbarian destroyers of Augustan Rome, this narrative disturbed the enlightened idea of historical progress and looked back for confidence and familiarity. In this new perspective, the Gothic was established as the source from which to project history in a more or less continuous line of descent. Accordingly, there occurred a shift of emphasis, if not a substitution, when the neoclassical myth of the Augustan age was made subordinate to the myth of the Gothic; since, in this retelling of cultural history, the good taste of the 'Age of Reason' appeared as an unpleasant interruption. Such a recasting of the representation of tradition was clearly an answer to what was felt as a misconstruction of cultural and literary history, and it carried major and enduring consequences for the reading of the canon.

The realignment of national taste around the Gothic meant both a criticism of the current reliance on classical models (mostly the original Augustan writers, Virgil and Horace) and a serious contempt for the literary ascendancy of modern authorities (particularly that of Pope) in contemporary poetry. It also prompted the rehabilitation of a new series of authors to canonical positions, as happened with the vindicated Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton; accordingly, it became necessary to bestow on them the critical attention hitherto reserved to classical and neoclassical texts. Therefore, besides kindling a passionate debate about the meaning, function and uses of the past, the interest in 'reviving' a native Gothic ancestry from historical oblivion required a chief hermeneutical effort in order to reconcile the otherness of these new canonical texts with contemporary readers. To rescue and publish, in critical editions, the scattered remains of an ancestral tradition that otherwise would appear as remote and foreign, entailed an exercise that had to be necessarily interdisciplinary, because it implied the

integration and development of emergent disciplines such as archaeology, antiquarianism or philology.

The increasing concern for previously neglected works thus posed significant challenges (and problems) for the making and studying of the humanities.[33] One of the most notable being the tension between distinct models of scholarship that Alicia C. Montoya analyzes in her contribution to this book and that can also be understood from the ideological perspective of the Quarrel. Equally notable to the endeavour to confront cultural difference was a rapprochement between history and criticism, for it was imperative to explain the fundamental shift in the ways that literary value was being recognized. The debate on the Gothic had expanded and complicated the meaning and scope of the old categories of the Ancients and the Moderns, and, more importantly, it had dissolved them into the space of history. Literary criticism was understood from a deep historical perspective, and this serious compromise with history contributed to (and benefited from) the simultaneous developments in the diferent disciplines and institutions of the humanities. The tradition of the Gothic was part of a far less remote past than that of classical antiquity. But it was also the age – mythical or otherwise – of national ancestry, and therefore the need, the urgency even, of further studying it, learning from it and rendering it meaningful for the present.

Notes

1 Augustin-Simon Irailh, *Querelles littéraires, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des révolutions de la république des lettres, depuis Homère jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Durand, 1761), I, xiv.

2 Irailh, *Querelles*, I, xvi.

3 Irailh, *Querelles*, II, 299. For a general assessment of the *Querelle* between the Ancients and the Moderns in its long duration, see the classic studies of Hippolyte Rigault, *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1856) and Hubert Gillot, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes en France* (Paris: Champion, 1914). *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), edited by Anne-Marie Lecoq and with an introductory essay by Marc Fumaroli, offers a complete anthology of the most conspicuous interventions in the Quarrel, including some rare or less known texts from Mersenne and Rampalle up to an excerpt of Irailh's *Querelles littéraires*. On the English Battle, see Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

4 'Sur la réconciliation de l'auteur et de M. Perrault' [Épigramme LIV]: 'Tout le trouble Poëtique / A Paris s'en va cesser: / Perrault l'anti-Pindarique / Et Despreaux l'Homerique / Consentent de s'embrasser. / Quelque aigreur qui les anime, / Quand, malgré l'emportement, / Comme Eux l'un l'autre on s'estime, / L'accord se fait aisément. / Mon embarras est comment, / On pourra finir la guerre / De Padron et du Parterre'. See Nicolas Boileau Despréaux, *Œuvres complètes*, Antoine Adam and Françoise Escal eds. (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 265.

5 Irailh, *Querelles*, II, 286.

6 Edward Gibbon, *Essai sur l'étude de la literature* (London: T. Becket & P.A. de Hondt, 1762), fol. A3r. The English version of this work first appeared in 1764.

7 Gibbon, *Essai*, 7. On Gibbon's relation to the Quarrel, see J.M. Levine, 'Edward Gibbon and the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns', in: *Humanism and History. Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 178-189. Revisions of the traditional view of the Quarrel and its continuity in the eighteenth century can be found in J.M. Levine, 'Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15 (1981), 72-89, and Douglas Lane Patey, 'Ancients and Moderns', *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, IV. The Eighteenth Century*, H.B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 32-71.

8 Voltaire, 'Anciens et Modernes', *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Paris: Cosse et Gaultier-Laguionie, 1838), 85. The essay first appeared in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* and was latter included in the expanded version of the *Dictionnaire* as a supplement. On Voltaire's philosophy of history see John Leigh, *Voltaire: A Sense of History*, SVEC series (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004), and Síofra Pierse, *Voltaire Historiographer: Narrative Paradigms*, SVEC series, 6 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008). For a discussion of Voltaire histocial method in the context of the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, see Pierre Force, 'Voltaire and the Necessity of Modern History', *Modern Intellectual History* 6, 3 (2009), 457-484.

9 Herder, *Adrastea* (1801), quoted by Karl Menges, 'Herder and the "Querelle des Ancients et des Modernes"', *Eighteenth-Century German Authors and their Aesthetic Theories* (Columbia: Camden House, 1988), 166.

10 Gibbon, *Essai*, 60.

11 Gibbon, *Essai*, 16.

12 *Voltaire's Essay on Epic Poetry*, ed. Florence Donnell White (Albany: The Brandow Printing Co., 1915), 81. This essay, written during Voltaire's exile in England (1726-29), abounds on the question of the precedence in epic of the Ancients or the Moderns, thus continuing and expanding the French *Querelle d'Homère*. Apart from this early incursion to the Quarrel and the above-mentioned article included in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, Voltaire took up the question in a highly parodic dialogue, 'Les Anciens et les Modernes, ou la Toilette de Madame de Pompadour' (1765), where we find an attempt to 'terminer la querelle entre les anciens et les modernes' through the character of M. Le Duc; see *Mélanges* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), 731-738.

13 Voltaire, *Remarques sur l'histoire*, in: *Oeuvres historiques*, ed. René Pomeau (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 43.

14 Joseph M. Levine, 'Ancients, Moderns and History', in: *Humanism and History. Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 156.

15 Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours: Or Sketches Critical and Narrative* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), vol. I, 260-261. For a discussion of Gothic terminology and history, see Alfred Longueil, 'The Word "Gothic" in Eighteenth-Century Historicism', *Modern Language Notes* 38 (1923), 453-460; Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England: A Study of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 33-34.

16 On this aspect, see the classical article of Theodor E. Mommsen, 'Petrarch's Conception of the Dark Ages', *Speculum* 7 (1942), 226–242, reprinted in: Paula Findlen (ed.), *The Italian Renaissance* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 219-236.

17 Joseph Addison, *Spectator* 62 (May, 11, 1711), in: Donald F. Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from The Spectator* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 19.

18 Richard Hurd, *Moral and Political Dialogues: With Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London: T. Cadell, 1771), v. I, 146-147.
19 Hurd, *Moral and Political Dialogues*, v. I, 201.
20 Hurd, 'Letters on Chivalry and Romance,' in: *Moral and Political Dialogues*, v. III, 229. Hurd openly manifested his debt towards M. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* (1746), and it has probably some heavy borrowing from Jean Chapelain's *Dialogue sur la lecture des vieux romans* (1646). See Victor M. Hamm, 'A Seventeenth-Century French Source for Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*', *PMLA* 52/3 (1937), 820-828.
21 Hurd, 'Letters', 260.
22 Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. Nick Groom (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996), 3.
23 Hurd, 'Letters', 267.
24 Hurd, 'Letters', 337.
25 See Section X, 'Of Spenser's Allegorical Character', in: Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairie Queene*, ed. David Fairer (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), vol. II, 71-110.
26 Warton, *Observations*, vol. II, 323. See Joan Pittock, *The Ascendancy of Taste: The Achievement of Joseph and Thomas Warton* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973) and René Wellek, *The Rise of English Literary History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Caroline Press, 1941).
27 Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Mr Pope* (London: J. Dodsley, 1782), vol. I, 351.
28 Warton, *Essay*, vol. I, 401-402.
29 *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W.S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983), vol. X, 192.
30 Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto*, ed. W.S. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.
31 Letter to Madame du Deffand, 13 March 1767, in: *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. III, 260.
32 *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. XXIX, 165.
33 John Urry's edition of the works of Chaucer in 1721, Lewis Theobald's edition of Shakespeare's plays in 1726, Richard Bentley's new edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1732 or John Upton's edition of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in 1759 are some examples of this, since they posed new questions for the theory and practice of philological and humanistic scholarship. For a further discussion on the consequences of the Quarrel in the field of the humanities, see R.S. Crane, *The Idea of the Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), v. I, 72-121.

The Afterlife of Rhetoric in Hobbes, Vico and Nietzsche

David L. Marshall

Introduction

If one is looking for a model of the history of rhetoric in early modernity written as a history of decline, then one could do much worse than Bryan Garsten's *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment*, published in 2006. There the commonplace is repeated that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rhetoric came to be regarded with deep suspicion. And that is certainly true, at least in some sense. Almost despite himself, however, Garsten also succeeds in demonstrating that the criticisms of rhetoric developed by his synecdoches for early modernity – Hobbes, Rousseau and Kant – were not only attacks on rhetoric's suspect duplicity but also creative reformulations of rhetorical issues and tactics of analysis. There are insights in Garsten's account (not least the emphasis on Rousseau's 'persuading without convincing'), but I would argue that his mistake is quite simple and fundamental. Moreover, it is one that we repeat incessantly. He accepts the description of rhetoric as the art of persuasion – indeed submerges the discipline into 'speech designed to persuade.'[1] The better definition, however, is Aristotle's: rhetoric's 'function is not so much to persuade, as to find out in each case the existing means of persuasion.' Before – or instead of – being an art, rhetoric is thus a basic mode of humanistic inquiry. *Dunamis* not *technē*.[2]

The notion that rhetoric is an art of persuasion is hardly unusual, though. It is evidence of a forgetting that has become second nature by force of repetition. And much of the rhetorical tradition in early modern Europe certainly *was* repetitious. It is a basic historical irony that, as a rule, the most conspicuous points of post-antique reception for Greco-Roman rhetorical materials will also often be among the least innovative. As genres, handbooks and lecture courses habitually verge on what, to modern eyes, may look like plagiarism, yet without them a significant amount of what is thought of as conceptually most potent and most novel in early modern thought simply would not exist. Historical interpretation of such

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documents must embrace a tension: it must remain aware that there is such a thing as conceptual inertia, and yet be mindful that no translation, paraphrase, or redaction can be *purely* repetitious. Indeed, it may well be precisely such a tension between repetition and the changed circumstances under which the repetition occurred that accounts for the strange and self-conscious creativity of the early modern exemplars examined in what follows.

This paper argues that some of the most potent reinventions of rhetoric as a mode of humanistic inquiry between 1600 and 1900 not only repeated the inherited *topoi* of the Greco-Roman tradition but also revealed the conceptual potential of those *topoi* by rejecting rhetoric as a discipline and working within new disciplinary frameworks. Hobbes, Vico and Nietzsche all taught rhetoric and, in that capacity, they mouthed the dicta of the Greco-Roman authorities in a manner that must be described, in part, as highly derivative. But Hobbes was developing a political science, Vico was doing philology in a way that made it look like an anticipation of anthropology and Nietzsche was engaged in the genealogy of concepts, a species – one might say – of polemical intellectual history. In contrast to Garsten (and other analogous initiatives in the history of rhetoric), I see these apparent rejections of an inheritance as extremely complex and often creative processes of marginalization – disaffiliation, one might even say. Yet such an arc cannot be narrated in purely negative historiographic terms, as decline. The period under scrutiny here did not simply speak against rhetoric where the ancients had spoken for it. Instead, historical analysis of these processes requires a distinctive vocabulary: fragmentation, embedding, sublimation, disquotation, metabolization, cooption, transformation.[3]

Hobbes

From a philological point of view, what the repetitiousness of these processes permits is an extremely close attention to sequences of recension, redaction and transposition. The reception of rhetoric in Hobbes is a case in point. We possess three manuscripts testifying to Hobbes's significant direct investment in rhetoric in the 1630s: a redacted translation from the Greek to Latin of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; a dictation of this translation to his student William Cavendish (1617-1684), with corrections in Hobbes's hand; and a series of excerpts from the *Rhetoric*, apparently used to teach Cavendish ethical precepts.[4] We also have a sense of the various contextual possibilities that surrounded this reception: Talon's Ramist simplification of rhetoric and Fenner's rendering of it in English, together with Vossius's reassertion of the rhetorical tradition's complexity, as well as the neo-Romanism of the Tudor rhetoricians in England and the neo-Aristotelianism of

continental writers such as Riccoboni, not to mention Goulston's edition of the Greek text complete with a Latin version and paraphrase (published in 1619).[5] Moreover, even as there is now some debate about the nature of Hobbes's involvement in the production of an English *Briefe of the Art of Rhetorique* (1637), the text still functions – irrespective of authorship – as some kind of *terminus ad quem* for the Hobbesian reception of the Greek text and his translation of it into Latin. In turn, fragments of this Aristotelian reception made it into the *Elements of Law*, which circulated in manuscript in 1640.[6] And the *Elements* itself was, of course, but the first of multiple rewritings of a text that would yield *De cive*, as well as the English and the Latin *Leviathan*. In any fuller treatment of this subject, the precise nature of these iterations would need to be set out in more detail, but the point to emphasize here is simply that such a rich, precise, densely studded continuum exists *at all* tracing the afterlife of rhetoric in Hobbes from source to manuscript to publication, from Greek to Latin to English.

Hobbes, to be sure, was publicly ambivalent about this rhetorical inheritance. In his much cited recollection, Aubrey did have Hobbes saying that Aristotle was 'the worst teacher that ever was, the worst politician and ethick – a countrey-fellow that could live in the world [would be] as good: but his rhetorique and discourse of animals was rare.'[7] And yet, even more often remarked upon are Hobbes's warnings about the politically disruptive power of oratory. Trying to overcome this apparent contradiction, a great many interpreters have taken Hobbes's emphasis on distinctions between 'mathematical' and 'dogmatical' inquiry to license a depiction of his intellectual development as a triptych, in which an early humanism was displaced by a new scientific paradigm only then to be reasserted in *Leviathan* as an ironic, exasperated rapprochement between reason and rhetoric. Quentin Skinner's is the best known and certainly the most brilliant of these interpretations, but in its most basic claim (although not in its details) it is not radically original.[8] Moreover, Hobbes's supposed rejection of rhetoric begins to look rather more complicated when one observes his rhetorical investment accruing even in the *Elements of Law*, reputedly one of the high-tide marks of his anti-rhetorical, scientific phase.

What is really distinctive about Hobbes's reading of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, I would argue, is not a reactionary preference for judgement over fancy but rather his use of rhetoric's awareness of possibilities for affective disequilibrium in the diagnosis of political dysfunction. Dazzled by the issue of metaphor, scholars have been unduly captivated by the apparent preference for judgement.[9] In response to all investigations into the status of figuration in Hobbes (was he against it in theory yet beholden to it in practice?), one ought simply to say that Hobbes knew very well that *both* fancy and judgement, as the cognitive faculties of conjoining and disjoining, were but alternative modes of a deeper faculty – namely, wit. Like

Hobbes and fear, fancy and judgement were twins. The rhetorical redescriptions of *paradiastole* (in which the good might be cast as the evil and vice versa) were in fact judgements that parsed the occasionally extreme proximity of, for example, courage and foolhardiness. It was the 'poets and orators' who were adept not only in the acute perception of similitude but also 'in discerning suddenly *dissimilitude*.'[10] But the most important word in that quotation is 'suddenly,' for wit was something that was entirely consonant with the paradigm of motion that Hobbes used to characterize the nature of human being and the possibilities it conjured in political life. Wit, thus, was simply one more means by which disequilibrium became inevitable. The wit of some would be more sudden than the wit of others, and this constituted not merely superiority and inferiority but collective debility. None of this amounted to either praising or blaming wit. Hobbes used the concept in order to *diagnose*.

Moreover, scholars have often misunderstood the place of rhetoric in Hobbes's understanding of political dysfunction. As everyone knows, the basic gesture of Hobbesian political analysis was pessimism about prospects for peace in the absence of an essentially arbitrary and indivisible sovereign. What we fail more often than not to understand, however, is that this Hobbesian pessimism was not so much a pessimism *about* eloquence (and its dangerous, destabilizing effects) as a pessimism utterly informed and structured *by* rhetoric. True, the *Brief* replaced Aristotle's stipulation that rhetoric aimed not so much at persuasion as understanding the available means of persuasion in each particular case with the bowdlerized realism that rhetoric was a faculty 'by which we understand what will serve our turn concerning any subject to win belief in the hearer.'[11] Hobbes, however, wrote as if he had taken Aristotle's reformulation of the sophistical definition to heart. That is to say, even as his suspicions of eloquence were extremely public, Hobbes *used* rhetoric as an analytical frame for understanding the human soul, its abilities and debilities, its motions and emotions.

As Leo Strauss argued, Dilthey had been wrong to trace Hobbes's analysis of the passions back to the Stoa, for the *Elements* was clearly indebted to Book II of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[12] But like Strauss himself, scholars have not pursued the point. Hobbes, like Aristotle, emphasized the way in which every passion of the soul had, as its counterpart, an action. What he emphasized *more* than Aristotle was the number of ways in which these counterparts were *not* 'equal and opposite.' Aristotelian is the topos, iterated in the *Elements*, that 'in the pleasure men have, or displeasure from the signs of honour or dishonour done unto them, consisteth the nature of the passions.'[13] The passions, therefore, were *always already* socially embedded interpretations. Into this space of interpretation, Hobbes inserted destabilizing processes of error, ambiguation, disequilibrium, compounding, desynchronization, recursivity and preemption. Thus, signs of actions would be

misread because the 'contexture' – Hobbes's beautiful word for embeddedness in context – of each action was, axiomatically, different. Imbalances of action and reaction would grow exponentially. Inevitable differences in speed and slowness of wit would decouple emotional calls and response. Autoerotic, passions could feed on themselves; one could be said to delight in delighting. And all such tendencies toward instability would be ratcheted up by the simple fact that human beings would attempt to get their emotional reactions in first, because to allow someone else to initiate was nothing other than to suffer.[14]

This was the dysfunctional emotional landscape over which Leviathan would hover, and – for Hobbes – it was a landscape mapped most perspicuously by rhetoric. In the absence of this mortal God, 'outside the commonwealth' – as Hobbes put it – lay 'the empire of the passions,' the passions, we should understand, of *Rhetoric II*.[15] To take Hobbes's statements about eloquence at face value or as the final word on his historical relationship to rhetoric is gullible. It is to make the mistake of supposing that rhetoric is simply an art. Understood as *dunamis*, as a capacity to perceive possibilities for persuasion, rhetoric slips out of its more hopeful incarnation. Aristotle may still have been looking at these possibilities for persuasion from the perspective of the orator. Hobbes, to be sure, was looking at them in terms of their potential for disaster. Possibilities would multiply beyond good and evil, even as they became the objects of desire and aversion. This was an exquisitely *perceptive* pessimism, a paranoia deftly transferred to the political persons Hobbes was analyzing. And this perceptiveness was, indeed, a transformed rhetorical inheritance.

Vico

In Vico's case, the manuscript resources shedding light on his direct engagement with rhetoric are no less complex than those for Hobbes. Vico, after all, was professor of rhetoric at the University of Naples from 1699, and we possess documents attesting to his courses that vary in date from 1711 to 1741. Nevertheless, it was only in 1989 that Giuliano Crifò established a critical edition of the material. Moreover, even as some of his early work had been overtly rhetorical both in topic and mode of analysis, Vico's texts became less and less explicitly concerned with the *ars rhetorica* as time went by. Thus, while the *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (1709) was clearly an attempt to vindicate the rhetorical art of topics against what Vico took to be a debilitating formalism in Cartesian method, *retorica* as a term – and evident concern – was almost entirely absent from the various *Scienze nuove* of 1725, 1730 and 1744. It is for this reason that, even in the case of Vico, scholars have often seen early modern rhetoric as either a dead hand that had to

be thrown off (if genuinely modern lines of inquiry were to be pursued) or an essentially conservative intellectual movement attempting to preserve what its Greco-Roman founders had achieved.[16] In fact, however, Vico was at the epicenter of a series of creative early modern appropriations of the rhetorical tradition; his use of rhetoric was quintessentially transformative.

