



The Making of the Humanities IV

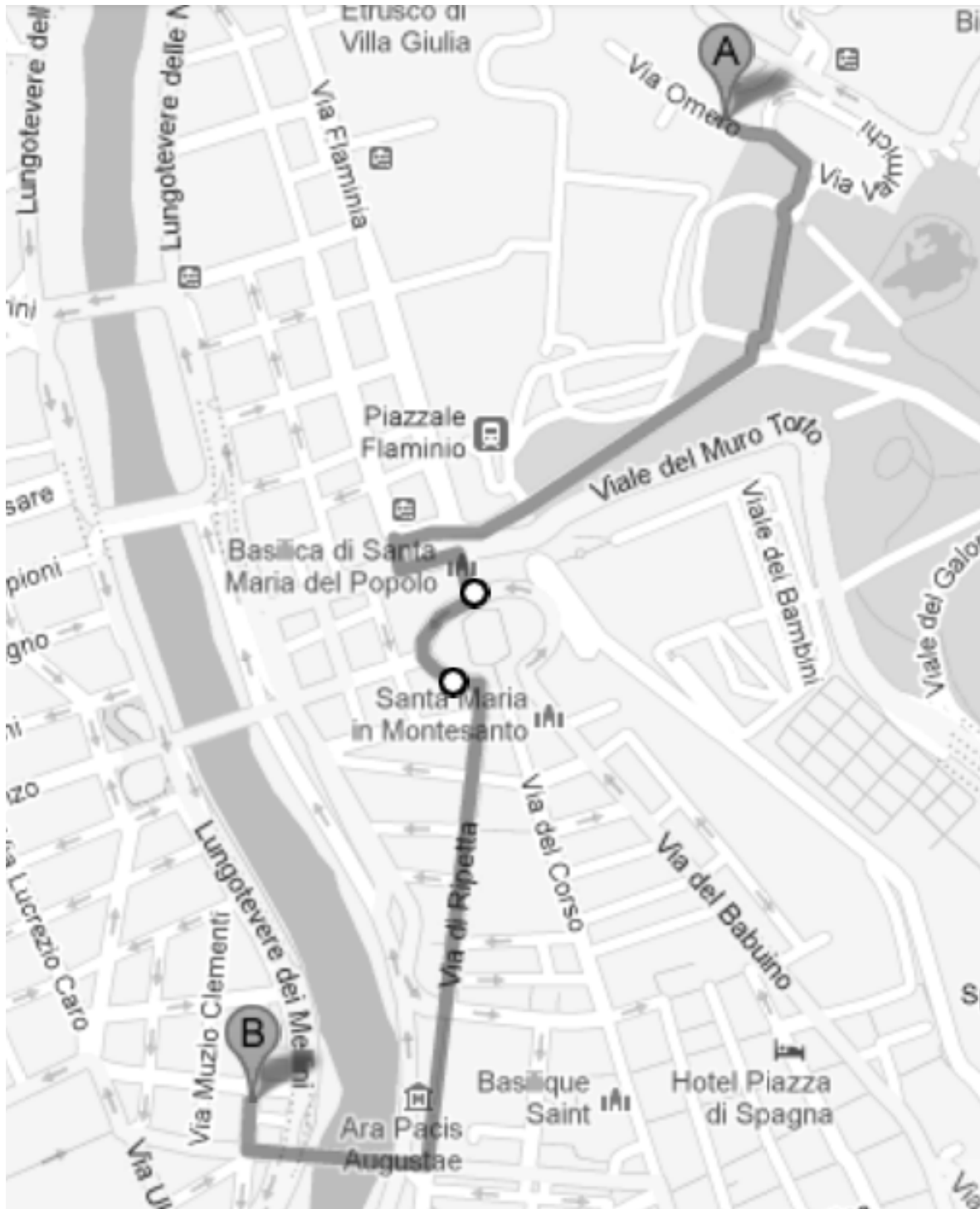
*Connecting Disciplines*

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16-18 October 2014  
Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome

**Program  
Abstracts**





*Location conference dinner: Restaurant La Berninetta,  
Via Pietro Cavallini 14*

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Organized by: Rens Bod, Julia Kursell, Jaap Maat, Thijs Weststeijn  
and the Working Group History of the Humanities  
of the Huizinga Institute

Conference assistance: Angelo Coccarelli, Agnieszka Konkol,  
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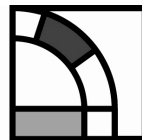
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# The Making of the Humanities IV, 16-18 October 2014