In the *De ratione*, Vico went so far as to address the objection that rhetoric ought to be thought of as outmoded because, as he put it, eloquence no longer ruled over free peoples.[17] Critics of rhetoric might argue that what had been intellectually important in democratic Athens and republican Rome was immaterial in the Naples of Spanish and Austrian viceroyalties. Vico himself, such critics might have ventured, was in fact precisely an exemplar of the *merely* epideictic opportunities given to the Neapolitan orator. That is, many of his orations operated in the domain of praise and blame. Indeed, for the most part, only praise was permissible – hence the tone of straight-jacketed obsequiousness. Enmeshed in the political purposes of others, such an orator might bid farewell to a viceroy, might commemorate the death of a viceroy's mother, might celebrate the entrance of a king into his native city, and might lament the deaths of individuals that political circumstance had transformed from traitors into martyrs – but such occasions would demonstrate only the degree to which the person of the public speaker was an alienated one, geared to ingratiation.[18] Vico's immediate response was to say that the institutions of the law might offer new opportunities for eloquence in the absence of the deliberative assemblies that so distinguished parts of the ancient Mediterranean world. I would argue that much of Vico's intellectual work in the subsequent three decades can be profitably understood as a series of increasingly sophisticated attempts to improve upon this answer.[19] For the immediate purposes of this essay, however, the key moments are in and around the first documented traces of Vico's lectures on rhetoric – namely, the 1711 manuscript, together with the *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* of 1710 and the two *Risposte* that Vico published in 1711 and 1712, following a review of that work in the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*.[20]

Vico's sublimation of classical rhetoric was so rich and so incessant that one could gloss almost any sentence in his oeuvre by recourse to some part of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, or Longinus, but, for the purpose of demonstrating how in his hands ancient rhetorical topoi could take on decisively novel and even modern functions in fields that have often been thought of as quite unrhetorical, one can take the example of his famous *verum-factum* theory, his assertion that to have made something and to understand something are essentially the same thing. On the surface of it, this might seem like an entirely unrhetorical assertion. It is instructive to focus on just such an unlikely case, because the example will function as a warning: if one is not as immersed in the conventions of ancient rhetoric as

Vico indisputably was, then one can very easily overlook the points at which his reinvention of those conventions was most decisive, precisely because his revisions were so abbreviated and so selective. The *verum-factum* principle appears to be an unlikely case because, for Vico, the clearest example of the convertibility of *verum* and *factum* had initially been mathematics, a field in which human beings understood the fundaments precisely because the fundaments were artifacts of human definition. In the *De ratione*, as is often noted, this thought had precipitated a corollary sentence: if we understand mathematics because we make it, then in order to understand nature we would have to be capable of bringing that into being too.[21]

In 1709, this notion had seemed absurd. By 1710, however, what had begun as a rhetorical question (with an answer so obvious it could be assumed) had turned against its author. In the course of the *De antiquissima*, it began to seem to Vico that human beings *could*, in a certain sense, be said to *make* and thereby *understand* nature – in the context of natural philosophical experimentation. If one could reliably precipitate certain natural processes under experimental conditions, then one could be said to have a knowledge of those processes. The task was to demonstrate one's understanding of certain universal assertions – laws of nature – by being capable of showing how they operated in the context of the materials of the cosmos. Crucially, what had (at least ideally) remained purely universal in the realm of mathematics became more particular in the realm of experimental natural philosophy where questions of here-ness and now-ness, speaker and audience (that is, the performer of the experimental demonstration and its witnesses), began to intrude. To explain a state of affairs from its causes was to imply one's capacity to occasion it at will, and both the ability to explain from causes and occasion at will were indications of intelligibility and, indeed, understanding. But, as Vico understood, early modern experiments were also very much performances. Like Hobbes, a fellow theorist in the maker's knowledge tradition, he knew that the *specificity* of particular performances might call into question the knowledge they produced.[22]

It was at this point that Vico found himself recoursing to the terminology of ancient rhetoric when explaining himself in the next couple of years to the reviewers of the Venetian *Giornale*. They had asked him upon what basis he had asserted that in Latin the terms *verum* (the true or the intelligible) and *factum* (the done or the made), *caussa* (cause) – Vico insisted on using the double 's' – and *negotium* (business or affair) had been used interchangeably in antiquity. Vico duly produced his examples from Plautus and Terence – then Quintilian. As Vico intimated, in his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian had transliterated the Greek distinctions among *thesis* (thesis, but also an adopting, setting, or laying down in place), *hypothesis* (supposition, but also proposal), and *peristasis* (circumstance) with the Latin equivalents *propositum*, *causa* and *negotium*. In his own lectures on rhetoric

of that year, Vico discussed these terms as forms of variously indefinite and definite questions. The point of such terminology was to distinguish wholly indefinite questions (*proposita*) such as – merely by way of example – 'Is killing wrong?' from moderately definite questions (*causae*) such as 'Is killing wrong in the context of a civil war?' as well as highly definite questions (*negotia*) such as 'Was Cicero right to argue for the execution of Lentulus?' Rules required an understanding of how they might be applied to increasingly individuated cases, and, for Vico, the same could be said of laws of nature insofar as they were to be understood as working through increasingly particularized circumstances – namely, not only inside but also outside the domain of tightly controlled, easily replicable experiment. Constructing a controlled experiment before the age of technological reproducibility was, one might say, a matter of the utmost – almost diplomatic – delicacy.[23]

Vico articulated his response in a rather ungainly double negative.[24] He argued that Quintilian's distinctions among these terms did *not* constitute evidence that they were *not* also in some way synonymous, just as he had claimed when supposing that, for the ancient Italians, a case and its causes were effectively the same thing. The point that Vico wanted to make was that the capacity to know something from causes was simultaneously a rhetorical, experimental and mathematical skill. Such an account of knowing, he was implicitly arguing, was not the sole purview of the Aristotelians, and it did not necessarily imply an understanding that amounted to *epistēmē*. One suspects, however, that Vico's mind was already in motion, for in fact the distinction between the two terms, *caussa* and *negotium*, would become increasingly important. His ultimate interests were not in natural philosophy, and it was not the *moderately* definite questions that experiment posed to nature that fired his imagination. Hobbes had a dog in that fight (as his account of the questions posed to nature by Boyle's air-pump experiments attested), but Vico did not. Vico was content to argue that, in natural philosophical experimentation, the decisive mental skill would be ingenuity in observation – that is to say, skill in perceiving the *pertinence* of similarities and differences. By way of explanation, he added only that in this respect the engineers (who would be 'witty' by definition, per the etymology of the word, *ingenium*/engineer) were exercising the same skill as the rhetoricians.[25]

What was more decisive for Vico was skill in being able to think the particular, to understand *negotium* and *caussa* simultaneously, something that Hobbes might have called 'contexture.' Just so, in his next major project – the *Diritto universale* – Vico shifted his focus from *factum* to *certum*, from the made or done to the particularized or individuated. In human affairs (paradigmatically, in *legal* business), circumstances were resolutely particular and resisted codification. The key skill among the jurisprudes was an ability to handle such cases with the appropriate attitude towards their individuality. This might entail understanding the case as a

particular that stood for a class of particulars (a paradigm), or, alternatively, it might mean formulating a decision in such a way that it might subsequently be ignored as pure exception. On several occasions, Vico celebrated the capacity of the Neapolitan jurists Francesco D'Andrea and Gaetano Argento to do precisely this work of conceptualizing the most arcane specificity of a case in terms of the most far-reaching legal principle.[26] Similarly, he emphasized the moments at which the Neapolitan legal system – particularly its highest court, the Sacro Regio Consiglio – was able to make exceptions in the name of the public interest.[27] Such power required not simply prudence, but a skill in perceiving the distinctiveness of individua.

Ultimately, in the *Scienze nuove*, it was individuals themselves – or rather poetic characters depicting individuals, as in the Homeric Achilles – that would embody this category of *negotium* cribbed originally from Quintilian. And there, the criterion of understanding was an ability to reconstruct through narration the particular intersection of predicates that might identify, specify, and memorize the distinctively *vain* courage that was 'Achilles.' Thus, the particular might be rendered thinkable, and 'thinkable' in this context meant something like 'narratable by others.' Homer, for Vico, was a cultural practice in which the storytellers of archaic Greece would take up formulas, epithets and narratives initiated by others and improvise on those foundations in ways that carried the cultural topoi of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in new directions and further contributed to the accretion of the poems themselves, which were collectively authored and slowly evolving artifacts. Thus, in a remarkably precise and *fleetingly* explicit way, Vico deployed the terminology of ancient rhetoric in order to frame his discussion of distinctively early modern inquiries: experimentation, the historicity of the law, and the collective nature of cultural creativity. In the course of these initiatives, rhetoric's contribution became more and more inconspicuous, and it is for this reason that Vico's case corroborates the narrative being forged here of rhetoric's creative and generative *occlusion* in early modern inquiry.

Nietzsche

If anything, the manuscript sources testifying to Nietzsche's direct engagement with the ancient rhetorical tradition are even *more* forthcoming about this essentially plagiarized, cobbled together, and nevertheless creative process of appropriation from an alien form of inquiry. Between the Winter Semester (WS) of 1870/71 and the Summer Semester (SS) of 1879, Nietzsche offered *nine* full courses on rhetoric at the University of Basel, on Book I of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, Tacitus's *Dialogus de oratoribus* and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, as well as on the history of Greek and Roman eloquence more generally. Only four of these

courses are known not to have been cancelled, but some of the manuscript material that we do possess is highly revealing.[28] In particular, the 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik' (given either in WS 1872-3 or in SS 1874), which quotes liberally from the antique sources, has also been shown to borrow entire sentences and paragraphs from, among other texts, Richard Volkmann's *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht* (1872) and Gustav Gerber's *Die Sprache als Kunst* (1871).[29]

Nietzsche's lectures thus sutured together tissue from the ancient rhetorical tradition and from other highly contemporary work, but he was also metabolizing these materials by identifying lines of inquiry in the lectures that took up interests announced in his earlier work, not least in the *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872). In that early work, rhetoric had been precisely an antonym for music, because – within the Schopenhauerian frame of reference that was, for Nietzsche, decisive at that time – it connoted the imposition of representation upon the world, whereas music took will itself as its object.[30] Above all, those in a state of Dionysian arousal were oratorical in *no* sense, for they conceived of no audience to be addressed.[31] But in the lectures (as in other work from the 1870s), this binary opposition between music and rhetoric began to break down.[32] It was precisely the temporal dimension of music – rhythm – that permitted Nietzsche to explain how it was that stylistic forms that would strike modern readers as extremely artificial had for the ancients possessed the quality of naturalness. The Greeks, in particular, Nietzsche argued, lived in the orality of language to such a degree that botched cadence might draw attention to the medium by which something was being conveyed, thereby making it appear artificial *precisely on account of having been badly constructed*. Out of this paradox, Nietzsche drew the conclusion that there was no pure, chaste, or natural state of language on the other side of rhetoric. Language was aboriginally rhetorical.[33] Indeed, as he famously put in his lectures, *die Sprache ist Rhetorik*.[34] Likewise, in Nietzsche's eyes, Wagner evolved from the contemporary vehicle of a Dionysian/Apollonian rebirth into a figure in the history of music that one could lay bare with rhetorical terms of analysis. In one of his untimely meditations, Nietzsche argued that Wagner continued what Beethoven had begun – namely, a transposition of musical interests from the enduring human state the Greeks had termed *ethos* to the kind of dynamic emotional undergoing that generated plot, *pathos*.[35]

To be sure, Nietzsche understood the aboriginal quality of rhetoric through the materialism he was transposing from Friedrich Albert Lange and the physiological account of language acquisition being taken from Gerber, yet decisive too was the definition of rhetoric as not simply an art of persuasion but a *dunamis*, a *Kraft*, a 'power' or 'possibility' of seeing the means of persuasion in any given case offered by Aristotle, which he glossed carefully and emphasized.[36] It enabled

him to treat language as, in the first place, listening and listening as a matter of taking up a position. The metaphor of 'taking up a position' – 'Nicht die Dinge treten ins Bewusstsein, sondern die Art, wie wir zu ihnen stehen, das *pithanon*' (the plausible) – could itself be genealogically resolved into diverse experiences of disposition, pleasure and pain and their anticipations in desire and aversion.[37] The swaying of persuasion was in the first instance a phenomenon of listening. Such bracing or girding of oneself was essentially inferential in structure, in the sense that, as Hobbes had said, one was always reacting to things intimated or signaled but not manifest: slight slights. When, in one of his early notebooks, Nietzsche asserted that 'the pleasure of all sensory perceptions derives from the fact that they are brought into being through *inferences*,' he was also reprising – almost certainly without knowing it – a Vichian poetic logic in which *ingenium* and *natura* were synonymous.[38] This was not to suppose, however, that the listener was simply imposing a pre-established structure on experience. What it meant was that signs emerged in experience by means of a process of *ignoring* the manifold sensations present at any given moment and attending only to some point therein, drawing that point out as a sign of something implied but absent.[39] Reason thus began in the logical fallacies, as Nietzsche put it, of the rhetorical figures: metaphor as simply 'inference by analogy.'[40]

The immediate uptake of a rhetorically inflected Gerber was transparent in the 1873 essay 'Über Wahrheit und Lüge im außermoralischen Sinne.' Really decisive there, though, was not the literary formalist dimension of Nietzsche's insistence on the centrality and inescapability of the tropes but rather his negotiation of the borderlands between the physiological and the discursive.[41] Nietzsche's characterization of 'truth' as 'a mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, anthropomorphisms' was startling, not because of the militaristic figuration of figuration but because of the notion that the true was simply that which was incontrovertible or better incontroverted – namely, an experience that did not induce an organism undergoing that experience to take up a position, an experience in which no distance was established between the thing as said and the thing as heard. If Nietzsche wanted to speak of the 'pathos of truth,' it must (at least in some sense) have been because of truth's precisely *anaesthetic* qualities – the curiously sensual feeling of numbness. In this way, and in a surprising sense, the opposite of truth became novelty.

There was, thus, a quite remarkable transformation of Nietzsche's reactions to rhetoric in the course of the 1870s. At first, rhetoric was complicit in the spread of the Greek disease of articulateness. If Euripides had boasted that in his plays he was teaching the Athenians how to speak, was giving them lessons in oratory, then Nietzsche retorted that this marked the rise of a bourgeois mediocrity, an everydayness (*Alltäglichkeit*) shamelessly put on public display in New Comedy.[42] This, in turn, was simply a predictable continuation of the kind of wrong-headed discur-

sivity that had structured tragedy. In the notebooks, this intuition became the historiographically promiscuous assertion that Hamlet – and not Oedipus – was the emblem of the dramatic hero, for his verbal dexterity was constantly in error, self-deceptive.[43] Indeed, there was an uncannily Vichian quality to this historiographic promiscuity, where the history of Greek drama suddenly became a template for the myriad ways in which a culture could come into being as concerted, sustained style at first and then deliquesce as an overly self-aware repertoire of quotidian tokens.[44] Just so, the Baroque age itself became a kind of perennial historical possibility in Nietzsche.[45] But 'Baroque' was not simply a synonym for 'over-ripe.' Indeed, the stylistic turn at the end of the 1870s to aphorism became an explicit appropriation of the Baroque and rhetorical maxim (which would hone *Geistesgegenwart*, 'presence of mind'), as well as an implicit acceptance that Germany's cultural future was not dependent on a rebirth of Dionysus at Bayreuth.[46] The German language was still sick (as Nietzsche put it), but the project of reinvigorating it now called for rhetoricians of a very particular kind and not *Gesamtkunstwerk*.[47] The age of city cultures was past, Nietzsche argued; speaking as if in the presence of one's enemies had become rare.[48] Wittingly or not, Nietzsche repeated the early nineteenth-century laments voiced by Adam Müller and Carl Gustav Jochmann that the cultural and political institutions of Germany could not produce genuine orators.[49] David Strauss became the prose stylist symptomatic of a culture attuned to the repetitive drone of the newspaper. This was an utter absence of taste, a barbarism signalled by inconstancy of style that, Nietzsche feared, would become an unremitting philistinism following the victories of the Franco-Prussian war.[50] Even if one wished, he argued, one could not study in a school of German rhetoric; such institutions simply did not exist, in his estimation.[51] This was an assertion that he published on 15 October 1874, when – we should note – he was himself still teaching ancient rhetoric at the University of Basel. Thirteen years later, he would say that in 1876 he felt incarcerated in philology and in teaching.[52] The rejection of philology was, in very real ways, a rejection of the rhetorical corpus as a philological object, but this disaffiliation did not excise rhetoric as a source of intellectual impetus without aftereffect. It is no coincidence that the stylistic developments to which Nietzsche dedicated himself after 1880 constituted a kind of training – for himself and others – in writing as if one's enemies were present.

By *almost* every measure, Nietzsche's engagement with rhetoric constituted a lost decade. He offered many courses on the subject, but many of them appear to have been cancelled. When they were not cancelled, he had very few students and sometimes *no* philologists whatsoever, as in WS 1872-3, immediately after the catastrophic critical reception of the *Geburt der Tragödie*. When he did have students and did produce intensive treatments of rhetoric, he had nothing to show for it in terms of publishable work. Nevertheless, with his way to a direct treat-

ment of rhetoric blocked in various ways and for various reasons, Nietzsche sublimated his rhetorical insights into thoughts that would, in time, constitute some of his most distinctive gestures: Nietzschean punctuation, aphoristic aperçu, genealogy. Granted, it may not be immediately obvious how to identify a continuum of sentences linking Nietzsche's famous assertion of perspectivism in *Zur Genealogie der Moral* back to his observation in the 'Darstellung' that rhetoric is an essentially *republican* art because it requires one to become adept at assuming poses in response to the most diverse range of challenges. Nevertheless, the strong suspicion remains that for Nietzsche the 'objectivity' of an object did indeed reside in the objections it called into being, and that would be a *tertium quid* between the early 1870s and 1886.[53] That the genealogical mode of investigation made famous by this book was itself informed by rhetoric's capacity (derived, for example, from its use of *notatio* as a mode of discovery) to analyze how a word's origin in controversy could in time be covered over to the point of oblivion is, moreover, grounds for the rationality of this suspicion.

Conclusion

The point of this contribution is to demonstrate that any history of the humanities in the period between 1600 and 1900 must go beyond repetitions of the commonplace that rhetoric was increasingly regarded with suspicion. There were, to be sure, many who attacked rhetoric in this way. But history should not be mined simply for its most common elements; distinctiveness and intensity of insight are criteria too. Potent accounts can be developed of the ways in which European thinkers in this period reinvented rhetoric in the process of rejecting it. Negation, in all its variations, was thus a vital intellectual historical mode. The results of such rejection have enriched humanistic inquiry immeasurably: Hobbesian political theory, Vichian anthropology, and Nietzschean philosophy have all proved to be decisive initiatives within the humanities. And we understand these initiatives better when we see them as the curious and disowned permutations of a rhetorical inheritance.

Notes

1 Bryan Garston, *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 5: 'for the purposes of this project, I will follow a long tradition of understanding rhetoric as speech designed to persuade.' For the gloss of Rousseau, see especially 56.

2 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1355b. On this point, the indispensible reference is Nancy S. Struever, *Rhetoric, Modality, Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

3 The extant literature on early modern rhetoric is too extensive to summarize here, but see David L. Marshall, 'Early Modern Rhetoric: Recent Research in German, Italian, French, and English,' *Intellectual History Review* 17 (2007), 75-93. A more recent account can be found in Jaap Maat, 'The Artes Sermocinales in Times of Adversity. How Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric Survived the Seventeenth Century,' in Rens Bod, Jaap Maat, and Thijs Weststeijn (eds.), *The Making of the Humanities. Volume I: Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

4 'Aristotelis Rhetorica,' Hobbes MSS (Chatsworth) A. 8 B, 'Ex Aristot: Rhet. Lib. I. Cap. I.' (usually referred to as the 'Dictation Book'), Hobbes MSS (Chatsworth) D. 1, and Hardwick MSS (Chatsworth) 70 – a manuscript of excerpts written in the hand of William Cavendish, the 3rd Earl of Devonshire, identified by Quentin Skinner.

5 Quentin Skinner has emphasized the neo-Ciceronian tradition, while Karl Schuhmann has countered with an emphasis on a neo-Aristotelian alternative. Thus, compare Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 51-65 with Schuhmann, 'Skinner's Hobbes,' *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 6 (1998), 117-8.

6 It is Schuhmann who has raised doubts about Hobbes's authorship of the *Briefe* – in 'Skinner's Hobbes,' 118. His chief contention is that whoever composed the *Briefe* made errors in translation that we cannot reasonably attribute to someone with Hobbes's philological expertise. Whereas Skinner had been confident enough in 1996 to assert that 'there seems no doubt about Hobbes's authorship' (*Reason and Rhetoric*, 240), by 2002 he was conceding that Schuhmann's argument was 'dramatic but convincing' – *Visions of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3 vols., 3:4, 53 – even though he continued to speak of the *Briefe* as in some sense a 'Hobbesian text' (3.59). In 2008, Skinner conceded that 'the Latin version is Hobbes's work, but Karl Schuhmann has established that the English translation is not.' *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5. On the composition of the *Elements of Law* in 1640, see Deborah Baumgold, 'The Composition of Hobbes's *Elements of Law*,' *History of Political Thought* 25 (2004), 16-43.

7 John Aubrey, *'Brief Lives': Chiefly by Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between the Years 1669 and 1696*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), 2 vols., 1:357.

8 Compare, variously, Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), 31; Miriam M. Reik, *The Golden Lands of Thomas Hobbes* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), chap. 2; and especially David Johnson, *The Rhetoric of* Leviathan*: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Cultural Transformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 66 with Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, Part II (esp. 426) as well as Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3:38ff. Alternatively, others are sceptical of the triadic structure of this humanism-scientism-rapprochement model. See, for instance, Schuhmann, 'Skinner's Hobbes,' 116.

9 On the issue of figuration (and Hobbes's apparently ambiguous relationship to it), see Gary Schapiro, 'Reading and Writing in the Text of Hobbes's *Leviathan*,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 18 (1980), 147; James P. Zappen, 'Aristotelian and Ramist Rhetoric in Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*: Pathos versus Ethos and Logos,' *Rhetorica* 1 (1983), 66; William Sacksteder, 'Hobbes: Philosophical and Rhetorical Artifice,' *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 17 (1984), 44; Victoria Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 157; Jeffrey Barnouw, 'Persuasion in Hobbes's *Leviathan*,' *Hobbes Studies* 1(1988), 3, 5, 25; Conal Condren, 'On the Rhetorical Foundations of *Leviathan*,' *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), 704-5; Tom Sorell, 'Hobbes's Persuasive

Civil Science,' *The Philosophical Quarterly* 40 (1990), 349; Jeremy Rayner, 'Hobbes and the Rhetoricians,' *Hobbes Studies* 4 (1991), 77, 94; and Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 363.

10 Thomas Hobbes, *The Elements of Law Natural and Politic*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1889), 50. Compare Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 9.3.64-5. It thus emerges that Quintilian's observations on the relationship between *paradiastole* and *synoikeiosis* (as a distinguishing, over against a conjoining, of similars) are, thus, more useful and more Hobbesian (in at least some respects) than the rather hysterical attitudes to rhetorical redescription that Skinner spent so much time excavating from the early modern English context in *Visions of Politics*, 3:122, 137, 141. On this issue, compare Karen Feldman's instructive 'Conscience and the Concealments of Metaphor in Hobbes's *Leviathan*,' *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 34 (2001), 28-9.

11 *A Brief of the Art of Rhetorick*, in: *A Compendium of the Art of Logick and Rhetorick in the English Tongue* (London: Thomas Maxey, 1651), 139, also contained in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury*, ed. William Molesworth (London: John Bohn, 1839-45), 11 vols., 6:424. Compare Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 256.

12 Strauss, *Political Philosophy of Hobbes*, Ch. 3; Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914-82), 19 vols., 2:452; Hobbes, *Elements of Law*, 47-8, where the passions are listed as appetite, sensuality, glory, humility, vain glory, hatred, repentance, hope, despair, emulation, envy, courage, anger, magnanimity, pusillanimity, weeping, laughing, pity, indignation, love, charity, shame, misery, felicity and dying.

13 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Book II; Hobbes, *Elements of the Law*, 36.

14 Hobbes, *Elements of the Law*, 21, 41-2, 43, 68.

15 Thomas Hobbes, *On the Citizen*, ed. and trans. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 116.

16 These are the conclusions of, respectively, Benedetto Croce, 'Aesthetica in Nuce,' in *Filosofia, poesia, storia: Pagine tratte da tutte le opere a cura dell'autore* (Milan-Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 197, 199, as well as *Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale: teoria e storia*, ed. Giuseppe Galazzo (Milan: Adelphi, 1990), 295, and Michael Mooney, *Vico in the Tradition of Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

17 Giambattista Vico, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione*, in: *Opere*, ed. Andrea Battistini (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1990), 2 vols, 1:138: 'sed eam hodie rerumpublicarum formam esse replicabunt, ut eloquentia in liberis populis non ultra regnet.'

18 He did indeed deliver such orations. See Giambattista Vico, *Minora: Scritti latini storici e d'occasione* (Naples: Alfredo Guida, 2000). And the workaday undertakings of the entity that Italian scholars refer to as *l'uomo Vico* need to be set in the context of the Neapolitan political culture described in the following literature: Gabriel Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), John A. Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), and Barbara Naddeo, *Vico and Naples: The Urban Origins of Modern Social Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

19 This, in essence, is the argument of my *Vico and the Transformation of Rhetoric in Early Modern Europe* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

20 The manuscript referred to here is 'Institutionum oratoriarum liber unus: exposuit utriusque iuris doctor Iohannes Baptista a Vico in almo neapolitano Gymnasio die 24 mensis aprilis anno 1711,' preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, ms. XIX 42 IV/1, which describes itself as 'transcripta die 23 Augusti anno 1802.' See Giambattista Vico, *Institutiones oratoriae*, ed. Giuliano Crifò (Naples: Istituto Suor Orsola Benincasa, 1989), lxxi.

21 Vico, *De ratione*, 116: 'geometrica demonstramus, quia facimus: si physica demonstrare possemus, faceremus.'
22 Giambattista Vico, *De antiquissima italorum sapientia*, in:*Opere filosofiche*, ed. Paolo Cristofolini (Florence: Sansoni, 1971), 125: 'mihi physica vera erunt, cum feceris: ut geometrica ideo hominibus sunt vera, quia faciunt.'
23 Giambattista Vico, *Risposta del Signor Giambattista Vico, 1711*, in: *Opere filosofiche*, 134. Vico, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 16ff. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 3.5.5-18; Cicero, *Topica*, 79-80. Compare also Vico's account of *gnome* (a general maxim) and *noēma* (a particular one) in the lectures on oratory. Vico, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 374-5.
24 Inexplicably, this phrase was misconstrued as a single negative in the first English translation. See Vico, *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, trans. L. M. Palmer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 121.
25 Vico, *De antiquissima sapientia*, 121.
26 Vico, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 16-23.
27 Vico, *De ratione*, 194.
28 As listed in Glenn Most and Thomas Fries, 'Die Quellen von Nietzsches Rhetorik-Vorlesung,' in: Tilman Borsche, Federico Gerratana and Aldo Venturelli (eds.), *'Centauren-Geburten': Wissenschaft, Kunst und Philosophie beim jungen Nietzsche*, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 17, the details are as follows: 'WS 1870/71 Seminar 'Quintilian I. Buch' [angekündigt, aber nicht gehalten]; SS 1871 Vorlesung 'Quintilian I. Buch' [angekundigt; Durchführung fraglich]; WS 1871/72 Vorlesung '*Dialogus de oratoribus*' [angekundigt; Durchführung fraglich]; WS 1872/73 Vorlesung 'Griechische und römische Rhetorik' [angekündigt als 'Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer'; mit Anhang: 'Abriß der Geschichte der Beredsamkeit,' Nachlaß: P II 12 a, 2-101]; SS 1874 Vorlesung 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik' [angekündigt; Durchführung nicht sicher; vermutlich 'Geschichte der griechischen Beredsamkeit,' Nachlaß: P II 13 c, 230-148]; WS 1874/75 Vorlesung 'Erklärung von Aristoteles' *Rhetorik*' [angekündigt und durchgeführt, Nachlaß P II 12 a, 102-107, 219-146 erster Teil]; 1875 Vorlesung 'Aristoteles' *Rhetorik* (Fortsetzung)' [angekündigt und durchgeführt, Nachlaß: P II 12a, 102-107, 219-146 zweiter Teil; P II 12b, 51-38, ohne Schluß]; WS 1877/78 Vorlesung '*Rhetorik* des Aristoteles' [angekündigt; Durchführung fraglich]; SS 1879 Vorlesung 'Einleitung in die griechische Beredsamkeit' [angekündigt, aber nicht durchgeführt].'
29 Ibid., 17-46. The precise date for the 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik' is a matter of debate. Compare Fritz Bornmann, 'Zur Chronologie und zum Text der Aufzeichnungen von Nietzsches Rhetorikvorlesung,' *Nietzsche-Studien* 26 (1997), 491-500 and Ernst Behler, 'Nietzsches Studium der griechischen Rhetorik nach der KGW,' *Nietzsche-Studien* 27 (1998), 1-12. Both Volkmann and Gerber were creatures of the German Gymnasium system – the former in Jauer, the latter in Bromberg.
30 The locus classicus for this reception of Schopenhauer is, of course, Friedrich Nietzsche, *Geburt der Tragödie*, in: *Samtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 15 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), henceforth, 'KSA,' 1: 105-7.
31 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1869-1874*, in: KSA 7: 368.
32 On the relationship between music and rhetoric in the early Nietzsche, compare Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, 'Le Détour,' in: *Le Sujet de la Philosophie* (Paris: Aubier-Flammarion, 1979), 33-74. The emergence and then occlusion of rhetoric as a meta-language for musical analysis is, in fact, another significant dimension of the evolution of the discipline in the period after 1600. For its emergence, see David Cram, 'The Changing Relations between Grammar, Rhetoric and Music in the Early Modern Period,' in: R. Bod e.a. (eds.),

The Making of the Humanities I, 263-82. For its occlusion, see Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), esp. 132ff. I am grateful to Christopher Swift and Maria Semi for articulating these connections.

33 Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik,' in: Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (ed.), *Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke*, 35 vols. in 9 parts (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967-), henceforth 'KGW,' II, 4: 425: 'es giebt gar keine unrhetorische "Natürlichkeit" der Sprache, an die man appelliren könnte.'

34 Ibid., 22: '*die Sprache ist Rhetorik*, denn sie will nur eine *doxa*, keine *epistēmē* übertragen.'

35 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen IV*, in: KSA 1: 491. Indeed, Nietzsche described Wagner as a rhetorician (*Nachgelassene Fragmente 1875-1879*, in: KSA 8: 497), and Wagner was said to be a Demosthenes for the artfulness with which he concealed his art, for his capacity to individuate passion, and for his avoidance of epideictic (*Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen IV*, in: KSA 1: 495, 502).

36 Nietzsche, 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik,' in KGW II, 4: 419, 425.

37 Ibid., 426.

38 Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1869-1874*, in: KSA 7: 632: 'die Lust aller Sinneswahrnehmung[en] liegt darin, dass sie mit *Schlüssen* zu Stande gebracht sind.' The translation quoted here comes from Friedrich Nietzsche, *Writings from the Early Notebooks*, ed. Raymond Geuss and Alexander Nehamas, trans. Ladislaus Löb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 178.

39 Nietzsche, 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik,' in KGW II, 4: 426.

40 Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1869-1874*, in: KSA 7: 486, 490.

41 Obsession with Nietzsche's sense of the tropes is reductive. Witness the merely infinite repeatability of de Man's gesture in 'Nietzsche's Theory of Rhetoric,' *Symposium* 28 (1974), 34-51. On account of the inescapability of troping, 'philosophy turns out to be an endless reflection on its own destruction at the hands of literature' (43).

42 Nietzsche, *Geburt der Tragödie*, in: KSA 1: 77.

43 Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1869-1874*, in: KSA 7: 281.

44 Compare, thus, Giambattista Vico, 1744 *Scienza nuova*, §§905-14, in: *Opere*, ed. Battistini.

45 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, in: KGW IV, 3: 73-4.

46 Ibid., 4:2:55-6.

47 Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen IV*, in: KSA 1: 455.

48 Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, in: KGW IV, 3: 230: 'die Zeit des gut-Redens ist vorbei, weil die Zeit der Stadt-Culturen vorbei ist'; Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen IV*, in: KSA 1: 502.

49 Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen I*, in: KSA 1: 220.

50 Ibid., 163, 221, 229-42.

51 Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen III*, in: KSA 1: 343.

52 Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente Herbst 1887 bis März 1888*, in: KGW VIII, 2: 18.

53 Nietzsche, 'Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik,' in KGW II, 4: 415: rhetoric is 'eine wesentlich republikanische Kunst: man muss gewohnt sein die fremdesten Meinungen u. Ansichten zu ertragen und sogar ein gewisses Vergnügen an ihrem Widerspiel empfinden'; Nietzsche, *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, in: KGW VI, 2: 383: 'es giebt *nur* ein perspektivisches Sehen, *nur* ein perspektivisches 'Erkennen'; und *je mehr* Affekte wir über eine Sache zu Worte kommen lassen, *je mehr* Augen, vershiedne Augen wir uns für dieselbe Sache einzusetzen wissen, um so vollständiger wird unser 'Begriff' dieser Sache, unsre 'Objektivität' sein.'

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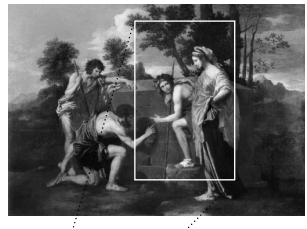
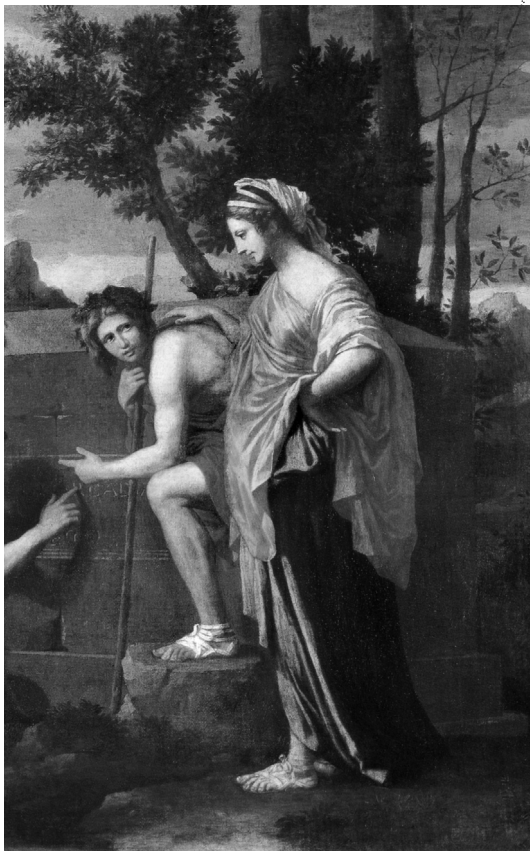
VII

Academic Communities





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The Documents of Feith

The Centralization of the Archive in Nineteenth-Century Historiography

Pieter Huistra

In his grand overview of the history of the humanities, *De vergeten wetenschappen* ('The Forgotten Sciences'), Rens Bod takes as his theme the continuous search for empirical patterns and methodical principles.[1] The book shows a wide array of remarkable similarities and cross-sections between the humanities. Nineteenth-century historiography, for example: its stress on the critical use of primary sources owed a lot to philology and it shared its search for quite rigid methodology with linguistics and, again, philology.[2] Less prominent in Bod's book but perhaps most strikingly similar between the humanities was – quite paradoxically – their stress on mutual differences. The humanities established themselves as (academic) disciplines by demarcating themselves from predecessors, amateurs and neighbouring disciplines. These demarcations should be an object of investigation themselves; although method played an important role in their fixation, they cannot be explained by it alone.

Places, physically and symbolically, had an important role in shaping nineteenth-century disciplines. Historians of the natural sciences have often studied the geography of science on a macro- and a micro-scale. They have long found out what remains to be researched in the humanities, namely that 'space matters'.[3] Laboratories and fieldwork are places crucial to the formation of a discipline or the construction of scientific knowledge.[4] An analogy can be made with the humanities. In the frame of this article I will narrow it down to historiography. When the critical-philological method was set as the historian's strict procedure, primary sources turned out to be his raw material. The archive consequentially became his privileged working place. Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen has recently taken inspiration from the history of science and studied the 'archival turn' of Leopold Ranke, probably the nineteenth-century historian with the greatest intellectual legacy and offspring. Eskildsen has shown how Ranke made the archive into 'the most important site for historical knowledge'.[5] After Ranke had set the example, no history could be written without

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a foundation of documentary evidence coming from the archive. History students were trained to become archival researchers. This training did not necessarily entail an actual archival visit, since the seminar room could serve as a substitute. Yet, the result was clear: the archive was part of the disciplinary identity of the historian.

Here, I want to study the role of archives, their keepers (archivists) and their content (archival documents) in nineteenth-century historiography. My perspective is that of the archive of Groningen, a university town in the north of the Netherlands and capital of the province of the same name. It offers the possibility of studying the relationship between archive and historiography over the larger part of the nineteenth century because of a remarkable continuity in its administration. The Groningen archive was run by three successive archivists from one family, the latter two mastering the craft as assistants to their fathers. The first was Hendrikus Octavius Feith senior, living from 1778 to 1849, and archivist from 1832 to 1849 [Fig. 18]. He was succeeded by his son Hendrik Octavius Feith junior (1813-1895), reigning as an archivist from 1849 to 1892, who in turn was succeeded by his son: Johan Adriaan Feith (1858-1913) archivist from 1892 up until 1913 [Figs. 19-20].[6] The youngest of the Feith played an important role in the professionalization of his *métier* as one of the writers of the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*. The manual, first published in Dutch in 1898, was widely translated and considered 'a bible for modern archivists'.[7] Here, I will show how the archive gained in practical and symbolical value over the years. The vicinity of a university brought about an interaction between academic historiography and archival practices: the archive took centre stage. It became a working place and a training ground and was used to legitimize and enforce historiography. Finally, the archive offers the possibility of taking a glance at persons and practices that normally stay out of focus in the history of the humanities.

Secrecy and order

Already in the eighteenth century, some historians desired the contents of certain archives.[8] It was a mostly unfulfilled desire, largely due to uncooperative administrations which feared the political consequences of publishing archival material. The few historians who were allowed to inspect archives were those with the right political views and background, often in or very close to power.[9] Historians used but never owned archival material: they were dependent on the goodwill of administrations or private persons who owned archives and the archivists who managed them. In the nineteenth century, archives began to become public, but

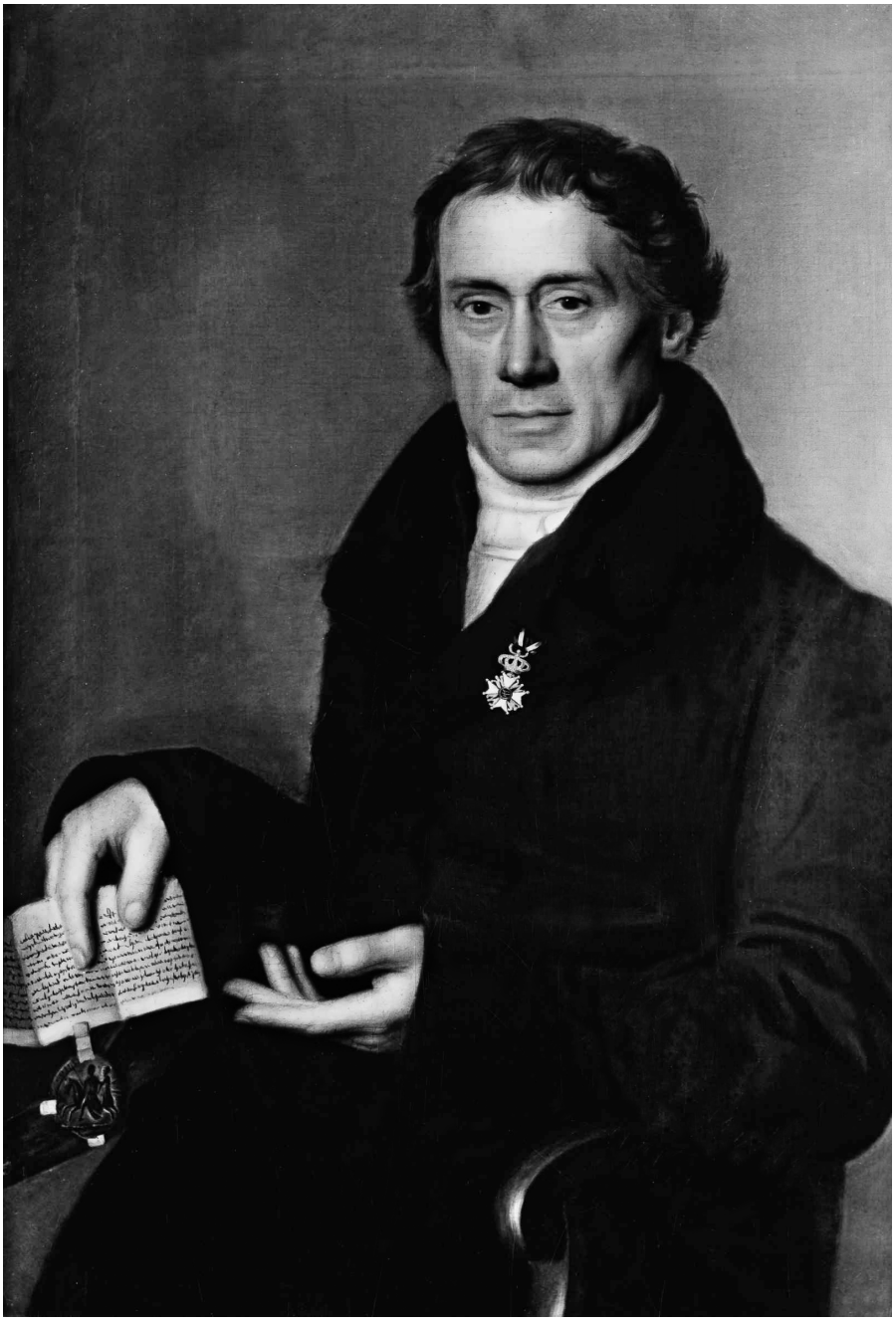


Fig. 18: *H.O. Feith sr., the grandfather of a dynasty: Groningen archivist 1832-1849*. Painting by T. van Doorn. Instituut Collectie Nederland. Photo: Collection RHC Groninger Archieven

Fig. 19: *H.O. Feith jr., who published a printed inventory, Groningen archivist 1849-1892.*
Painting by J.H. Egenberger. Photo: Collection RHC Groninger Archieven

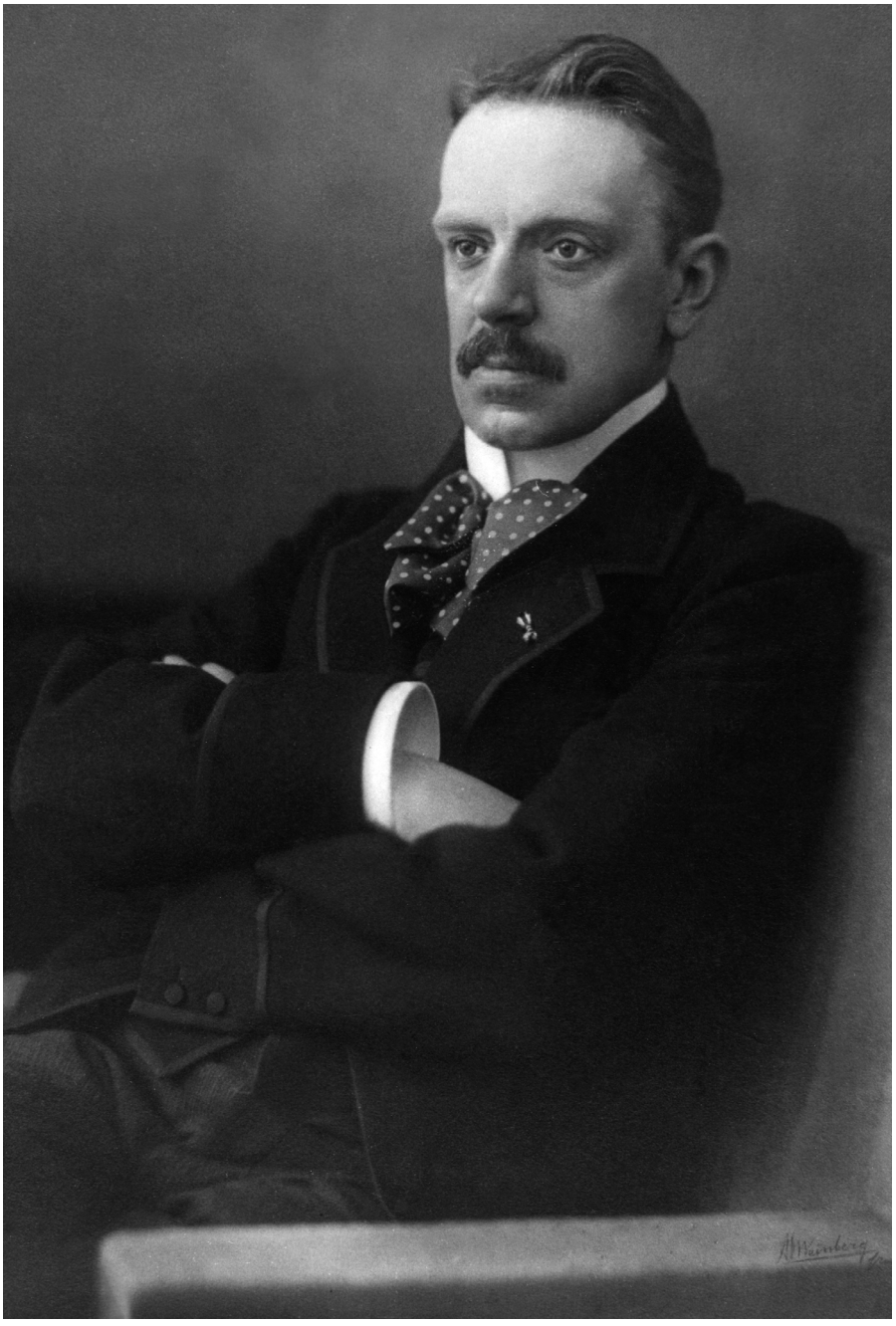


Fig. 20: *J.A. Feith: heir to an archive, Groningen archivist 1892-1913.* Photo: A.S. Weinberg, collection RHC Groninger Archieven

archivists remained a special breed and the Groningen archivists were a prime example of this. All three generations of the Feith family were local dignitaries and members of the city council.[10] They were bestowed with powers to deny entrance to untrustworthy persons, or to withhold documents where the information was considered detrimental to current affairs. The latter happened as late as 1859 when H.O. Feith Jr refused to release a number of seventeenth-century records on property rights that could still be used against the city. The municipal government applauded Feith's decision[11]– they knew they had loyal archivists in the Feith family. An archive remained an instrument of power to governments because of the information it contained, and an archivist could be praised for his secrecy.

The demand for primary sources for historical use was on the rise throughout the nineteenth century. When the Groningen archive was founded in the 1820s, the propagandists of this new institution convinced the provincial government by using several arguments that illustrated multiple purposes and shifting interests. They stressed that a separate organization would have great practical advantages and benefits to the city and province, for example concerning the arrangement of property rights.[12] But their main concern was the composition of a book of charters that was to be a monument to provincial patriotism as well as a foundation for writing a provincial history.[13] In the eighteenth century, a book of charters mostly served a legal and an antiquarian purpose.[14] In the nineteenth century it became an important genre in historical source editing and as such it was fully endorsed by H.O. Feith Sr.