## Program Overview

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<i>KNIR Library</i>	<i>Hoogewerff Auditorium</i>
<b>THURSDAY</b>	
8.30-9.45: Registration and Coffee 9.45: Welcome by programme committee 9.50-10.00: Opening of the conference by Director KNIR	
10.00-10.45: 1) PLENARY: HELEN SMALL	
10.45-11.15: Coffee break	
11.15-13.15: 2) The scholarly self: character, habit and virtue in the humanities	11.15-13.15: 3) Modes of reading in the humanities
13.15-14.30: Lunch break	
14.30-16.00: 4) Philosophy and the humanities	14.30-16.00: 5) Literature and rhetoric
16.00-16.30: Tea break	
16.30-18.00: 6) Reason and reasoning	16.30-18.00: 7) Counternarratives
18.00-18.30: Launch of the journal <i>History of Humanities</i> by Michael Magoulias, Director Journals at University of Chicago Press. Launch of the <i>History of Humanities Society</i>	
18.30: Reception/drinks	

<i>KNIR Library</i>	<i>Hoogewerff Auditorium</i>
<b>FRIDAY</b>	
8.45-9.00: Coffee	
9.00-9.45: 8) PLENARY: FENRONG LIU	
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11.15-13.15: 10) Cultural (mis)connections I	11.15-13.15: 11) Images and words
13.15-14.30: Lunch break	
14.30-16.00: 12) Cultural (mis)connections II	14.30-16.00: 13) The humanities and the social world
16.00-16.30: Tea break	
16.30-18.30: 14) Technique of art across disciplines	16.30-18.30: 15) Disciplining experiences – experiencing knowledge
20.00: CONFERENCE DINNER	

<i>KNIR Library</i>	<i>Hoogewerff Auditorium</i>
<b>SATURDAY</b>	
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11.15-13.15 18) Uses and abuses of history	11.15-13.15: 19) Historical linguistics
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14.30-16.00: 20) Discipline formation	14.30-16.00: 21) Linguistic turns and animosities
16.00-16.30: Tea break	
16.30-17.30: 22) Antiquarianism (includes KNIR Dissertation Prize)  Presentation of KNIR Journal <i>Fragmenta</i> 5 to Prof. Ingrid Rowland	
17.30-18.00: Plenary discussion with keynote speakers, chaired by Rens Bod and Julia Kursell	
18.00: Closing	

## THURSDAY

### 1. PLENARY:

Helen Small, University of Oxford, *The Subjectivity of the Humanities*

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### 2. The Scholarly Self: Character, Habit and Virtue in the Humanities

*Organizer:* Herman Paul, University of Leiden

*Discussant:* Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, University of Roskilde

2.1. Léjon Saarloos, University of Leiden, *'A walking encyclopaedia': scholarly temptations in early twentieth century Britain*

2.2. Katharina Manteufel, University of Leiden, *Professorial families: the making of scholars in one's own image?*

2.3. Christiaan Engberts, University of Leiden, *Scholarly gossip: negotiating standards of professional conduct in scholarly correspondences*

### 3. Modes of Reading in the Humanities

*Organizers:* Henning Trüper and Mario Wimmer

3.1. Markus Klammer, University of Basel, *Construction and ekphrasis. 'Reading' in Freudian psychoanalysis*

3.2. Andrew P. Griebeler, University of California, Berkeley, *Reading frontispieces*

3.3. Henning Trüper, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton/EHESS, Paris, *Enemies of semantics: readings of late-nineteenth-century Old Testament philology*

3.4. Mario Wimmer, University of California, Berkeley, *Reading myth: K. Kerényi and C.G. Jung*

### 4. Philosophy and the Humanities

4.4. Carlo Ierna, University of Utrecht, *Against the mechanization of the mind: Brentano's psychology as the ultimate foundational and interdisciplinary Geisteswissenschaft*

4.5. Fons Dewulf, Ghent University, *The unification of the natural sciences and the humanities in Carnap's Aufbau, 1928*

4.6. Liisi Keedus, Tartu University, *Thinking beyond philosophy: Hannah Arendt and the Weimar hermeneutic connections*

### 5. Literature and Rhetoric

5.1. Neus Rotger, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, *The novel in between disciplines: poetics, rhetoric and literary history in early modern France*



5.2. Levente T. Szabó, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj/Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, *We made a modern discipline: comparative literature*. *Hybrid identities and the comparison of literary cultures in the first international journal of comparative literary studies*

5.3. Lodewijk Muns, independent scholar, The Hague, *Reviving rhetoric: 18<sup>th</sup>-century music and modern musicology*

## **6. Reason and Reasoning**

6.1. Mathias Winther Madsen, University of Amsterdam, *The War of the Reasons: statistics, language, and 'Rational Man'*.