After he became an archivist in 1832, Feith turned the archive into a storage house for the future book of charters. He began collecting all important archival material in his province – the archivist himself selecting what was important and what was not.[15] It was only once the documents were included within his archive that the charters could acquire significance. Once there, they were a proper part of the collection of source material that could serve as a basis for Groningen history. So long as the documents were in other hands, they were 'of no use to science and the knowledge of the old state of our province.'[16] Feith never managed to complete his book of charters and he therefore looked for other ways to publish archival material. An important motive was the fear of loss that was of prime concern to any archivist. The papers and parchments were always threatened by fire and decay, and Feith himself was susceptible to the threat: 'If sooner or later there is a fire (God forbid) in the rooms where the old documents are kept, they will be lost forever to us and later generations'.[17] Only a few years later, in 1844, the threat proved to be all but imaginary: almost all of the Dutch naval archives, kept in The Hague, were destroyed in a fire. It increased the archivists' anxiety even further.[18] For Feith, the only remedy was to print 'as much as possible'.[19] A printed

source was a source whose existence was assured for eternity; its singularity was overcome by multiplication.

Feith published primary sources and wrote small articles about historical subjects. This was practically the only way through which the information that was kept in the archival records left the Groningen archive. Feith himself was the foremost user of his archive. Although there had been a ministerial decree that the archive should be accessible to historical researchers, there were hardly any visitors. That the Groningen archive was not meant for these visitors is reflected in the fact that there were almost no working facilities in the rooms where the archives were kept, on the top floor of the Groningen city hall. So, it was Feith's oeuvre of 'exploitations' as his biographer called it; the historical production resulting from the archive.[20]

These 'exploitations' strongly resemble a dominant trend in the Dutch natural sciences of the mid-nineteenth century, which Klaas van Berkel has described as 'museum science'. Many natural scientists almost exclusively based their work on the collections they had at their disposal, whether it was a botanical garden, a herbarium, a zoo, or an anatomical cabinet. A skull, a plant, or an animal from it served as an object of scientific research.[21] Feith had his own collection, the Groningen archive, and he too based his historical work solely on what he found there. He published interesting source material, mostly for historical and legal use.[22] In the local newspapers he often wrote on archaeological finds, mostly concerning antique coins since he had founded a coin collection that was part of the archive. Feith saw it as the archivist's duty to inform the public in this way.[23] The result of this museum science, as Van Berkel concluded and which is corroborated by Feith's own work, was a descriptive way of working that focused not on the questions asked, but on the material that presented itself within the collections. It was 'coincidental' science: it was simply based on the content of a collection that could change over the years through purchases or donations.[24]

One aspect of museum science seems to have a less arbitrary, more fundamental side to it. It is the question of the order in the collection, a question that poses itself with every new acquisition: what place should the new object take? For Feith the answer was relatively easy: the order in his archive was a chronological one. His archive was meant to be the foundation of a future provincial history, and for that reason the documents in it should mirror history. And since history 'follows the course of time' – as Feith said – he put all of the documents in a chronological order.[25] Every new document automatically received its place between the others in order of date. This way of ordering, where the archivist took no regard of the provenance of the records, was used more often in the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet nowhere had it been implemented so radically as in Groningen. The ordering, the source publications and the 'museum science' were typical of the

archivists' methods of practising history. Therefore it was typical for Dutch historiography in the mid-nineteenth century, since it was archivists who dominated historiography at the time.[26]

Register and treasury

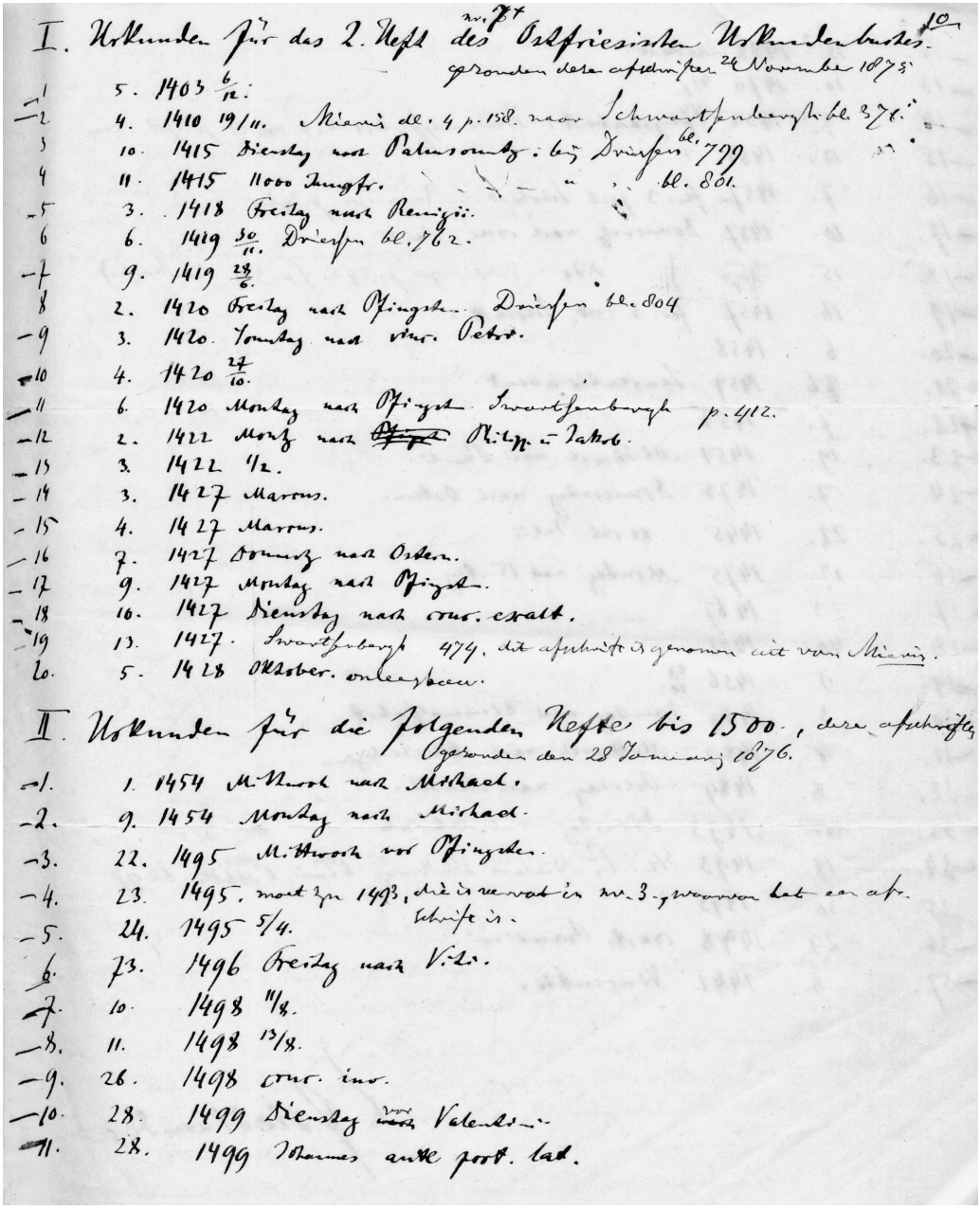
In 1838, H.O. Feith Sr gave up his salary and proposed using the money to hire an assistant who could be educated in becoming his successor. Of course it was his son, H.O. Jr, who was recommended and subsequently hired.[27] After the father's death in 1849, the son continued the family business. H.O. Jr managed the archive and prolonged his father's historical work. He co-edited a journal that almost exclusively published source material, stemming from the Groningen archive.[28] When he purchased an old chronicle for the archive at an auction in 1863, he published it a few years later.[29] Feith completed the project of putting all of his archive in a chronological order and published a printed inventory – a novelty in the Netherlands.[30] It was titled the *Register van het archief van Groningen*. It appeared between 1853 and 1858 and consisted of five chronological volumes and a sixth one with an alphabetical index.[31] As the content of the archive grew, two additional volumes were necessary, published in 1865 and 1877. Feith's goal was, as he stated in his foreword, 'to make the content of the archive known to the public.'[32]

The *Register* was received enthusiastically by other archivists: they saw it as an 'invaluable' work and wanted to make use of its content.[33] This did not mean that the number of visitors that came to Groningen city hall increased dramatically. Feith's aim to serve 'the public' did probably not include augmenting the number of visitors who called. When he was asked by the State Archivist R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink to adopt regular opening hours in 1862, he complied only against his will. It marked a contrast between Feith and Bakhuizen; the latter had travelled throughout Europe in order to visit archives and had gone to great lengths to get access to them.[34] Feith wanted to manage his archive by his own standards, letting visitors in at the hours he decided himself, whereas Bakhuizen wanted to safeguard the visitors from the moods of archivists.

The *Register* was an instant success. It did manage to serve historians, but it failed to attract large numbers of them flocking towards Groningen. Although the facilities for researchers were embellished in the early 1870s, the number of visitors rose only marginally, if at all. Instead, Feith witnessed a change in the use of the archive. The visitors, who had already consulted the *Register* at home or elsewhere, had a lot less to do once they were 'inside'. They knew beforehand which documents they needed, looked them up and copied them, and then went away again.[35] Through the *Register* which summarized the content of the Gron-

ingen archive, even a virtual visit was made possible. Feith concluded in his yearly report over 1875: 'The printed registers make a personal visit evermore obsolete, which is why the number of visitors does not increase whilst the sources of the history of our province are still researched.'[36] Anyone interested was able to know the content of the archive without physically entering it. The *Register* transformed the Groningen archive into something of an ordering service, managed by H.O. Feith Jr. Every archival document under his administration had a place in the *Register*, with its year and its own number. Anyone interested in documents could ask Feith for copies. And so people did: the correspondence over requested documents grew every year. The Berlin *Geheimer Staats Archivar* Ernst Friedländer in 1875 for example sent over his shopping list, asking for charters for the *Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch* (1874-1881) he was working on [Fig. 21].[37] Feith took care of the hand-made copies, and sent the documents to Friedländer together with a bill to cover expenses. Friedländer lavishly praised and thanked Feith for his cooperation in sending him the copies of the 'treasures', as he called the archival documents. It was not only copies which were sent by mail, sometimes it was the 'real thing' that went from the Groningen archive to another archive or library. Again, the helpfulness of Feith was rewarded with praise. Leiden's university librarian wrote in a return letter: 'I am in a hurry to send back this valuable book to your treasury, and to ask you politely to send me a message of its safe homecoming. Of course I will not do this without thanking you heartedly for this friendly proof of willing cooperation in the construction of historical science.'[38]

The Feith archive had become part of a network that facilitated the historical discipline that demanded archival documents as its fundament. The members of this network – archivists, librarians – cherished their documents and called them 'treasures'. Copies were taken of them eagerly. Even the treasures themselves circulated between the members of the network. They went to and from safe havens such as archives and libraries, which were called 'treasuries'. The members shared some ethical values that were necessary for communicating: helpfulness, carefulness towards the documents, generosity, and of course gratitude in return. In modern historiography which had collecting sources as one of its most regular practices, these were 'historical virtues' – as Jo Tollebeek has shown.[39] From the 'archival community' that came into existence, great value was adhered to the small gestures that were a necessity to fulfil historiography's methodological demand for source material. H.O. Feith Jr, by copying the archival documents himself, excelled in them as Friedländer made clear: 'Wie viel können wir Archivare alle von Ihrer Liberalität lernen, der Sie nicht nur Ihre archivalischen Schätze den Kollegen zugänglich machen, sondern selbst den Zeitaufwand nicht scheuen, den Ihren das Abschreiben so vieler Diploma verursacht.'[40]


I. Urkunden für das 2. Heft des Ostfriesischen Urkundenbuches.
gesandten Copien abgeschrieben 24 November 1875.
1 5. 1403 6/12.
2 4. 1410 19/11. Schiaus dl. 4 p. 158. vgl. Schwartzenberg's bl. 376.
3 10. 1415 Dienstag nach Palmarum. bei Driessen bl. 799
4 11. 1415 11000 Jungfr. " " bl. 801.
5 3. 1418 Freitag nach Reminis.
6 6. 1419 30/11. Driessen bl. 782.
7 9. 1419 28/6.
8 2. 1420 Freitag nach Pfingsten. Driessen bl. 804
9 3. 1420. Montag nach dem. Petri.
10 4. 1420 27/10.
11 6. 1420 Montag nach Pfingst. Schwartzenberg p. 412.
12 2. 1422 Montag nach ~~Pfingst~~ Philip. u. Jakob.
13 3. 1422 1/2.
14 3. 1427 Marcus.
15 4. 1427 Marcus.
16 7. 1427 Donnerst nach Ostern.
17 9. 1427 Montag nach Pfingst.
18 10. 1427 Dienstag nach omn. exalt.
19 13. 1427. Schwartzenberg 474. die abschrift ist genommen mit vom Schiaus.
20 5. 1428 Oktober. ohne Tag.

II. Urkunden für die folgenden Hefte bis 1500., deren abschriften
gesandten den 28 Januar 1876.
1. 1. 1454 M. Donnerst nach Michael.
2. 9. 1454 Montag nach Michael.
3. 22. 1495 M. Donnerst vor Pfingsten.
4. 23. 1495. wird zu 1493, die ist genommen in nr. 3. gewonnen hat er abschrift ist.
5. 24. 1495 5/4.
6. 13. 1496 Freitag nach Vit.
7. 10. 1498 11/8.
8. 11. 1498 13/8.
9. 26. 1498 omn. inn.
10. 28. 1499 Dienstag vor nach Valentin.
11. 28. 1499 Johannes ante port. lat.

Fig. 21: *Ernst Friedländer's shopping list*. Friedländer ('Charters for the second volume of the *Ostfriesischen Urkundenbuches*') ranked the demanded charters chronologically. Feith ('sent copies on November 24th 1875') made small marks in *margine*, noting the copies he made. Collection RHC Groninger Archieven

Raising standards

In 1884, P.J. Blok was named professor of history in Groningen. It marked an important change for the Feith archive: academic historiography made its entrance. History professors at Groningen University had never cared much for archival research. They had occupied themselves with ancient history and medieval literature.[41] Blok was convinced that the archive should occupy a central position in historiography. No one could be a historian of the modern age, he said, without 'partly being an archivist'.[42] He made numerous archival journeys – to Germany, Paris, Russia. In Blok's enthusiastic rhetoric these were 'round-ups' in which he hunted for – once again – 'treasures'.[43] Blok had to plan his trips during the academic holidays, but during the year he could benefit from the facilities of the Groningen archive. Here he could find a great deal of sources for regional history, which he studied intensely. Archival documents that he had found on his travels could be sent over to the Groningen archive as well, just as Feith had sent his material to other places. Blok had the letters of Louis of Nassau, a younger brother of William the Silent, sent over to Groningen from the archive of Marburg, Germany in 1885. After the first parcel had been returned, Feith received a somewhat angry, somewhat disillusioned letter from Marburg. The parcel had been heavily damaged in transport and only by miracle had the documents remained unharmed. Trust, which was so important in the network of archivists, was broken by Feith's carelessness. The Marburg archivist demanded promises that such a thing would never happen again.[44] Only after Feith had reassured that he would from then on be more careful, the next set of letters arrived. P.J. Blok could continue his work and was aided by the young J.A. Feith in copying the letters.[45] A few years later, in 1887, Blok published an edition of the letters. In the preface he thanked the Prussian government for letting him use the letters in Groningen.[46]

Blok did not only use the archive for his research, it had a pivotal role in his teaching as well. He wanted to train his students to become true historians like himself. The historical method, rather than knowledge, should separate the historian from the dilettante and it was for this reason that Blok started the first historical seminar in the Netherlands.[47] In the seminar, professor and students worked together in the step-by-step construction of historical research.[48] At the same time, the students trained themselves in skills like palaeography.[49] Blok's objective was to offer advanced students an 'insight into the activities of the historian' and 'a view on his workshop'.[50] Since the use of primary source material was crucial in Blok's idea of historiography, there could be no doubt about what the 'workshop' of the historian should be: the archive. It was the aging H.O. Feith Jr who put the content of the archive at Blok's disposal, therefore allowing the students to train themselves with the original documents.[51] The Groningen ar-

chive was given a new function: it was the historian's workshop, where the new apprentices could be trained using the original documents not for its content, but to hone their own skills. The students appeared as visitors in the yearly reports, arriving 'to train themselves in the old handwriting'.[52]

Typical of the university-based historiography was a new genre of historical writing: the doctoral dissertation, based on archival research. Students of Blok did research in the Groningen archive, sometimes using documents that were on loan from elsewhere – just as the professor himself did.[53] In the acknowledgements of the dissertations, Blok was praised with gratitude. J.A. Feith, who had been one of the students to attend the seminar, thanked Blok for his help.[54] H.O. Feith Jr, J.A.'s father, had first of all not thanked a professor, but his own father, H.O. Feith Sr.[55] The appetite for the archive was no longer transmitted from father to son, but from professor to student. This professionalized relationship in which the historical method was taught, was still embedded in a close-knit community. Blok stressed that he wanted to be a 'friend' of the students.[56] This friendship was returned and meant more than just an amicable relationship between student and professor. It was a loyalty to a historical method and historiography as well, as Blok's student H. Brugmans showed in the preface to his dissertation. Brugmans thanked Blok extensively for being a 'heartily and interested friend', for teaching him 'the love of science'; he felt 'obliged' to continue on the 'foundations' that Blok had made and he assured his mentor and friend that he would go wherever 'duty called him'. [57] For now this was in England, where Brugmans did archival research, but later on he became a history professor himself in Amsterdam.

Blok and J.A. Feith became good friends too, working together on a chronicle Feith edited in 1887 in which Blok wrote an elaborate introduction.[58] The two became the core of the Groningen Historical Society, for which Blok had launched the initiative. He wanted to further historical research by cooperation.[59] The Historical Society grouped the most important historians and archivists of Groningen around Blok's idea of historical research – some of them his former students. Their meetings combined a scientific ethos and a high degree of sociability. The members discussed edition techniques, showed charters to each other and lectured from unpublished works at monthly meetings on a Saturday evening at one of the members' homes. The atmosphere was described as 'pleasant and advantageous' and Blok looked back at the meetings as 'enjoyable Saturday evenings'.[60] At the end of every year, the members went to a town or village nearby for an excursion that was always concluded with a dinner.

At the meeting of 21 January 1888, Blok put his fellow historians to work. He proposed taking up an old and never completed project: the edition of a book of charters (this time to include the neighbouring province of Drenthe as well as Groningen). The motivation for the edition had changed. The provincial patriot-

ism that had been so important six decades before did not receive any mention in Blok's proposal. Earlier projects were rejected as outdated, incomplete and inaccurate.[61] Contemporary historiography demanded higher standards of completeness and preciseness that could not be met by the work of one man; a great source edition project demanded 'teamwork'.[62] The editing took longer than expected. It was only in 1899 that the second volume of the book of charters was completed.[63] The work undertaken was impressive: the editors gave notice of it in a detailed introduction that served to establish themselves as trustworthy and reliable editors.

The determination to create a comprehensive edition was illustrated by an overview of the provenance of the charters that were included: over a thousand from 36 different archives, domestic and abroad. Of course, the editors had used their network: they gave thanks to all the helpful archivists who had given them information and who had sometimes been 'competing' in their 'kindness'. To gather all the material, archival journeys had been necessary. These journeys were accounted for too: J.A. Feith went to the Hamburg and Münster archives in Germany for example.[64] Feith's keenness to travel contrasts greatly to his grandfather, H.O. Sr, who had tried to make of his own archive the storage house for the book of charters. By the wide geographical range of archives consulted, the editors showed the *completeness* of their selection of charters; they put even more effort in proving themselves to be *precise* editors.

The system of editing was one of checks and double-checks in which teamwork was crucial. The work was divided in the most efficient way: J.A. Feith had to make the first selection of charters that could be taken in, since he was the archivist and therefore closest to the documents. After this had been done, the real work could begin. Everyone had to take his fair share of copies. One colleague would check these a first time, and afterwards the copies were discussed in the plenary meetings. For resolving any discussions, the original document was brought as the final authority.[65] This precise and rather laborious work took a great deal of time, and the sociable aspect of the meetings was, to a greater extent, lost as a consequence. A solution was found in replacing the editorial meetings in 1892. No longer would the editors do their collective work in the cosy atmosphere of Saturday evening. Instead they worked in the Groningen archive on the Saturday afternoon, the place where Feith already kept all the paperwork and of course many of the original documents.[66] It was the self-evident workshop for their archive-based edition.

All the procedures and precautions served to secure the preciseness of the edition. The original documents played an important role. Sometimes these documents were out of reach, though in such a case, the editors could rely on a contact, often a helpful archivist. These relationships were based on trust: trust that original documents were handled with care and trust that the copies that were

sent over were accurate. How important trust was, was shown in those moments when it broke down. This had happened when H.O. Feith Jr had been careless with the letters from Marburg, and it happened again when the editors of the *Oorkondenboek* had requested a number of charters from the Vatican archives in Rome. They used their usual contact, G. Brom, who had been in Rome and who, in a first letter, had made assurances that the copies would be taken care of. In his second letter, however, with the three requested copies attached, Brom had found a defect in the copies made. He blamed his copyist who, according to him, was not suitable for much.[67] This unfortunate copyist resembles the 'invisible technicians' described by Steven Shapin as playing an important role in Robert Boyle's seventeenth-century experiments in natural science. They were only noticed through their 'capacity to subvert – that is to make mistakes and trouble'.[68] The technicians had no scientific authority: knowledge claims could only be made by Boyle. The technicians were trusted to perform the necessary experiments and should remain out of sight. They became visible when trust became problematic, that is when something went wrong, such as the explosion of an air pump. The Roman copyist was entrusted with making accurate copies and should have remained completely transparent, as such he would not be named in the acknowledgements, let alone make it to the title page of the *Oorkondenboek*. Since he had made a mistake, the editors were urged to excuse themselves for those charters from Rome that had been copied in a substandard way compared to the rest of the charters.[69] Through his bad copying, the Roman copyist shows us the importance of trust between archival researchers and he gives a glance at those who were indispensable to historiography, but were not meant to be seen.

Epilogue

In 1913, in J.A. Feith's obituary, Blok could state with no exaggeration that Feith had made of his archive the 'centre of the Groningen historical research and historical writing' [Fig. 22].[70] Blok himself had already left Groningen in 1894, to succeed his teacher R. Fruin as Professor of Dutch History in Leiden. One of Blok's reasons to leave was that Leiden was close to the State Archives in The Hague, which he required in order to write his grand eight-volume synthesis of Dutch history.[71] And it was to the State Archives that Blok sent his students to train themselves in palaeography. There they were received with surprise by State Archivist Th. van Riemsdijk, for Blok had sent him a letter of reassurance. Blok explained that he had directed his students to The Hague because Leiden did not have charters of sufficient age, and asked him whether his students were not aided by any of Van Riemsdijk's assistants. For if that was the case they would

Fig. 22: *The Groningen archive in 1915: the historian's workshop.* Photo by Joël de Lange, Collection RHC Groninger Archieven

'never' master the craft.[72] The archive had become a place of great practical and symbolical value to historians. True, historians had to share the archive with civil servants and others working there as well, and their numbers were not large (less than one PhD thesis a year was written with Blok, thanks to the very low number of students in the humanities). It *was* the privileged working place of historiography, and communities and networks were formed around it in order to give access to the original documents. They were the primary sources that historiography needed as its raw material and the training material on which apprentices could hone their skills. Method and epistemology rested on ethics: helpfulness, trustworthiness and reliability were very important in accessing and 'multiplying' the archive.

Historiography, with its fondness of archives, was not unique in the humanities. There were other disciplines that favoured certain places for their knowledge and discipline formation as well. Eskildsen has compared the work historians did in archives to the fieldwork done by archaeologists and anthropologists.[73] Archaeology, anthropology and art history had their own places to stack their material: their collections and museums. One wonders if these museums and the classical

and modern philologist's library are comparable to the historian's archive as well. The Groningen Historical Society seems to suggest so. Feith and Blok not only occupied themselves with texts, but proved that they were founders of the local museum of antiquities as well.[74] Moreover, their ethos seems to have exceeded historiography and spread to more of the nineteenth-century humanities: one of the members of the Society was the philologist Jan te Winkel. In the 1890s, as an Amsterdam professor, he would write an overtly positivist, five-volume history of Dutch literature. The 'scientific' study of literature propagated by Te Winkel went hand in hand with an ethos of austerity.[75] Already, Herman Paul has shown that in the Leiden humanities' department (Blok's new stand) such 'epistemic virtues' adhering to a philological ethos were widely spread.[76] It shows that not only in epistemology, but also in ethics and maybe in practices there were many similarities between the humanities. Perhaps even in its 'personnel', though not always so, helpful archivists like the Feiths may have had their equals in librarians or museum curators, and poor copyists whose names are long forgotten may have resembled diggers or technicians. They deserve to be researched as part of the history of the humanities.

Notes

1 Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen. Een geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010), 19. I am greatly indebted to my Leuven colleagues who read and commented a first version of this article.

2 Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen*, 314-315, 353.

3 David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place. Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago and London, 2003), 5-12.

4 An insight into importance of 'place' in biology is given by Robert E. Kohler, 'Places and Practices in Field Biology', *History of Science* 40 (2002), 189-210.

5 Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, 'Leopold Ranke's Archival Turn: Location and Evidence in Modern Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History* 5 (2008), 425-453, 427.

6 The most recent biographical overview of all three generations is offered by: F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Drie generaties Feith (1778-1913). H.O. Feith (1778-1849), H.O. Feith (1813-1895) en J.A. Feith (1858-1913)', in: G. Overdiep, T.W. van Veen and W.J. Zwalve (eds.), *Acht Groningse juristen en hun Genootschap. 225 jaren Pro Excolendo Iure Patrio* (Groningen, 1986), 61-104.

7 F.C.J. Ketelaar, '"Per tutti i paesi": de Handleiding buiten Nederland', in: P.J. Horsman, F.C.J. Ketelaar and T.H.P.M. Thomassen (eds.), *Tekst en context van de* Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van archieven *van 1898* (Hilversum, 1998), xcix-cvii.

8 See for example: T.Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 1998), 159-166; J. Roelevink, '"Bewezen met authenticque stukken." Juridisch-oudheidkundige drijfveren tot het uitgeven van teksten op het terrein van de vaderlandse geschiedenis in de achttiende eeuw', in: *Bron en publikatie. Voordrachten en opstellen over de ontsluiting van geschiedkundige bronnen, uitgegeven bij het 75-jarig bestaan van het Bureau der Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis* (The Hague, 1985), 78-99.

9 Roelevink, '"Bewezen met authenticque stukken"', 87-89.
10 Ketelaar, 'Drie generaties Feith', *passim*.
11 Groninger Archieven (GA), toegangsnummer 57: 'Archivarius in de provincie Groningen, 1824-1989', inventarisnummer 2.2: 'Correspondentie. Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken 1849 okt – 1875 dec', nrs. 328-329, 330, 332.
12 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie. Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken 1823 – 1849 apr', nr. 4-7, s.d.
13 Ibidem; A.T. Schuitema Meijer, *Historie van het archief van de stad Groningen* (Groningen, 1977), 135-141, especially 140.
14 A.H. Huussen jr., 'Het plakkaatboek. Bron van recht en historie', in: J. Tollebeek, T. Verschaffel and L.H.M. Wessels (eds.), *De Palimpsest. Geschiedschrijving in de Nederlanden 1500-2000* (Hilversum, 2002), 63-80.
15 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 190: minute of a letter, H.O. Feith to the Governor of the province of Groningen, 28-7-1834.
16 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 383-386: concept of a report of H.O. Feith to Gedeputeerde Staten (GS), 6-4-1846.
17 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 251: concept of a letter of H.O. Feith to the Governor of Groningen, 14-5-1838.
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19 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 251: concept of a letter of H.O. Feith to the Governor of Groningen , 14-5-1838.
20 H.O. Feith jr., 'Levensbericht van mr. H.O. Feith', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde 1849* (1849), 114-128, 128.
21 K. van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap. Geschiedenis van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, dl. 1: 1808-1914 (Amsterdam, 2008), 340-342.
22 For example: H.O. Feith, *Het Groninger Beklemregt, of verzameling van staats-resolutien, en andere tot het beklemregt betrekkelijke stukken*, 2 vols. (1828-1837).
23 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 411: minute of a letter from Feith to the Governor of Groningen, 21-6-1847.
24 Van Berkel, *De stem van de wetenschap*, 340-342.
25 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 168: minute of a letter of Feith to GS, 13-8-1832.
26 For the middle of the nineteenth century as an 'age of archivists': L. Dorsman, 'De nieuwe eruditie. Het ontstaan van een historisch bedrijf', in: Tollebeek, *De palimpsest*, 159-176.
27 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.1: 'Correspondentie', nr. 255: minute of a letter from Feith to the Governor of Groningen, 29-9-1838.
28 G. Acker Stratingh, H.O. Feith and W.B.S. Boeles, eds., *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, inzonderheid van de provincie Groningen*, 10 vols. (Groningen, 1863-1873).
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31 H.O. Feith, *Register van het archief van Groningen*, 6 vols. (Groningen, 1853-1858).
32 Feith, *Register van het archief*, dl. 1, 'Voorrede'.
33 GA, 511: 'Archief Familie Feith (3)', 30: 'Brieven over wetenschappelijke onderwerpen. Brieven, ingekomen bij, en minuten van brieven, uitgegaan van mr. H.O. Feith jr., 1839-1889', letter from C.R. Hermans to H.O. Feith jr., 14-10-1858; Ibidem, letter from I.A. Nijhoff to H.O. Feith jr., 2-10-1853.

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36 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.2: 'Correspondentie', nr. 646: minute of letter Feith to GS, 26-1-1875.
37 GA, 57: 'Archivairus', 2.3: 'Correspondentie. Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken 1875 apr – 1882 jul', nr. 15: letter from Friedländer to Feith, 30-1-1876.
38 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.6: 'Correspondentie. Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken 1888 – 1889', nr. 406: letter of W.N. du Rieu to H.O. Feith, 27-2-1888.
39 Jo Tollebeek, *Fredericq & Zonen. Een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap* (Amsterdam, 2008), 115.
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41 Anton J. Rinzema, 'Groninger hoogleraren uit de periode 1614-1876 en hun belangstelling voor de geschiedenis der middeleeuwen', in: Catrien Santing (ed.), *De geschiedenis van de Middeleeuwen aan de Groningse universiteit 1614-1939* (Hilversum, 1997), 11-38.
42 P.J. Blok, *Verslag aangaande een onderzoek in Duitschland naar archivalia belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland* (The Hague, 1888), 2.
43 Blok, *Verslag*, 2, 1. The 'round-up' was a regular theme for Blok, he used it in correspondence with his teacher Robert Fruin, as well: H.J. Smit en W.J. Wieringa (eds.), *Correspondentie van Robert Fruin 1845-1899* (Groningen & Djakarta, 1957), letter of P.J. Blok to R. Fruin, 13-11-1885, 331.
44 GA, 57: 'Archivarius', 2.4. 'Correspondentie. Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken 1882-1885', 224: letter from Marburg archivist to H.O. Feith.
45 Smit en Wieringa, *Correspondentie Fruin*, nr. 328: letter from Blok to Fruin, 7-3-1886, 346.
46 P.J. Blok (ed.), *Correspondentie van en betreffende Lodewijk van Nassau en andere onuitgegeven documenten*[Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht, nieuwe reeks dl. 47] (Utrech,t 1887), vii.
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48 Smit en Wieringa, *Correspondentie Fruin*, nr. 328: letter from Blok to Fruin, 7-3-1886, 345.
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50 LUB, Archief Blok, BPL 2983, 'Gegeven lessen en colleges' (1), 'Afscheid van Groningen' (13-6-1894).
51 Fredericq, 'l'Enseignement', 156; Smit en Wieringa, *Correspondentie Fruin*, nr. 316: letter from Blok to Fruin, 6-12-1835, 334.
52 For example: Nationaal Archief (NA), 2.04.13: Archief van het ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken: Afdeling kunsten en wetenschappen, inventarisnummer 2339: 'Het oud provinciaal archief in Groningen (over het jaar 1888)'.

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54 J.A. Feith, *Het gericht van Selwerd. Bijdrage tot de vaderlandsche rechtsgeschiedenis* (Groningen, 1885), 'foreword'.
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56 LUB, Archief Blok, BPL 2983, 'Afscheid van Groningen'.
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63 *Oorkondenboek van Groningen en Drente bewerkt door Prof. Dr. P.J. Blok, Mr. J.A. Feith, Mr. S. Gratama, Prof. Dr. J. Reitsma en Mr. C.P.L. Rutgers*, 2 vols. (Groningen, 1896-1899).
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67 GA, 454: 'Historisch Genootschap', 3.1: 'Oorkondenboek': letter of G. Brom to J.A. Feith, 22-5-1895; Ibidem, letter of G. Brom to J.A. Feith, 2-7-1895.
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69 *Oorkondenboek*, vol. 2, 504.
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Humboldt in Copenhagen

Discipline Formation in the Humanities at the University of Copenhagen in the Nineteenth Century

Claus Møller Jørgensen

Wilhelm von Humboldt never went to Copenhagen. Not in a physical sense, anyway. But the ideas connected to his name did, the amalgam of idealist philosophy of German thinkers such as Kant, Schleiermacher, Schiller and Fichte who formulated the ideal of 'Synthese zwischen Bildung und Wissenschaft, Synthese aus Forschung und Lehre, Synthese der Disziplinen.'[1] The idea of a university embedded in this thinking had scholarship (*Wissenschaft*)[2] as the key concept. The aim of scholarship was to create knowledge for no other purpose than knowledge itself. Scholarship was to be the cornerstone of the university and the primary and defining pursuit of academic practice. A concomitant emphasis was put on research as the core of scholarship and scholarly activities. Scholarship was primary to teaching and teaching was dependent on it; in this sense there was a unity of research and teaching. The outcome of teaching was *Bildung*, another central concept of the 'Humboldt model' and the New Humanism on which it drew. *Bildung* was something essentially individualistic, self-motivated and non-utilitarian. Neither research, nor teaching, nor study should be limited by external concerns or constraints. Freedom should prevail for the scholar and the student; their only guidance should be their interest in gaining knowledge. This freedom would have to be secured by the state. A final aspect was the unity of knowledge.[3] The idea of unity of knowledge points to a general tendency of the organicism on which this thinking was founded. Wholeness and unity was perceived as positive, partition and fragmentation was seen as negative.

It was these ideas that 'went to Copenhagen' at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The subject of this essay is the fate of the 'Humboldt model' in the context of the humanities at the University of Copenhagen in the course of the nineteenth century. I will focus on two aspects. The first aspect is discipline formation, and here I will focus on Classical Philology, National Philology, History and the Modern Philologies. The second aspect is the institutionalization of the research imperative, specialized scholarship and professionalization of scholarly

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work. These developments took off against the background of the early modern university, but with respect to the University of Copenhagen things were in motion from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Eighteenth-century developments and ideals

The period between 1784 and 1810 was a period of reform in Danish society. Higher education was no exception. From a system dominated by theology which produced priests, higher education became a system that educated civil servants: lawyers, doctors, priests, headmasters and senior teachers for the secondary schools. Education of the last category of civil servants was institutionalized in 1788 with a 'peculiar exam for school teachers'. Before 1788 secondary-school teachers had been trained theologians and in this light this was the first independent exam to be taken at the Philosophical Faculty. Until 1788 the university was characterized by the traditional hierarchy between the faculties. The Philosophical Faculty concluded secondary education and served preparatory functions for studies in the higher faculties. In 1775 an exam for school teachers was established as an addition to the exam in theology. Thirteen years later enlightened reformers undid the tight bond between higher education and the church which had existed since the foundation of the university in 1479 and established an independent exam for secondary-school teachers, which gave the Philosophical Faculty a purpose of its own.

The core of the 1788 exam and the related reforms of secondary education was formed by classical languages. The final exam tested a) if the students had 'the knowledge and proficiency in the languages required for their future occupation to read and interpret the old texts with insight, taste and criticism, b) if they had the required insights in mathematics, history, and geography, as well as natural and revealed theology to educate and lead the youth.'[4] Even though this exam was broad and encyclopaedic, there is no doubt that classical philology was the pivot around which it turned. Inspiration came from Göttingen. After 1750 Göttingen was the preferred destination for student travels, to the extent that one could say that Göttingen was the most important university for the education of Danish philologists. In 1800 a *Seminarium Paedagogicum* along Göttingen lines was established for the education of future secondary-school teachers.[5]

According to the regulations of 1788 the purpose of the University was primarily to educate civil servants in state, church and medical practice, while the development of scholarly knowledge was a secondary purpose. Access to chairs was based on insight and learning. If a professor was competent, he was formally allowed to change from one professorship to another should he wish to do so.

This did, of course, not prohibit professors from doing research, but research in the form of original new contributions to the knowledge of a given field was no requirement for holding a university chair. The possibility of changing between professorships indicates that the ideal was not the specialized researcher but the polyhistor with a broad knowledge in a range of topics with respect to relevant literature, theories and their historical development. [6]

With respect to academic disciplines, the first thing to notice is the minute scale of which we are talking. The Philosophical Faculty consisted of eleven professors: three in mathematics, two in philosophy, two in history, two in Latin, and one each in Greek and Hebrew.[7] The chair holders in Classical Philology were, until 1829, theologians and in history, either theologians or lawyers. Education in both classical philology and history was broad and encyclopaedic. With respect to communication no specialized professional journals existed and general literary journals were sufficient for the publication of studies and scholarly debate. This points to the fact that the development of knowledge was only in a limited sense institutionalized in specialized forums related to the university. The major contribution to the field of history, for example, came from outside the university. The wealthy landowner P. F. Suhm wrote the standard work on Danish history to be used at the university until the 1840s. This shows that only a minor part of historical writing was done at the university and participation in the study of the past was not constrained by disciplinary rules or norms or educational background.[8]

Humboldt in Copenhagen 1829-1883

The Napoleonic Wars had a decisive impact on the university landscape in Europe. Copenhagen was no exception. The university buildings were destroyed by English bombs in 1807, to be rebuilt only after 1822. In 1810 efforts to reform the education of secondary-school teachers ran out of momentum, the *Seminarium Paedagogicum* was closed, and the 1788 exam was reinstalled in 1818. At the end of the 1820s the situation began to change. A new generation of scholars and intellectuals, inspired by romanticism and national thinking, took the lead not only in academic discourse but also in public political debate. In 1829 a group of fourteen younger scientists and scholars, amongst them ten professors, began to publish *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* (Monthly Review of Literature). The content came from both scientific and scholarly disciplines which mirrors the limited number of contributors for any academic journal at the time. Even though the purpose was to guide educated public opinion, the content does not leave any doubt about the academic foundations of the enterprise and shows that scholarly communication and debate was a central purpose of the Review.

Of special relevance in the context of this article is a piece on the university and academic degrees, published in the first number of the Review, written by anonymous members of the editorial board. It begins with a thorough criticism of the idea of a faculty hierarchy. According to its authors, in essence all disciplines were equal because they all emanated from the mind. One could perhaps argue that disciplines which inquired into the spiritual side of man were more important than other disciplines, but it should be considered that when doing so the scholar was leaving the sphere of experience and historical knowledge, which made the task immensely complicated. The point was that in true scholarship – *videnskab* – all disciplines were equal. The concept of true scholarship was related to written thesis, proof, experience, knowledge, thoughtfulness and learning, and the opposites to scholarship were misconception, prejudice and bias. Thoughtfulness was of special importance and might best be translated as original thinking. According to the article, the rule ought to be that 'extraordinary thoughtfulness, even without substantial learning, should open the way [into academe] to the same extent or perhaps even more than mere learning, which is not united with thoughtfulness, deeper insight and education, without which no genuine scholarship will take place.'[9] Learning alone was no longer enough. Originality was the ideal even though it had to be admitted that not 'all practitioners of scholarship could be equally good, or at the same level make discoveries and open up new lines of scholarship...'[10]

These considerations point to a research oriented approach to scholarship. The comments on the faculty hierarchy suggest that the Philosophical Faculty did not gain equality at once. In 1824 it was allowed to award doctoral and magister degrees like the other faculties, after a delay of six years because of complaints from the Theological Faculty that could not accept the equal standing of the preparatory faculty. As a consequence of its right to educate candidates, the Philosophical Faculty was given the right to award these candidates the magister degree for further studies and the doctoral degree to anyone presenting a written thesis showing the required amount of learning. Learning was the concept used in the official regulation,[11] but practice would be much closer to the ideal formulated in 1829 in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*. In the following decade, scientific qualifications in the form of relevant academic degree and scholarly publication were key issues when chairs were filled. Around 1840 production and publication was a well-established part of the duties of the professors in the Philosophical Faculty besides teaching and examining.[12]

The emphasis on research in the sense of original new contributions to the knowledge of a field is also evident in the reviews that appeared in the first issue of the *Maanedsskrift*. The largest portion of the reviews concerned contributions to Classical Philology and bears witness to the superior position of the study of

the classics. Classical Philology was represented by three chairs at the Faculty after 1847, it played a major role in the existing exam, and the professional base of the discipline had developed through the philological candidates' monopoly of headmasterships and senior teaching posts in secondary schools. The reviews in the *Maanedsskrift* concerned textual criticism, especially conjectural criticism and questions about the reconstruction of authentic texts; and they commented on the sources as a means to understand the essence and spirit embodied in the ancient Greek and Roman nations.[13] The general trend in classical studies in Denmark was a move from an author perspective to a cultural and historical perspective. This did not mean that text criticism became less important; rather it meant a change in attitude towards the classical texts, which were no longer perceived as embodying universal ideals but as sources of a historical and cultural epoch. The most important protagonist of the new perspective was classical philologist J.N. Madvig (1804-1886). Madvig was professor in Copenhagen from 1829 to 1879, Minister of Church and Education 1848-1850, and Inspector of the Public Schools from 1848-1874. From around 1840 he was the most influential person in questions of higher education in Denmark and the mastermind behind their reform in 1849-1850.

The backbone of these reforms was a widely accepted interpretation of universal history and Denmark's place in it. Madvig's conception of Danish history was based on the idea of progress and an idea of an intimate connection between the Danish nation and European civilization. For Madvig, nations were the organizing principle of societies throughout history. The ancient Greek and Roman nations were the primitive first stages in the development of European civilization. As such they were separated from modernity and distant from modern man. However, these nations differed from all later nations, because they were the foundation of European civilization. Thus, they were of universal importance to all European nations, including the Danish. After the Middle Ages, a period in which things did not really develop, we enter the period of modern nations in which the progressive development of European civilization was carried on the shoulders of the British, the French and the Germans. They carried the torch for the progressing European *Geist* or civilization. The Danish nation was situated at the periphery of Europe and was not drawn into the process of civilization until the end of the Middle Ages. From this time on, Denmark and Danish national culture developed through impulses from Europe. The progress of the Danish nation would be unthinkable without its connection to European civilization and its foundation in ancient cultures.[14]

Even though Madvig's conception of history and of liberal education acknowledged that Danish history, language and literature, as well as modern languages had a role to play in their own right, classical philology took centre stage. This

view, traceable in a review Madvig published as member of the editorial board in the first issue of the *Maanedsskrift*,[15] became the foundation of the reform of the humanities in 1849, to which I shall return below.

In the first issue of *Maanedsskrift* another important testimony of the paradigmatic generational shift in the late 1820s occurred. Christian Molbech's review of the last volume of Knud Rahbek's *Survey of the Danish Literature* was a devastating critique of the Enlightenment paradigm, the normative and aesthetic interpretation of the progressive evolution of Danish literature. The subject of Rahbek's six volume work, published between 1800 and 1828, was literature written in the Danish language from the Middle Ages to the present, measured according to the universal criteria of good taste. To Molbech, this was a misconception of the task of the history of national literature. Literary artefacts should not be measured according to taste but should be read as expressions of Danish nationality or national spirit, and as expressions of the spirit of the epoch in which they occurred.[16] Molbech delivered his criticism as a member of the editorial board of the *Maanedsskrift* and as professor in *litterairhistorie*. The professorship in *litterairhistorie* had traditionally been connected to the post of university librarian, but Molbech turned it into a professorship in the history of Danish national literature and Danish history.

The congregation of national philologists was not nearly as big or as institutionalized as classical philology. Rather national philology, which had the history of Danish literature as its centre of gravity, took off as an emerging discipline from 1829 onwards. The legitimacy and importance of the field was undisputed in the Philosophical Faculty. An initiative to establish a regular chair in national language and literature was taken by the faculty at the beginning of the 1840s to be realized in 1844 with a chair in Nordic language and literature. The chair was called Nordic after a linguistic and historical interpretation of Danish nationality as rooted in an Old Norse nationality.[17]

Like other scholars, the historians would publish their written results in monographs or in general journals, because of the limited number of both readers and writers. With three professorships, history was well established as a legitimate field of scholarship. Like the national philologists, the historians were few, and the possibilities of earning a living from scholarship, rare. Contrary to Nordic Philology the historians used existing traditions of historical writing originating in the late eighteenth century and outside of the university as point of departure which they modernized into classic national narratives. Inspired by German historiography and idealist philosophy like the national philologists, the core concept was *Folket* (*Volk* or *people*) understood as an organic whole in existence throughout historical time. Niebuhr, and especially Ranke, made a great impact on Danish historians in the 1830s, and source criticism became a core

element that signified true historical scholarship. The use of sources, especially non-printed sources, became the icon of scholarship 'by which [a historical work] becomes a real enhancement of our knowledge, not just a contribution to a better understanding of the already known', as the young historian, and future professor, Caspar Paludan-Müller wrote in a review in 1836.[18]

I will return to the formation of history as a professionalized discipline in the next section. In conclusion of this section, I will take a brief look at the exams in the Philosophical Faculty: the exam for senior teachers of the secondary schools of 1849 and the Magister Artium exam of 1848.

In this respect it is important to notice the actual autonomy of the Faculty. Until 1848, the University of Copenhagen was an institution formally administered and regulated by an absolutist state. In practice, though, a bureaucratic procedure of decision making resting on administrative precedence secured the Faculty autonomy. As noted, the establishment of the chair in Nordic Philology was a result of initiatives taken in the Faculty itself. The reform process, which was to lay out the framework for future discipline formation, was in the first place triggered by debates about reforming the secondary schools in the 1830s. In 1842, this made the *Directorate for the University and the Secondary Schools* ask the Philosophical Faculty for suggestions for the improvement of the exam for secondary school teachers, before further steps were taken. In this way, the Directorate left it to the Faculty to decide if reform was necessary at all; in the following process it left it to the Faculty to decide the content of reform. With one, not insignificant, exception, the 1849 exam for headmasters and senior teachers mirrored scholarly attitudes and power relations in the Faculty. The exception was the decision to make Old Norse language part of the exam. This decision was taken in 1848 by the minister of education D.G. Monrad, though with minority backing from the Faculty. Except for this imposition, the topics for examination were established by a decision of the Faculty majority, which was generally positive in their view of the classics and the ideal of the unity of knowledge. Of central importance in the process was professor Madvig, who made a major impact on the reform processes. He enjoyed a great amount of goodwill, built upon his reputation as a scholar of genius. This goodwill was prevalent in the state bureaucracy, of which he was head as minister of education, when the reform work was concluded.[19]

The result of the seven year long reform process was a philological-historical exam which can be seen as a synthesis of civilization and nation, resting on a historical foundation. The main architect was Madvig, who, as explained above, saw the development of the Danish nation as intimately connected to the progress of European civilization. Accordingly, scholarly training for future secondary school teachers had to take into account both the national and European dimension to fulfil the purpose of liberal education. The exam had to combine knowledge

of civilization and nation. Hegel was certainly a shadow figure in this line of thought, but it was Madvig who transformed Hegel's philosophy of history into a pedagogical principle emphasizing the connection between the Danish nation and European civilization as the foundation of liberal education and the exam for secondary-school teachers. Accordingly, the 1849 exam consisted of classical philology, dealing with the foundation of European civilization; history, including both European and especially Danish national history; and Nordic philology, the study of Nordic languages (including Old Norse language) and literature, especially Danish. All non-humanistic subjects, previously a part of the headmaster exam, were removed. The intention was to establish a unity of knowledge and disciplines. Classical philology was perceived as a historical discipline in which the classical languages were means to study the original texts with 'your own eyes' (Autoptic). History was more introductory in nature and should produce an overview of European history after the Middle Ages and of the history of the Danish Fatherland. Nordic Philology should provide deeper insight into national language (also in its Old Norse form) and the history of national literature, which, taken together with the history of the Fatherland, was the natural vantage point for a Danish man. Unity should counter subjectivity, one-sidedness and arbitrariness. In addition, the critical-hermeneutical method of classical philology would be the methodological basis of all the disciplines, because it provided the viable method for any serious historical study based on sources. The unitary view encompassed history, knowledge and method.[20]

Even though this result put an emphasis on the unity between forms of knowledge of different disciplines, the reform process witnessed a growing tension between specialization and unity among the scholars in the faculty. A specialized exam in history and geography had its protagonists, but not as an alternative to the classical foundation of *Bildung*, though, only as a means to strengthen the teaching of post-classical European history and national history. However, in the end anxieties about the room left for post-antiquity and national history in the exam was a minority standpoint overruled by the majority's emphasis of the ideal of unity. This tension between unity of knowledge and disciplinary specialization of research was to some extent turned around with respect to the second reform, the magister artium exam of 1848. With respect to the magister artium exam, disciplinary specialization was the point of departure, though it was emphasized that excessive specialization was to be avoided. This exam made it possible to study a single discipline 'as a whole and in its main ramifications although with an emphasis of a more special area of study (and) with knowledge about the history of the discipline and its connections to related disciplines and culture in general.'[21] This was an exam for future scholars heading for a university chair. This was specialized research education, the PhD of its day.

The 1849 reform of the education of secondary-school teachers is both an interesting and a peculiar piece of reform work. It is humboldtian, since it tries to maintain a unity of what were already at this point evolving individual disciplines. To some extent the 1849 reform was out of touch with the structural transformations of the individual disciplines, which began to evolve after 1830. There was, so to speak, a tension between structures of proto-discipline formation and the reform ideals from the very beginning.

This tension becomes even more apparent when one takes the magister artium exam into consideration. Nordic Philology and History specialized as disciplines on the basis of the magister artium exam. Classical studies had a sufficient base in the 1849 exam to secure research education, which says quite a lot about the magnitude of classical studies in this exam. Accordingly, the classical philologists did not use the magister artium exam of 1848 at all, but a rising number of historians and national philologist and literary scholars used magister artium as a way to complete specialized studies in their favourite subject, which on the other hand says something about the status of these subjects in the exam of 1849. They were minors, while classical studies were the major.

Discipline formation in practice – an example

A way to measure disciplinary development is to take a closer look at the development of disciplinary journals. I have chosen to illustrate the development in Copenhagen with the development of *The Danish Historical Journal* published from 1840 onwards by the Danish Historical Association founded in 1839 by the aforementioned professor Molbech. From 1840 it began to publish its journal with Molbech as editor. The purpose of the Association was scholarly and national: 'in part to awaken historical spirit and interest in general; in part to further historical art and talent and historical studies primarily with respect to the fatherland and Danish literature; in part to contribute to knowledge about and preservation of Danish historical documents and other written sources related to the history, geography, ethnography and archaeology of Denmark.'[22] The regulations of the Historical Journal were based on the same broad approach. The aim of the journal was to benefit historical scholarship and research, and it would be open to original articles on history and auxiliary sciences, printing of sources and 'neither Ethnography, Geography, Statistics, Biography, etc, nor the history of literature, and scholarly culture would be excluded from the journal.'[23]

The first 25 volumes of the journal do not mirror a discipline. The majority of articles were written by men with a wide array of educational and professional backgrounds, especially by Molbech himself. Until 1854 he was the author of

half of the articles and most of the reviews. The content was in tune with the regulations and several studies of Danish literary history were published. Rejection of articles was rare, in the early years close to none. This was primarily due to the lack of contributions, a problem often solved with the publication of sources.[24]

Things began to change from the middle of the 1860s, when the association and the journal developed a more professional and disciplinary profile. Edvard Holm (1833-1915) became the first professional historian to edit the journal (1865-1878). He had passed the 1849 exam in 1855, received scholarships the following years, in 1866 he attained a doctorate in Philosophy, and from 1867 he was professor in history. With respect to content, political history became dominant, and the critical article dealing with problems of source criticism became frequent. From 1876 onwards, surveys of Danish and foreign historical literature became a recurring feature of the *Journal*, while the previously occasional reviews became a regular part of the content, written mainly by professional historians. According to the new regulations of the same year, the association was still focused on the history of the fatherland, but no longer included geography, ethnography, or archaeology. With respect to the *Historical Journal* future content should be confined to 'original historical treatises, and in addition historical reviews and critiques, unpublished letters, documents and other historical contributions.'[25]

For the rest of the century, the editor was always a university professor, and the board of the association was controlled by history professors. This meant a change in editorial practice. In general, more articles were rejected. Especially authors without scholarly merit found it increasingly difficult to get their writing into the columns of the Journal. After 1880 amateurs writing local history were rejected en bloc because their writings were found to be irrelevant and methodologically naïve. Even though their articles might contain new historical knowledge, the third criterion for acceptance, the irrelevance for national and political history was enough for their rejection. Even though no other group of authors was rejected as consistently as the amateur local historians, a clearer set of evaluation criteria had developed. The ideal article would contain new information and would be independent in its treatment, it would be entirely based on unpublished primary sources critically evaluated, and would make use of the newest research literature. This would be originality in the ideal sense.[26]

A range of contributions did not meet these standards, so rejection levels continued to rise at the end of the century.[27] At the same time the content of the Journal became professionalized. In the first decade of the journal's lifetime, about 10% of the articles were written by scholars for whom historical studies were their occupation. After 1880 non-professionals wrote 40% of the articles. These

authors were mainly scholars from neighbouring disciplines. 50% of the articles were written by professional historians and the last 10% were written by educated historians not earning a living as such.[28]

What this case shows is the professionalization of a discipline which entails clearer criteria of scholarship related to research, method and originality, and a clearer demarcation of the disciplinary subject. A process of professional closure[29] took place. Closure hints at the professionals' ability to control entry into the professional field, determine who is competent and who is not, and to exclude the incompetent. Even though closure is evident, it is also evident that professional exclusiveness did not mean that non-professionals per se were excluded from contributing to the disciplinary knowledge base, even though it became much harder to contribute without academic training. At the end of the century the Danish Historical Journal had become a journal for professional historical scholarship enforcing professional scholarly standards. As such, it was the means for professionally sanctioned disciplinary communication. For this reason, it had developed into the Journal in which aspiring young scholars wished to publish to advance their academic career; after the middle of the 1880s a career was no longer possible without the right education, which meant the Magister Artium.

With respect to philology, a scholarly association was founded in 1854 and a journal was published from 1860 onwards. This was *The Journal of Philology and Pedagogy*, which became the channel for publication of philological scholarship, especially classical, and remained so throughout the century; 'pedagogy' was removed from the title in 1892, but the topic had been marginal from the beginning. As was the case with the *Historical Journal*, it never became a journal for professional classical scholars exclusively; it was open to scholars from other disciplines, but as the century progressed outsiders became fewer and fewer.[30]

Humboldt deconstructed, 1883-1901

As the case study indicates, professionalization of academic knowledge production advanced as the century progressed. Generalizing the case, this meant that professionals, especially university professors, came to dominate and control the market for scholarly communication and the merits attached to publication in leading journals, and that education became a necessary precondition to becoming a professional. When one turns to the university it becomes clear that this element in discipline formation, the interconnection between degree and access to the profession, was a minimum requirement. With respect to control, the professors' position as academic power holders becomes even more apparent since

professors controlled training as well as scholarships, degrees, and eventually access to professorships. To some extent, they also controlled establishment of new chairs, the potential institutionalization of new disciplines, even though this would depend on state financing, and thus required political backing. This backing related to the broader question of the legitimacy of university requests, which in turn related to the development of secondary education and to broader political and cultural traits. Let us begin this last section with a brief look at the formal framework within which discipline formation took place.

After 1870 pressure from the market for professional services began to make itself felt. In this context, market refers to the secondary school in which academically trained teachers found employment. Parents and teachers criticized the work load of the pupils. One side of the political opposition criticized the non-national character of secondary education. The other side of the political opposition, and a large number of middle-class commentators, criticized the non-utilitarian content of secondary education. It did not aid entrepreneurship or commerce with its relative disregard of mathematics and new languages. The result was a bifurcation of the secondary schools in 1871 into a mathematical and a classical branch. This led to new debates: was it sensible to maintain privileged access of the 1849 exam-candidates to the positions of headmaster in the secondary schools when rising numbers of teachers were recruited from the ranks of specialists, especially mathematicians and polytechnics?

In 1883, 40 philologists handed in a petition to the Ministry of Education asking for a revision of the 1849 exam to the effect that privileged access to headmastership was removed. Following precedence, the Ministry handed over the question to the Philosophical Faculty, and the Faculty chose to reform. The reform process took place inside the Faculty with some interaction with the administrative level and without any interference from the political level. The process was pragmatic and the approach was not characterized by animosity towards the 1849 exam, but, rather, by the question 'why should the very demanding 1849 exam be maintained if no privileges were attached to it?' A minority wanted to keep the 1849 exam with some minor adjustments, but the process resulted in a new structure of the exams in the faculty which were a compromise between the 1849 exam and the 1848 magister artium. The 1849 exam could be seen as comprising of a major and two minor topics. This became the model in the reform of 1883, the Candidatus Magisterii or Cand. Mag.exam. The Faculty tried to accommodate what it saw as the demands of the present by creating a structure with freer choices possible between faculty disciplines, and in which the faculty disciplines were seen as independent and equal. As so often, some proved to be more equal than others: Latin had more or less to be chosen as a minor, when not a major, but nonetheless, history could be a major, as could Nordic philology, and the new

languages.[31] This equality meant that the specialization of the disciplines, that took place de facto, and which was illustrated by the development of the *Danish Historical Journal*, was institutionalized in the exams of the Philosophical Faculty.

After the breakthrough of specialized exams in 1883, the specialized character of scholarship and discipline formation was never questioned again. That the faculty was organized in distinct and independent disciplines was a fact, the self-evident point of departure in the reform process leading to the next reform in 1901. At the end of the nineteenth century, the disciplines were the natural and unquestioned entity for the organization of teaching and exams. Danish, in 1849 named Nordic Philology, German, English, French, Latin, Greek and History were the disciplines in which the exam for secondary-school teachers could be taken. While the 1883 exam kept the methodological principles of 1849, the 1901 exam put a new emphasis on method as a core element in each discipline. 1901's educational goals were specialized discipline knowledge and training in the practical use of discipline methods. To accomplish this, a Philological-Historical Laboratory was established in 1896. This was in fact a library with a range of handbooks and published sources to be used for seminars and practical exercises of the Berlin type.

The name of the laboratory just meant that it was an institution of the Philosophical Faculty as a whole with scholarly apparatus available in all disciplines. It did not mean that there was no clear boundary between philology and history. With respect to disciplinary identities, the historical discipline developed a distinct methodological profile of its own, cutting earlier bonds to the hermeneutics of classical philology. In 1892 the young professor in history, Kristian Erslev, wrote a small introduction to source criticism. The book was called *Grundsætninger for historisk Kildekritik*, in English *Basic Axioms of Historical Criticism*. This book became a symbol of a new 'scientific approach' to the study of the past. Source criticism became the corner stone of the identity of the historical discipline, and Erslev himself became the founding father of modern historical scholarship in Denmark.[32] With respect to the language disciplines, it seems as if the major boundary line between them was related to the subject matter of the disciplines rather than difference with respect to methodology. According to the curriculum, the general approach to the philologies emphasized language in its current form, its history and the mastery of the language in the different forms of its development. Knowledge about the history of the literature and the reading of classic literature in the respective language was required, and, of course, grammatical and linguistic insight. The curriculum for the different philologies had more similarities than differences. At the turn of the century a language professor could be a research specialist in phonetics, in comparative linguistics or in literature, subjects requiring different methodologies. In this light, methodology does not seem to have functioned as differentia specifica. The basis of discipline identity

thus seems to be related to the language and the related literature in which the individual scholar specialized.[33]

What happened between 1883 and 1901 was the final transfer of disciplinary power to the disciplines themselves. It should be remembered that this is the pre-institute era. The Philosophical Faculty consisted of individual chairs. In 1883 as in 1901, power over the formal rules regarding the discipline with respect to exams and curriculum as well as scholarships, degrees and eventually access to professorships was in the hands of the professors of the discipline. This had to do with the acknowledgement of expertise both within university, the faculty and the state. Disciplinary knowledge was to some extent esoteric to the outsider; to evaluate the validity and originality of knowledge claims required specialized knowledge, insight and experience in the use of specific, disciplinary methods. Only disciplinary professors (*fagvidenskabsmænd*, *Fachwissenschaftlern*) were able to perform these tasks.

In all faculty disciplines we see the effect of the ideal of the research university. Accumulation of merit for the pursuit of an academic career had to be won with good exams, leading to scholarships which had to be transformed into written scholarly production and a doctoral degree as a prerequisite for further scholarly career. With respect to the evaluation of doctoral theses we find the norms of the research university: the emphasis on new knowledge, independent judgement, method, critique and originality. Even though it was the disciplinary experts who had the most important say when chairs were to be filled, there was a fundamental consensus about the criterion on which awarding professorships had to be made: scholarly merit. This does not mean that extra-scholarly considerations were not at play, but they were not allowed to be stated explicitly. There is only one, but very significant, exception, the scholar of literature Georg Brandes. Brandes was barred from the Faculty, mainly for political reasons, in 1872, which raised a continued controversy at the Faculty until 1902 when he eventually became professor.[34]

Even though the Faculty strengthened its autonomy it did not exist in a vacuum. The 1883 reform was one example of adaption to pressure from the market for professional services or products: the secondary schools. As mentioned above, the modern languages gained importance because of public and political debates about the secondary schools. The modern philologies could not boast civilizational or national value, but pressure from the market gave them purpose, legitimacy and acknowledgement in the Faculty as well as the state. Chairs had existed on and off from the eighteenth century; now regular professorships were established in English, German and Romance philology.[35]

The 1883 reform also meant that the position of Nordic philology was consolidated in accordance with the ever rising value given to the subject of the Danish language and literature in the secondary schools. A minor subject in 1849 compared to history and classics, it was now an independent discipline which

gained importance as the secondary-school curriculum was nationalized and as classics lost some of its legitimacy. Classical philology did not expand after 1883 as the other disciplines did. It was no longer the self-evident point of departure for liberal education, a position which was taken over by Danish and history. This became evident in the reform of the secondary schools in 1903. This reform meant the tripartition of the Gymnasium into a mathematical, a classical and a modern-language branch with national language, literature and history as the common foundation. The reform mirrored dominant opinions in the Philosophical Faculty. Classical philology was no longer seen as the foundational discipline providing methodological and interpretive tools for other disciplines; classical philology lost its paradigmatic status in this period.[36]

Concluding comparative remarks

To categorize the development of the humanities at the University of Copenhagen in the nineteenth century as similar to the traditionalism of the British Isles, and as opposed to the new developments in France and Germany, is misleading.[37] It seems obvious that the process of modernization in Copenhagen was closely connected to the process of modernization that took place at the German universities from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Danish reformers and scholars subscribed to German ideas about university reform and scholarship throughout the nineteenth century. The idea of the unity of knowledge was pushed as far as possible in 1849, only to be dismantled by processes of professionalization and the institutionalization of the research ideal which, in combination with pressure from the market of professional services, created disciplinary specialization. In the last quarter of the century, these specialized disciplines became the focus for teaching and research communication, and the boundaries between them became firmer and more difficult to transgress. The same was the case at the German universities.[38] The intimate relation between the humanities and secondary education was another important similarity. The humanities liberated themselves from theology on the basis of a practical purpose: the education of secondary-school teachers. Even the core content of this secular education was similar: new humanism, classical philology and *Bildung*.[39]

The chronology of discipline formation was not significantly different at Copenhagen and modern German universities. From the late eighteenth century onwards, classical philology became the core and model discipline. National philology was institutionalized in the 1840s and history as a scholarly and national discipline took shape in the same period.[40] In the last quarter of the century modern philologies were institutionalized, legitimized in part by scholarly argu-

ments and indeed by the demand for secondary-school teachers in the modern languages.[41] The internal and structural developments of the disciplines drew development in a similar direction. Emphasis on research, originality, method and mastery of disciplinary knowledge contributed to specialization and professionalization. Professorial control with scholarly means of communication was a way to gain power which was used to further professionalization. Thus, scholarly journals in general can be seen as vehicles of professionalization, as was illustrated by the case of the *Danish Historical Journal*.[42]

The development in Copenhagen did not have much in common with the old English universities or traditionalism. Religion did not hold any position in the humanities in Copenhagen after 1788, and a professorship was not a temporary position before a church office as was the case at Oxbridge until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Contrary to the English case, the professionalization of the humanities in Copenhagen was closely related to the professionalization and secularization of the secondary schools. In nineteenth-century England, classical education at Oxbridge was not a core element in the education of secondary teachers, but a defining factor in the moral education of gentlemen and future political and imperial leaders.[43] Thus, there was no external pressure for the institutionalization of new disciplines. English studies, for example, had a hard time establishing itself as a discipline and was established rather late, after the turn of the century. Its proponents had to set aside claims of a wider social significance, because the reading of fiction was associated with generalist competences and leisure, which worked strongly against the authority of the professional or academically trained critic. Instead, the proponents of English studies had to emphasize more specialized forms of knowledge represented by philology, literary history and text editing. The same is true with respect to history. Until late in the century, writing of history was an amateur domain aimed at the general public and this postponed its formation as a discipline.[44]

In addition to the professional obstacles, Bentley relates the belated formation of history as a discipline to the fact that it did not have any nation-building function to perform in England.[45] This must be seen as a peculiarity of the British. In Copenhagen and the German-speaking world, national thought was a contributing factor in the establishment of the disciplines of history and national philology. As shown above, the founding of the Danish Historical Journal in 1840 had national aims alongside scholarly ones, and it was the national importance of history that imparted legitimacy to history as an emerging discipline. The same was true with respect to Nordic philology. Both emerging disciplines were inspired by German romanticism, by Ranke and the Brothers Grimm. The rise of romantic nationalism or national thought is central for the understanding of discipline formation in the humanities in the nineteenth century. This romantic paradigm

gave importance to new fields of study which the enlightenment did not value in the same way. National history and national literature and language were new specialties created by this cognitive shift.

In Copenhagen, the nineteenth-century modernization of the humanities meant a major shift in the control and organization of secular knowledge production: from polyhistor to specialized scholar; from learning to research; from mastery of received knowledge to the establishment of new knowledge; from the ideology of classics to the ideology of nation. The universal claims of new humanism and classical philology were vital in the liberation of the humanities from theology. In the course of the nineteenth century, classical philology gradually became marginalized by the national disciplines of history and national philology. It lost its status as paradigmatic scholarship earlier in Copenhagen than in Germany.[46]

Notes

1 Marc Schalenberg, *Humboldt auf Reisen?* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2002), 62.

2 In Danish *videnskab*. *Videnskab* means the same as the German *Wissenschaft* and does not entail a difference between scholarship and science.

3 Schalenberg, *Humboldt auf Reisen?*, 60f. Rosalind Pritchard, 'Humboldtian Values in a Changing World: Staff and Students in German Universities' *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2004), 509-528, 510.

4 'Nye Fundation og Anordning for Kiøbenhavns Universitet 7de May 1788', in: *Samling af de for Universitetsforholdene gjældende Retsregler* II (1884-1885), 50-82, 73, Cap. IV, § 24.

5 Ivan Boserup, 'Klassisk Filologi efter 1800', in: Povl Johannes Jensen and Leif Grane (ed.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979* Bind VIII (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1992), 241-477, 251. Curt Hahn Kristensen, *Seminarium Pædagogicum* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1962).

6 Ole B. Thomsen, *Embedsstudiernes Universitet* bd. 2. (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1975), 635, 713. 'Nye Fundation og Anordning for Kiøbenhavns Universitet 7de May 1788', 58 Cap. II, §1.

7 'Nye Fundation og Anordning for Kiøbenhavns Universitet 7de May 1788', 51 Cap. I § 1, 52 § 6.

8 Harald Ilsøe, 'Historie bliver lærefag', in: Povl Johannes Jensen (ed.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979* Bind X. (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1980), 309-385, 367f, 378. Boserup, 'Klassisk Filologi efter 1800', 243, 277. 'Anordning angaaende den i Fundatsen for Kjøbenhavns Universitet 7 Mai 1788 befalede Embedsxamen for Lærere ved de lærde Skoler 24. October 1818', in: *Chronologisk Register over de kongelige Forordniger og aabne Breve* (1818-1822), 247-252, 248f.

9 'Om Akademiske Grader og de akademiske Dissertationer i Anledning af Formæglings-Høitideligheden i November 1828', *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* 1 (1829), 61-96,173-184, 240-282, 69.

10 'Om Akademiske Grader', 70.

11 'Fr. ang. de Akad. Grader', in: *Chronologisk Register over de kongelige Forordninger og Aabne Breve* (1824) 9/1, 91-95, 93. Jette Kjærulff Hellesen and Ole Tuxen, 'Københavns Univer-

sitet 1788-1848', in: Leif Grane and Kai Hørby (ed.) *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979 bd. II* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1993), 1-268, 255.

12 Hellesen & Tuxen, 'Københavns Universitet 1788-1848', 109f, 246f.

13 'Om Akademiske Grader', 240ff.

14 Claus Møller Jørgensen, 'Civilisation og nation i dansk dannelsestænkning i det 19. århundrede,' in: Peter Bang (ed.), *Fremmed og moderne* (Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2005), 97-112. Madvig found additional arguments for classical studies in the mental training which accompanied learning the languages and in the aesthetic value of the texts in themselves. Madvig's inspiration was German, especially Wolf, Boeck and Hegel.

15 *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* 1 (1829), 510-32, 511.

16 Christian Molbech, 'Nyerup og Rahbek, Bidrag til en Udsigt over danske Digtekunst under Christian den Syvende', *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* 1 (1829), 229-240. Flemming Conrad, *Smagen og det nationale* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1996), 57ff, 395ff.

17 Conrad, *Smagen og det nationale*, 264ff.

18 Jens Christian Manniche, 'Historieskrivningen 1830-1880', in: Søren Mørch (ed.), *Historiens historie. Danmarks historie* bind 10. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1992), 199-266, 231.

19 Claus Møller Jørgensen, *Humanistisk videnskab og dannelse i Danmark i det 19. århundrede I-II. Reform, nationalisering, professionalisering* (Aarhus: Center for Kulturforskning, 2000), 160ff.

20 Claus Møller Jørgensen, *Humanistisk videnskab og dannelse i Danmark i det 19. århundrede*, 297ff.

21 'Plakat angaaende en forandret Indretning af den ved fundatsen for Kjøbenhavns Universitet af 7de Mai Cap. § 4 anordnede Magisterconferents', *Departementstidenden* (1848), 481-485, 483.

22 'Regulations of the Danish Historical Association', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 1. rk. 1 (1840), XVIII-XXII, xviii.

23 'Regulations of the Danish Historical Association', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 1. rk. 1 (1840), XVIII-XXII, xviiif.

24 Den Danske Historiske Forenings Arkiv, Diverse Dokumenter 1839-1879. C. O. Bøggild-Andersen, 'Historisk Tidsskrift gennem Hundrede Aar', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 10. rk. 5. (1939), 64-162, 64, 88.

25 'Historisk Forenings Vedtægter', *Historisk Tidsskrift* bd. 4 rk. 5, (1875-1876) , LV-LVI, LV §1-2.

26 Den Danske Historiske Forenings Arkiv, Danske Historisk Forening, Protokol 1875-1919.

27 Diverse dokumenter 1839-1879, Forhandlingsprotokol 1839-47, Forhandlingsprotokol 1875-1919. Den danske Historiske Forenings Arkiv. Rigsarkivet (arkivnummer 10.137).

28 Henry Bruun, *Indholdsfortegnelse til Historisk Tidsskrift 1. rk. Til 10. rk. Iv. Bd., 1839-1939.* (Copenhagen: Den Danske Historiske Forening, 1939).

29 The concept of closure is central to theories of professionalization. See Magali Sarfatti Larson, 'In the Matter of Experts and Professionals, or how Impossible it is to Leave Nothing Unsaid', in: Rolf Torstendahl and Michael Burrage (eds.), *The Formation of Professions. Knowledge, State and Strategy* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 24-50. Raymond Murphy, *Social Closure.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press ,1988).

30 *Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* Vol I (1860), if. Flemming Gorm Andersen, 'Hovedlinier i de klassiske studiers historie', *Fund og Forskning* 41 (2002), 275-321, 283f, 311.

31 Alf Johansson, *Baggrunden for indførelsen af Skoleembedseksamen 1883* (Århus: Historisk Institut, 1983).

32 Bernard Eric Jensen, 'In the Footsteps of a Father', in: Frank Meyer and Jan Eivind Myhre (eds.), *Nordic Historiography in the 20th Century* (Oslo: Department of History, 2000), 280-304, 280ff.
33 Lovtidenden for 1901 Nr. 15, 26. marts, 97-106.
34 Pelle Oliver Larsen, *Professoratet. Videnskabelige magtkampe i det filosofiske fakultet 1870-1920* (Aarhus: Det Humanitiske Fakultet, 2010), 76, 115, 167f.
35 Larsen, *Professoratet*, 148f. Jørgen Erik Nielsen, 'Engelsk Sprog og Litteratur', in: Povl Johannes Jensen (ed.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979* vol 9, 267-296, 275. Steffen Steffensen and Karl Hyldgaard-Jensen, 'Germansk Filologi', in: Povl Johannes Jensen (ed.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979*, vol. 9, 297-324, 301.
36 Flemming Conrad, *For læg og lærd* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2006), 19, 53f, 378. Boserup, 'Klassisk Filologi efter 1800', 349. Jørgensen, *Humanistisk dannelse og videnskab i Danmark i det 19. århundrede*, 560.
37 Christophe Charle, 'Patterns', in: Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 33-80, 33, 36.
38 Charles E., McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 258ff.
39 McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany*, 42. Manfred Landfester, *Humanismus und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlische Buchgesellschaft, 1988), 43ff.
40 Uwe Meves, 'Die Entstehung und frühe Entwicklung der Germanischen Philologie', in: E.F.K. Koerner (ed.), *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften – History of the Language Sciences, Volume 2* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), 1286-94. Friedrich Jaeger and Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Bech, 1992), 15f.
41 Jürgen Storost, 'Die "neuen Philologien", ihre Institutionen und Periodica: eine Übersicht', in: E.F.K. Koerner (ed.), *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften – History of the Language Sciences, Volume 2* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), 1240-1271.
42 Claus Møller Jørgensen, 'Scholarly Communication with Political Impetus. National Historical Journals', in: Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (eds.), *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography: Comparative Approaches* (Palgrave Macmillan, forhcoming 2012), chap 4.
43 Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed. Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), part 1. Frank M. Turner, 'Victorian Classics: Sustaining the Study of the Ancient World', in: Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 159-172.
44 Josephine Guy, 'Specialisation and Social Utility: Disciplining English Studies', in: Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 199-218, 201ff. Carol Atherton, 'The Organisation of Literary Knowledge: The Study of English in the Late Nineteenth Century', in: Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 219-234, 233. Michael Bentley, 'The Evolution and Dissemination of Historical Knowledge', in: Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 173-198, 180f.
45 Michael Bentley, 'The Evolution and Dissemination of Historical Knowledge', 178f.
46 Reinhart Herzog, 'On the relations of Disciplinary Development and Historical Self-representation – The Case of Classical Philology since the end of the Eigthteenth Century', in: Loren Graham et al. (eds.), *Functions and Uses of Disciplinary Histories. Sociology of the Sciences: A Yearbook. Vol. VII* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1983), 281-290.

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The Scholarly Self

Ideals of Intellectual Virtue in Nineteenth-Century Leiden

Herman Paul

Throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, Johannes Gerhardus Rijk Acquoy, Professor of Church History at Leiden University, used to invite his most talented students to a weekly *privatissimum*. In a room belonging to the university library, as close as possible to the books and manuscripts he needed, Acquoy taught his students the first principles of source criticism. More importantly, however, he also tried to mould their habits, their characters, their working manners, so as to transform them into real, scholarly church historians. He told them that scholarship worthy of its name depended on such character traits as truthfulness, circumspection, precision and 'complete objectivity and impartiality.'[1] In particular, Acquoy emphasized that church historians must be 'critical,' that is, in the possession of an inquisitive mind, not easily satisfied, and unfailingly dedicated to the principle of asserting nothing that is not justified by primary source material. Church history had to be critical if it aspired to the status of scholarship.[2]

In the historiography of the humanities, seminars such as Acquoy's *privatissimum* have often been seen as markers of professionalization and discipline-formation. In the history of historical writing, for example, the Ranke-inspired *historisches Seminar* is frequently treated, not merely as a breeding ground for modern, source-based historical studies, but also as the institutional arrangement through which 'professionals' distinguished themselves from 'amateurs' and thereby helped create a distinct professional identity.[3] Arguably, the creation of such disciplinary identities was a major concern throughout the nineteenth century, not only for historians, but for scholars across the humanities.[4] However, Acquoy's weekly gatherings in the university library do not only inform us about processes of discipline formation; they also bear witness to a widespread commitment to 'critical' history, 'critical' source evaluation, and 'critical' scholarship.

Whereas, by and large, the history of the humanities is often still written along disciplinary lines,[5] I would like to propose a different, discipline-transcending perspective. I am interested, not in how figures such as Acquoy helped create a

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discipline, but in how they conceived of the *persona* of the historian.[6] What sort of intellectual virtues did they attribute to him (never a her)? Whom did they identify as personifications of this ideal, and hence as model scholars? In what sort of practices did they hope to craft such 'scholarly selves'?[7] And to what extent did they themselves, in the eyes of colleagues or students, live up to their ideals? Not unlike Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, whose work traces the historical trajectories of such virtues as truth, objectivity, precision, and replicability,[8] I am interested in the epistemic virtues that scholars considered essential to academic performance. What sort of *wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeit*, or scholarly self, did scholars have to acquire in order to classify as good academics?

Focusing, in this paper, on the virtues implied in the ideal of a 'critical' historian, I choose Acquoy and his colleagues at Leiden as my case study. This is, obviously, not because scholars at Leiden exercised a monopoly on so-called critical history, but because their university had an established reputation for such criticism – especially for 'historical criticism' in Biblical scholarship.[9] I will briefly compare Acquoy's views in these matters to those of Abraham Kuenen, the Old Testament scholar, Reinart Dozy, the Arabist, and Robert Fruin, the historian known as 'father of modern Dutch historiography.'[10] For reasons of space, I will focus exclusively on their *ideals* of academic selfhood, that is, on the epistemic virtues they advocated in their teaching and writing, thereby leaving the question what sort of virtues and vices they *actually* exercised to a future occasion.[11]

I

First, then, what sort of critical virtues did Acquoy, Kuenen, Dozy and Fruin attribute to their model historians? Although, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the word 'critical' was on many lips, this adjective could acquire a variety of meanings. What is needed, therefore, is an analysis of the semantic field in which this word was employed. To what sort of performances did the predicates 'critical,' 'uncritical,' and 'hyper-critical' refer?[12] How was the ideal of 'critical' history translated into character traits, virtues, habits, dos and don'ts?

Based on their teaching notes and on such programmatic pieces as their inaugural addresses, one can observe, first of all, that the four Leiden professors more or less agreed on the epistemic virtues that a 'critical' historian had to embody. Requiring historians to base themselves, as much as possible, on primary source material, they all attributed great importance to virtues of the sort entailed in source criticism, that is, in detailed examination of such issues as the authorship, date, purpose and reliability of ancient documents. Source criticism was careful, patient work and, accordingly, required 'tough perseverance and inexhaustible pa-

tience' besides 'fair judgement and a large amount of acuteness,' as Acquoy told his students.[13] Fruin agreed that source criticism was a matter of 'incredible exertion and shrewdness,' requiring on the part of its practitioners 'a craving for accuracy, also in little things' and an 'unconditional love and reverence for the truth.'[14] Dozy, too, urged his students that truth could only be reached through 'accurate use of sources' and considered 'great attentiveness and acuteness' indispensable for critical research.[15] '[M]any texts are still awaiting critical treatment, many errors still have to be put out of the way, many issues demand more accurate consideration than they have received so far.'[16] Unsurprisingly, accuracy was also a key virtue for Kuenen, who recommended 'utmost care' in matters of source criticism. Arguing that sources 'must not be blindly accepted and followed, but must be carefully weighed and estimated,'[17] Kuenen almost equated progress in matters of source evaluation with an increase in scholarly cautiousness.[18]

Carefulness, accuracy, patience and perseverance: these are intellectual virtues that Franz Schultz describes as 'the heritage of a centuries-old philological mentality.'[19] Rainier Kolk sees them as part and parcel of a 'philological ethos' that prevailed throughout much of the nineteenth-century humanities.[20] Nonetheless, the Leiden faculty held somewhat divergent views on how significant the philological dimension of their research was. Consequently, despite their shared ideas about the diligence and devotion needed for source criticism, they did not entirely agree over whether historians must possess additional virtues or character traits and, in case of a positive answer, which virtues counted as most desirable.

Dozy, for example, never considered himself superior to humble source criticism, but felt irresistibly attracted to great epic narratives of the sort written in France by, for example, François Guizot and Augustin Thierry. 'Compare a French historian to a German one,' he said in 1850. 'Why does the latter usually stand below the former, even if both have worked with equal industry? One answers: because the Germans often lack judgement and taste.'[21] They overburden their studies with excessive footnotes, drown themselves in technical details, and tend to forget that history is more than the sum of its auxiliary sciences. So, what Dozy wanted historians to have, in addition to carefulness and perceptivity in matters of source evaluation, was imagination, literary taste, as well as a healthy amount of patriotism. For a compelling history of the sort that Dozy had in mind not merely showed what had happened in the past, but also instructed its readers and inculcated them with love for their country and its past.[22]

Kuenen, too, required additional virtues and cherished an ideal of narrative history. 'Generally the critic and the historian are combined in the same individual, but for all that the former is the servant of the latter,' he explained in 1880.[23] 'History that deserves the name is always 'history of civilization,' whatever it may call itself, and of 'civilization,' moreover, in that deeper sense which excludes any

merely external conception and concentrates our attention upon the rise and growth of ideas, their propagation in society and the power they exercise on life.'[24] At the same time, Kuenen was too much committed to meticulous criticism to ever allow any overhasty generalization about the development of ideas in society. When he praised his colleague, Henricus Oort, for his imaginative powers, he did not refrain from mentioning that Oort's historical narratives sometimes lacked a proper critical basis.[25]

For Kuenen, then, historians on the one hand need more than diligence and discernment. Empathy, imaginative power, intuition and 'congeniality of spirit' are indispensable for understanding ideas and their development over time.[26] On the other hand, Kuenen argued that these additional virtues must always be restrained by the asceticism of a truly critical mind: 'Let the imagination spread its wings, but – only begin to fly when tranquil and patient research must declare to have reached the end of their possibilities.'[27] Finally, it should not go unnoticed that Kuenen attached great weight to the courage not to shrink away from unconventional or theologically unorthodox conclusions. Intellectual honesty sometimes requires the courage to 'choose a new site for our edifice,' even if that would not remain unchallenged in such a minefield as the discipline of Biblical scholarship.[28] The courage to embrace one's own conclusions, said Kuenen, is a moral demand for any scholar in pursuit of truth.[29]

Although Fruin and Acquoy agreed with much of this, they did not share Dozy's and Kuenen's ideals of narrative history. As long as 'critical' historical studies had not grown beyond their embryonic state, any synthesis of scholarly findings was premature. Accordingly, for Fruin and Acquoy, the difference between history and criticism was relatively small. They wanted all of the historian's work to be guided by ascetic virtues of the sort that Dozy and Kuenen reserved to the stage of source evaluation. As Fruin unequivocally put it in an 1865 article: 'Before many a detail is put in better light, there can be no thought of a thoroughly satisfying survey of the entire course of history. It is therefore better to spend our energies in clarifying details than to waste them in delivering grand insights that are only partly correct. We are not to begin with the building before we have gathered and prepared the building material.'[30] Accordingly, Fruin's model historian had a great eye for detail and exhibited such virtues as precision and attentiveness, not only in an archives reading room, but also behind his writing desk. He would not dare to write what Kuenen called an 'organic' history of how a people developed in the course of centuries.[31]

Likewise, Acquoy taught his students to avoid everything that bordered on such vices as carelessness, inaccuracy and overhasty generalization. 'The less experienced a historian is, the more he shall give himself to startling conjunctions and daring hypotheses. But the more experience he has gained, the more truth-

loving he has become; the more he has learned to belie his nature, to solicit the approval of posterity instead of the acclaim of his contemporaries; the more he will be tempted to confess his ignorance and not to act as if he knew everything and was able to explain it all.'[32] On Acquoy's view, even the texture of the historian's prose – serene and tranquil, plain and without any finery – and the typographical appearance of his work had to conform to ascetic virtues.[33]

In sum, all four professors agreed that history must be critical in the sense of being based on primary sources that had to be interpreted as meticulously, carefully and accurately as possible. No significant differences existed between the virtues the four associated with the adjective 'critical.' However, if 'critical' served as a minimum requirement for historical studies, the foursome did not fully agree on which additional character traits their model historians had to display. Despite a shared commitment to what Kolk calls a 'philological ethos,' their ideals of academic selfhood reflected different moral and aesthetic commitments.[34]

II

My second question is how such ideals of academic selfhood were embodied by exemplary figures and illustrated by positive or negative examples. If academic memory cultures were realms in which scholarly ideals could be expressed, discussed and negotiated,[35] we may expect to encounter such idealized examples of scholarly selves, together with warnings against scholarly sins and vices, in genres like the obituary, the memoir, the *laudation* and the scientific biography.[36] Indeed, in the immediate context of Leiden University, obituaries presented to the Society for Dutch Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*) provide vivid examples of how members of that society – these included Dozy, Kuenen, Fruin and Acquoy – conceived of academic selfhood, achievement, prestige and career. Acquoy, for example, presented his deceased colleague Karel Wybrands as an exemplary model of a learned, dedicated, impartial and sharp-witted church historian.[37] By contrast, his obituary for Hendrik Jan Spijker, which lamented the waste of talent caused by Spijker's far too many interests, or lack of proper focus, presented a negative model, or an example not to be imitated by students aspiring to academic excellence.[38] Likewise, Fruin's obituary for his friend Laurens Ph.C. van den Bergh did not conceal that this historian had lacked the precious gift of 'solid criticism,' which had often caused him to be 'carried away' by his imagination.[39] Kuenen neither suppressed the fact that his colleague, Lodewijk W.E. Rauwenhoff, had never felt attracted to subtle 'examination of details.' He spoke highly, however, of another colleague, Theodoor W.J. Juynboll, whom Kuenen considered a specimen of meticulousness and diligence.[40]

Rites of passage were not the only occasions on which examples of virtue and vice were publicly presented. Whenever the four professors reflected on what made a good historian, they referred to concrete examples. For instance, after a lengthy elaboration on the virtue of impartiality, in his 1860 inaugural address, Fruin rhetorically asked: 'But why should I speak any longer in abstract? I would like to mention the historian in whom I find and admire the impartiality I have advocated in a larger degree than in anyone else: Leopold Ranke.'[41] On other occasions, too, Fruin presented Ranke as epitomizing the epistemic virtues associated with critical history.[42] Kuenen, in turn, greatly admired the Tübingen theologian Ferdinand Christian Baur, whom he honoured as a 'great master' in the craft of New Testament criticism.[43] As for the courage to break new ground – the virtue that Kuenen considered of particular significance in the field of Old Testament scholarship – he enthusiastically referred to Dozy's controversial book, *De Israëlieten te Mekka* (1864), with its dazzling hypothesis that the Ka'aba in Mecca had been founded by the Israelite tribe of Simon. Without taking sides in the scholarly debate that this thesis had evoked, Kuenen repeatedly ensured his readers what a 'liberating effect' Dozy's 'rare originality and freedom from traditional restraint' had had upon himself.[44] Meanwhile, Dozy himself preferred such French historians as the aforementioned Guizot and Thierry, arguing that they were critical scholars, but also great storytellers.[45] His *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (1861) was an explicit attempt to imitate what he described as 'the picturesque or descriptive school' in French historiography.[46]

One may wonder, of course, whether these model historians were selected because they embodied an ideal of scholarly selfhood or whether the chain of causation rather ran the other way, in the sense that the virtues and vices Fruin and his colleagues spoke about were abstractions or inferences from what they admired in Ranke and others. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that Fruin wanted to be a Rankean type of historian, or that Dozy cherished the hope to achieve in Leiden what Guizot did in Paris, than to assume that their abstract ideals of academic selfhood preceded their choices of exemplary figures.

In any case, once such figures as Ranke were heralded as models to follow, they also, almost naturally, came to serve as father figures in what one might call professional genealogies or disciplinary histories. Following Stefan Collini, I understand a disciplinary history to be a teleological 'account of the alleged historical development of an enterprise the identity of which is defined by the concerns of the current practitioners of a particular scientific field.'[47] Fruin created such a disciplinary history when he presented Ranke as the father of modern historiography. Likewise, on a smaller geographical scale, Acquoy invented a disciplinary tradition when he claimed that, in the 1810s and 1820s, the Dutch theologians Annaeus Ypey and Isaäc Johannes Dermout had made 'a first attempt' to prac-

tice church history in a critical manner.[48] Also, referring to Nicolaas Christiaan Kist, who had taught church history at Leiden between 1823 and 1859, and Kist's student Willem Moll, who had been Acquoy's teacher in Amsterdam, Acquoy declared to be pleased with the thought of occupying 'the old chair of Kist,' 'that man of unremitting industry, thorough study of sources, and exemplary precision.' 'To imitate him in this respect, and also, in doing so, to prove myself a student of his student, Willem Moll, that is my wish.'[49] Interestingly, this professional genealogy did not include Acquoy's immediate predecessor (and Kist's successor) at Leiden's church history chair, Lodewijk W.E. Rauwenhoff. Unmistakably, it was Rauwenhoff's 'Hegelian' method,[50] or lack of proper critical virtues, that caused him to fall prey to such a removal from the discipline's genealogy.

Such patricides were not uncommon. Speaking on the virtue of impartiality, Fruin responded with sharp criticism to perhaps the best-known Dutch historian of the early nineteenth century, Willem Bilderdijk. Despite his diligence and commitment, Bilderdijk had been too biased politically to approach Fruin's ideal of an objective scholarly self. For Fruin, then, historical scholarship required 'a completely different talent than the one we admire in Bilderdijk.'[51] With even more contempt, Kuenen complained about 'apologists' in Biblical scholarship, whose method, Kuenen asserted, 'claims to be critical, but which, as a matter of fact, is the direct negation of criticism,' because it treats the Bible with 'implicit reverence and blind assent.'[52] Engaged in lively and sometimes heated discussions with these apologists or traditionalists, Kuenen so much emphasized the need to break the 'power of tradition' that Biblical scholarship prior to the nineteenth century was effectively relegated to the prehistory of the discipline.[53]

III

If exemplary figures and disciplinary histories reflect how Kuenen and his colleagues conceived of the historian's *persona*, or what they believed to constitute a scholarly self, one may wonder how such notions of academic selfhood were sustained in scholarly practices, and whether or how, in turn, such practices were institutionally embedded. All four scholars were convinced that intellectual virtue and scholarly character could only be acquired through 'sustained and methodical exercise.'[54] In his biography of the autodidact Old Testament scholar, John William Colenso, Kuenen did not hesitate to postulate a causal relationship between the vices that characterized Colenso's earliest writings – vices of imbalance and injudiciousness in particular – and the author's lack of a solid, academic training. 'Colenso had educated himself and, consequently, was exposed to errors that in a good school he would have learned to avoid.'[55] But what sort of educational prac-

tices were seen as constituting such a good school? When Dozy, in his inaugural address, invited his students to a seminar aimed 'to revive your love for history, [and] to sharpen your historical tact,'[56] did he believe such a seminar to be the most appropriate place for students to acquire critical skills and develop their scholarly selves?

This question cannot easily be answered, given that I have been dealing so far with ideals of academic selfhood as expressed in the (often occasional) rhetoric of Dozy and his colleagues. Such ideals of intellectual virtue are not to be confused with the scholarly ethos in which students at Leiden were actually socialized, or the virtues that were practiced in the books and articles the four professors wrote. As Irmline Veit-Brause has shown in a study of nineteenth-century academic self-stylization, there could be significant discrepancies between the rhetoric of *wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeiten* and the qualities actually needed in archival or laboratory work. Obituaries commemorating the merits of the dead could express ideals of intellectual virtue that were nostalgically anachronistic or simply unrealistic.[57]

Assuming, however, that Kuenen's and Fruin's admirers were not entirely wrong in remembering these Leiden professors as epitomizing the scholarly selves they themselves had advocated,[58] we can observe that the practices in which these scholars taught such virtues as precision, accuracy and impartiality were only partly embedded in academic institutions. Although Dozy proposed to convene a seminar and Acquoy conducted a *privatissimum* in the library, perhaps the greatest part of scholarly character formation took place in personal contact between students and professors. As Jo Tollebeek has shown, for Fruin's generation, historical scholarship was largely still a domestic affair.[59] Although Fruin himself was slightly old-fashioned, by the standards of his time, in preferring teaching at home over lecturing in the Academy Building, student supervision and examination almost invariably took place in the professor's private study rather than in seminar rooms or lecture halls. Moreover, in good nineteenth-century fashion, Fruin and others used to invite their more talented students to their homes for tea.[60] Former students who acknowledged in writing the influence they had received from Fruin or Acquoy mostly refer to such informal meetings, in which the master most effectively prepared his pupil for the craft of solid scholarship.[61] Unsurprisingly, then, in many commemorative texts, the professor's study was bestowed an almost sacred aura.[62]

This may be one reason among others why at least three of the four Leiden professors – Fruin, Acquoy, Kuenen – were elevated to exemplary status shortly after or even before their death. When Fruin was proclaimed 'the father of modern Dutch historiography' on the occasion of his retirement in 1894,[63] this honorary title was conferred to him by students who conceived of themselves as sons

keen to imitate their father.[64] Likewise, when Frederik Pijper depicted Acquoy as a 'symbol' of 'solid source study, impartial love of truth,' and 'accuracy in detail,'[65] this judgement reflected a genuine desire to follow in the footsteps of his admired teacher (of whom he kept a sizeable portrait in his study).[66] Such almost personal identifications with a *Doktorvater* usually emerged from more than mere class attendance. Although there are examples of students at Leiden who conceived a genuine love for their teacher based on his classes alone,[67] epistemic virtues of the sort that Fruin and Acquoy advocated were sustained first and foremost in private encounters, in practices of personal supervision and coaching.

IV

Brief as this analysis is, I hope it suffices to illustrate how promising an interdisciplinary history of the humanities fractured through the prism of academic selfhood can be. For what the foregoing shows is that Kuenen, Dozy, Fruin and Acquoy, despite their divergent disciplinary perspectives, shared an ethos of critical historical research, characterized by such intellectual virtues as carefulness, precision and accuracy. Although the four professors held somewhat different ideas about the desirability for historians to possess additional virtues, such as stylistic virtuosity or patriotic devotion, they turned out to share what I called a philological ethos. This, then, is the first advantage of interdisciplinary histories conceived along the lines sketched in this paper: they may reveal scholarly habitudes, shared across disciplinary boundaries, that have long been obscured by discipline-oriented historiography.[68] More precisely, such histories may reveal how an ideal like 'historical criticism' was discussed, negotiated, and implemented in an intellectual realm that overlapped, but did not coincide with any of the academic disciplines that the nineteenth century saw emerge.[69]

Secondly, as repeatedly noted above, the demand for 'criticism' was more than an intellectual requirement. Although the adjective 'critical' referred to such intellectual virtues as acuteness and meticulousness, it had aesthetic overtones, for example when Acquoy argued that intellectual asceticism corresponded to soberness in typographical matters. More importantly, criticism was considered a moral duty, most explicitly so by Kuenen, who regarded Colenso's intellectual courage as 'noble' from '*an ethical point of view*.'[70] In fact, one might argue, as Fruin did in 1860, that intellectual and moral virtues can never be separated.[71] This, then, raises the question to what extent demands for criticism in historical scholarship were motivated by moral concerns, or what mutual influences we can discern between the historian's professional ethos and upper middle class codes of morality. How was intellectual virtue related to civic virtue and how were no-

tions of scholarly selfhood linked to ideals of bourgeois citizenship?[72] Or how to explain the suggestive similarities between the intellectual asceticism permeating Acquoy's *Handleiding tot de kerkgeschiedvorsching en kerkgeschiedschrijving* (1894) and the moral self-restraint preached in so-called adolescent advice literature?[73] These are questions that might be addressed in follow-up research.

Finally, it goes without saying that a more comprehensive analysis of the critical ethos shared by the four Leiden professors figuring in this paper would have to contain not merely synchronic, but also diachronic axes. What constituted a *wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeit* was not etched in stone; such ideals changed over time. In the preceding pages, we encountered a vivid example of this in Acquoy's inaugural address, which presented a disciplinary genealogy that silently ignored Rauwenhoff, Aquoy's immediate predecessor. This reveals not only how little Acquoy's catalogue of intellectual virtues corresponded to Rauwenhoff's, but also how greatly the church history taught in Acquoy's *privatissimum* differed from Rauwenhoff's classes, prior to 1881. A more extensive history of historical scholarship at Leiden would treat Rauwenhoff, together with Johannes Henricus Scholten and others, as representing a Hegelian-inspired view of history that became increasingly under threat from the sort of critical scholarship that came into vogue in the 1860s. Likewise, it would examine how, by the turn of the century, the critical ethos advocated by Dozy, Fruin, Kuenen and Acquoy increasingly met with disapproval, even in what Fruin's most loyal pupil, Petrus Johannes Blok, proudly called 'the Leiden school of history.'[74] Among other things, such transformations in what counted as intellectual virtue or academic selfhood make the *persona* of the scholar a fascinating subject for interdisciplinary histories of the humanities.

Notes

1 J.G.R. Acquoy, *Handleiding tot de kerkgeschiedvorsching en kerkgeschiedschrijving* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1894), 119. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

2 Acquoy, *Handleiding*, 72. For first-hand impressions of Acquoy's teaching at Leiden, see Paul Fredericq, *L'Enseignement supérieur de l'histoire et de la géographie en Hollande* (Ghent: E. Vanderhaeghen, 1889), 16; D.A. Brinkerink, 'Het theologisch onderwijs van Prof. J. G. R. Acquoy,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 41 (1907), 101-110.

3 Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 103-129; Pavel Kolář, 'Nährboden fachlicher Innovation? Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Seminarunterricht an der Berliner, Wiener und Prager Deutschen Universität im Zeitalter des universitären Großbetriebs (1900-1930),' in: Gabriele Lingelbach (ed.), *Vorlesung, Seminar, Repetitorium:*

Universitäre geschichtswissenschaftliche Lehre im internationalen Vergleich (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006), 89-128.

4 See, e.g. Konrad H. Jarausch, 'Graduation and Careers,' in: Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 363-389; Reba N. Soffer, 'The Development of Disciplines in the Modern English University,' *The History Journal* 31 (1988), 933-946; and Björn Wittrock's review essay, 'The Transformation of European Universities: Disciplines and Professions in England, Germany and Prussia since 1870,' *Central European History* 13 (2004), 101-116.

5 See Volker Peckhaus and Christian Thiel (ed.), *Disziplinen im Kontext: Perspektiven der Disziplingeschichtsschreibung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1999). An inspiring exception is Rens Bod, *De vergeten wetenschappen: een geschiedenis van de humaniora* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010).

6 I am indebted to a series of excellent studies on the *personae* of early-modern philosophers, collected in Conal Condren, Stephen Gaukroger and Ian Hunter (eds.), *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe: The Nature of a Contested Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) and a subsequent theme issue of *Intellectual History Review* 18 no. 3 (2008), edited by Conal Condren, Stephen Gaukroger and Ian Hunter. Another stimulating set of articles on scientific personhood appeared in a theme issue of *Science in Context* 16, no. 1/2 (2003), edited by Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum.

7 Lorraine Daston, 'Die wissenschaftliche Persona: Arbeit und Berufung,' in: Theresa Wobbe (ed.), *Zwischen Vorderbühne und Hinterbühne: Beiträge zum Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen in der Wissenschaft vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2003), 110-136.

8 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

9 E.g. I. da Costa, *Wat er door de Theologische Faculteit te Leyden al zoo geleerd en geleverd wordt: eene stem der smart en des beklags* (Amsterdam: H. de Hoogh, 1857); anon., 'Leydsche beginselen,' *De Tijdspiegel* (1862) II, 393-408.

10 For the common context of these four professors, see W. Otterspeer, *De wiekslag van hun geest: de Leidse universiteit in de negentiende eeuw* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1992), 203-219.

11 For this distinction, see Herman Paul, 'Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues,' *History and Theory* 50 (2011), 7.

12 On the excesses of hyper-critique: I. van Dijk, 'Hyperkritiek,' *Studiën: Theologisch Tijdschrift* 3 (1877), 379-382.

13 Acquoy, *Handleiding*, 119.

14 Robert Fruin, 'Over de plaats, die de geschiedenis in den kring der wetenschappen inneemt' (1878), in: P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller and S. Muller Fz. (eds.), *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften*, vol. 9 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1904), 368, 367, 373.

15 R.P.A. Dozy, *Over den gunstigen invloed, dien de omwentelingen in Frankrijk, sedert 1789, hebben uitgeoefend op de studie der middeleeuwsche geschiedenis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1850), 30; R. Dozy, *De Israëlieten te Mekka van Davids tijd tot in de vijfde eeuw onzer tijdrekening* (Haarlem: A.C. Kruseman, 1864), 2.

16 Dozy, *Israëlieten te Mekka*, 12-13. On the significance that Dozy attached to accurate source criticism, see also A.J. Geurts, 'Onderwijs in de geschiedenis der middeleeuwen aan de Leidse universiteit rond het midden van de negentiende eeuw,' in: *Mayolica: mediëvistische opstellen aangeboden aan dr. Mayke de Jong bij haar afscheid van de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen* (Nijmegen: Vakgroep Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis, 1987), 164.

17 A. Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' *The Modern Review* 1 (1880), 474.

18 A. Kuenen, *De godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen staat*, vol. 1 (Haarlem: A.C. Kruseman, 1869), 16.
19 Franz Schulz, 'Die Entwicklung der Literaturwissenschaft von Herder bis Wilhelm Scherer,' in: Emil Ermatinger (ed.), *Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft* (Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1930), 37.
20 Rainier Kolk, 'Wahrheit, Methode, Charakter: Zur wissenschaftlichen Ethik der Germanistik im 19. Jahrhundert,' *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 14 (1989), 50-73.
21 Dozy, *Over den gunstigen invloed*, 23.
22 Dozy, *Over den gunstigen invloed*, 23, 8.
23 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 465.
24 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 466.
25 A. Kuenen, 'De geschiedenis der priesters van Jahwe en de ouderdom der priesterlijke wet,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 42 (1890), 33.
26 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 469.
27 Cited in J. C. Matthes, 'Kuenen als criticus,' *De Gids* (1894), 506. Kuenen's major books – *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (1861-1865) and *De godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen staat* (1869-1870) – nicely illustrate this twofold attitude. Whereas *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek* was a meticulously detailed specimen of criticism, *De godsdienst van Israël* presented itself as 'a concatenated narrative of Israel's fortunes' (vol. 1, 17). In comparison to the former, the latter book also tried less hard to hide the author's personal tastes and preferences. See A. van der Kooij, 'The "Critical Method" of Abraham Kuenen and the Methods of Old Testament Research since 1891 up to 1991: Some Considerations,' in: P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *Abraham Kuenen (1828-1891), His Major Contributions to the Study of the Old Testament*, (Leiden; New York; Cologne: Brill, 1993), 50-51.
28 A. Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch (Pentatech and Book of Joshua)*, transl. Philip H. Wicksteed (London: Macmillan & Co., 1886), xiv.
29 A. Kuenen, *John William Colenso* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1884), 11-12.
30 Robert Fruin, 'De drie tijdvakken der Nederlandsche geschiedenis' (1865), in: P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller and S. Muller Fz. (eds.), *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1900), 22.
31 A. Kuenen, 'Voorrede,' in [T.] Eisenlohr, *Het Israëlietische volk onder de regering der koningen: eene beschrijving van Israëls ontwikkeling volgens de beginselen der nieuwere methode*, transl. H. A. C. Denier van der Gon, vol. 1 (Leiden: P. Engels, 1861), i*-iv*.
32 Acquoy, *Handleiding*, 89.
33 Acquoy, *Handleiding*, 107-113, 153-159.
34 A broader study of the humanities in nineteenth-century Leiden, in which scholars of language and literature would feature alongside the four individuals singled out in this chapter, would be likely to confirm the conclusion just reached. See my discussion of Matthias de Vries, Leiden's influential professor of Dutch language and literature, in: Herman Paul, 'Een Leids historisch ethos? De epistemische deugden van Fruin en Acquoy,' *Leidschrift* 25 (2010), 107-108.
35 I borrow the term 'academic memory cultures' from Jochen Zwick, 'Akademische Erinnerungskultur, Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Rhetorik im 19. Jahrhundert: Über Emil Du Bois-Reymond als Festredner,' *Scientia Poetica* 1 (1997), 120-139.

36 For the genre of scientific biography, see, among other titles, Thomas Söderqvist (ed.), *The History and Poetics of Scientic Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On scholarly obituaries: Charles B. Paul, *Science and Immortality: The Éloges of the Paris Academy of Sciences (1699-1791)* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1980).

37 J.G.R. Acquoy, 'Levensbericht van Aemilius Willem Wybrands,' *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1887* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1887), 319.

38 J.G.R. Acquoy, 'Levensbericht van Dr. Hendrik Jan Spijker,' *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1871* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1871), 309-311.

39 Robert Fruin, '[Levensbericht van] L. Ph. C. van den Bergh' (1888), in: *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften*, vol. 9, 477.

40 A. Kuenen, 'Levensbericht van Lodewijk Willem Ernst Rauwenhoff,' *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1888-1889* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889), 118-119; A. Kuenen, 'Necrologie,' *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 73 (1861), 323.

41 Robert Fruin, 'De onpartijdigheid van den geschiedschrijver' (1860), in: *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften*, vol. 9, 293.

42 E.g. Robert Fruin, 'Leopold von Ranke op zijn negentigsten verjaardag' (1886), in: *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften*, vol. 9, 419-437. Along the same lines: B. ter Haar Bzn., 'Leopold von Ranke,' in: *Mannen van beteekenis in onze dagen*, vol. 9 (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1878), 360, 363, 365.

43 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 467.

44 Kuenen, *Historico-Critical Inquiry*, xviii; A. Kuenen, 'Critische bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Israëlietischen godsdienst,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 4 (1870), 404-406.

45 Catrien G. Santing, 'De middeleeuwen met een phrygische muts: de geschiedvisie van Reinart Dozy en Willem Jonckbloet,' *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 26 (1999), 220-237.

46 J. Brugman, 'Dozy: A Scholarly Life According to Plan,' in: Willem Otterspeer (ed.), *Leiden Oriental Connections, 1850-1940* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 70-71.

47 Stefan Collini, '"Discipline History" and "Intellectual History": Reflections on the Historiography of the Social Sciences in Britain and France,' *Revue de Synthèse* 109 (1988), 388. The mythic dimensions of such disciplinary cultures of remembrance are highlighted in Pnina G. Abir-Am, 'Essay Review: How Scientists View Their Heroes: Some Remarks on the Mechanism of Myth Construction,' *Journal of the History of Biology* 15 (1982), 281-315.

48 J.G.R. Acquoy, *Het nut der beoefening van de geschiedenis der Hervormde Kerk in Nederland* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1878), 11.

49 J.G.R. Acquoy, *Kerkgeschiedenis en geschiedenis van het Christendom* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1882), 7, 27.

50 Pijper, 'Kist, Moll en Acquoy,' 247.

51 Fruin, 'Onpartijdigheid,' 287. Equally critical of Bilderdijk was M. de Vries, *De Nederlandsche taalkunde, beschouwd in hare vroegere geschiedenis, tegenwoordigen toestand en eischen voor de toekomst: eene voorlezing* (Haarlem: A.C. Kruseman, 1849), 27-28.

52 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 686, 706.

53 Kuenen, 'Critical Method,' 697. See, however, A. Kuenen, 'Hugo de Groot als uitlegger van het Oude Verbond,' *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, 2nd series, 12 (1883), 301-332.

54 Fruin, 'Over de plaats,' 372.
55 Kuenen, *John William Colenso*, 10.
56 Dozy, *Over den gunstigen invloed*, 31.
57 Irmline Veit-Brause, 'The Making of Modern Scientific Personae: The Scientist as a Moral Person? Emil Du Bois-Reymond and His Friends,' *History of the Human Sciences* 15 (2002), 31.
58 E.g. C.P. Tiele, 'Abraham Kuenen: in memoriam,' *De Gids* (1892), 193; K. Budde, 'Vorwort,' in: A. Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur biblischen Wissenschaft*, transl. K. Budde (Freiburg; Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894), v; Matthes, 'Kuenen als criticus,' 496.
59 Jo Tollebeek, 'Een wetenschap van kleine gebaren: historiografische praktijken in de late negentiende eeuw,' in: Herman Paul and Henk te Velde (eds.), *Het vaderlandse verleden: Robert Fruin en de Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), 18-22. See also, more generally, Smith, *Gender of History*, 70-102; Theodore Koditschek, '"Genius" and the Household Mode of Intellectual Production: 1795-1885,' *Journal of Social History* 39 (2005), 429-449.
60 P.J.M. Aalberse, diary entries of 17 November 1893 and 20 November 1893, published online at URL: http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Aalberse/Dagboeken/Dagboek/Aalberse02%201892-1893. Accessed 19 July 2011. See also Brinkerink, 'Het onderwijs,' 107, 109.
61 E.g. I.M.J. Hoog, *De martelaren der Hervorming in Nederland tot 1566* (Schiedam: H. A. M. Roelants, 1885), ix*-x*; Michael Schoengen to Jan Kalf, 18 January 1906, as quoted in Gerda C. Huisman, '"Het is hier geen École des Chartes": Michael Schoengen, privaatdocent in diplomatiek, paleografie en verdere hulpwetenschappen van de geschiedenis, 1904-1931,' in: Catrien Santing (ed.), *De geschiedenis van de middeleeuwen aan de Groningse universiteit, 1614-1939* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 93; P.J. Blok, 'Levensbericht van James de Fremery,' *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1901* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1901), 115.
62 Jo Tollebeek, *Fredericq & Zonen: een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008), 86-92.
63 S. Muller Fz., 'Robert Fruin,' *De Gids* (1894) II, 359.
64 Herman Paul, '"De Hollandsche meester der streng-analytischen methode": Robert Fruin als vader van de Nederlandse geschiedwetenschap,' in Herman Paul and Henk Te Velde, *Het vaderlandse verleden*, 223-225.
65 F. Pijper, 'Kist, Moll en Acquoy, de grondvesters der Nederlandsche historische school,' *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 4 (1907), 252.
66 A. Eekhof, 'Levensbericht van Fredrik Pijper,' *Handelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1926* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1926), 124.
67 H.Y. Groenewegen, *Het onderwijs in de zedekunde van prof. Abraham Kuenen* (Amsterdam: Y. Rogge, [1893]).
68 For the concept of scholarly habitudes, see Remi Lenoir, 'Scientific Habitus: Pierre Bourdieu and the Collective Individual,' *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (2006), 25-43.
69 It would be interesting to compare this philological ethos to other markers of professional identity, such as those developed by nineteenth-century law scholars and professors of medicine. Some striking differences between the identity markers adopted by the two latter groups are discussed in Willem Otterspeer, 'Professionalisering in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw: een vergelijkend perspectief,' in: Bart van der Boom and Femme S. Gaastra (eds.), *Kerk, cultuur en koloniën: opstellen over Nederland rond 1900* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2005), 78-96.

70 Kuenen, *John William Colenso*, 11. See also Cornelis Houtman, 'Colenso as Seen by Kuenen, and as Known from Colenso's Letters to Kuenen,' in: Jonathan A. Draper (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 76-103.

71 Fruin, 'Onpartijdigheid,' 290. A modern, neo-Aristotelian view of intellectual virtue as inextricably linked with moral qualities is presented in Linda Trinkaus Zagzebski, *Virtues of the Mind: An Inquiry into the Nature of Virtue and the Ethical Foundations of Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

72 In his *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Stefan Collini offers some fascinating explorations of this question.

73 For moral advice literature in the nineteenth-century Netherlands, see Marja van Tilburg, *Hoe hoorde het? Seksualiteit en partnerkeuze in de Nederlandse adviesliteratuur, 1780-1890* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1998).

74 P.J. Blok, 'De historische school,' in: *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV* (Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1925), 105-118. Nice illustrations of the increasingly contested *persona* of the humanities scholar in the years around 1900 are offered in Jo Tollebeek, *Mannen van karakter: de wording van de moderne geesteswetenschappen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2011).

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