6.2. Floris Solleveld, Radboud University Nijmegen, *Styles of reasoning in the history of the humanities (1750-1800)*

6.3. Marieke Winkler, Radboud University Nijmegen, *Criticism as a connecting principle: 'modes of subjectivity' in the humanities*

## **7. Counternarratives**

7.1. Alpita de Jong, independent scholar, Leiden, *Those who did not make it*

7.2. Hendri Schut, Leiden University, *From the Drachenfels, looking East... The Dutch orientalist H.A. Hamaker (1789-1835) as a Romantic scholar: a case study.*

3.1. Ingrid D. Rowland, University of Notre Dame, Rome campus, *Frances Yates: from magic to cultural criticism*

## **FRIDAY**

## **8. PLENARY:**

Fenrong Liu, Tsinghua University, Beijing, *Ways of Reasoning – Similarities and Difference between Chinese and Western Traditions*

## **9. Logic and Philology in China**

9.1. Peter van Emde Boas, University of Amsterdam, *Strategy theory and games: did the ancient Chinese invent Game Theory?*

9.2. Max Fölster, Universität Hamburg, *The origins of philology in China*

## **10. Cultural (Mis)Connections I**

10.1. Sara Gonzalez, British Academy, *The making of pre-Hispanic history by the indigenous elites in eighteenth-century Peru*

10.2. Thijs Weststeijn, University of Amsterdam, *The Chinese challenge: accommodating East Asia in 17<sup>th</sup>-century European antiquarianism*

10.3. Ori Sela, Tel Aviv University, *Philosophy's ascendancy in Asia: categories of knowledge and their historical implications*

10.4. Gretel Schwoerer-Kohl, University of Freiburg, *Music and the making of humanities in Thailand*

## 11. Images and Words

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11.1. Bernd Kulawik, Technische Hochschule Zürich, *The Accademia della Virtù / Accademia Vitruviana in Rome (c. 1537-1555). The first international network of interdisciplinary research*

11.2. Anna-Maria C. Bartsch, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich, *Establishing Kunsthwissenschaften in the 20th century: On the relation of Formale Ästhetik to a new discipline*

11.3. Vera Zakharova, European University at St. Petersburg, *The making of an ideal: Wölfflin, portraiture and physiognomy*

11.4. Adriana Markantonatos, independent scholar, Frankfurt am Main, *'In-Between' - Reinhart Koselleck 'connecting disciplines'*

## 12. Cultural (Mis)Connections II

12.1. Oliver Weingarten, Academy of Sciences, Prague, *Disciplining philology: Chinese textual studies before and after the Western impact*

12.2. Beate Löffler, University of Duisburg-Essen, *Japanese architecture and the consequences of disconnected disciplines*

12.3. Jidong Li, Nankai University, Tianjin, *The Influences of Japanese Kanji in Modern China*

## 13. The Humanities and the Social World

13.1. Cynthia M. Pyle, New York University, *Applied Renaissance humanism and the making of the humanities*

13.2. Borbala Zsuzsanna Török, University of Konstanz, *The humanities as administrative sciences? Revisiting the German(-inspired) sciences of state, 1750-1850*

13.3. Matthias Neuber, University of Tübingen, *Ostwald, Weber, and the foundations of an 'energetic' theory of culture*

## 14. Technique of Art across Disciplines

*Chair and discussant:* Sven Dupré, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin

14.1. Paul Taylor, Warburg Institute, London, *Concepts of technique from Diderot to Doerner*

14.2. Marjolijn Bol, University of Hamburg, *Histories about technique and techniques for history, 1800-1900*

14.3. Marco Cardinali, Emmebi Diagnostica Artistica, Rome, *The Conference on the Scientific Analysis of Works of Art, held in Rome in 1930: European intersection of disciplines, approaches and schools*

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## **15. Disciplining Experiences – Experiencing Knowledge**

*Chair & Commentator:* Kaat Wils, University of Leuven

15.1. Camille Creighton, University of Amsterdam, *Taming the archives, disciplining historical experience*

15.2. Jan Rock, University of Amsterdam, *The experience of reading: the pleasure of old texts and the establishment of Dutch lexicography and national history*

15.3. Arnold Witte, University of Amsterdam, *Aesthetic experience and the development of art history around 1900*

15.4. Krisztina Lajosi, University of Amsterdam, *How musical experiences could not be replaced by formalism: 20<sup>th</sup>-century musicology and artistic practices*

## **SATURDAY**

## **16. PLENARY**

Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin, *On the making of historical epistemology*

## **17. Mind and Body**

17.1. Nadia Moro, University of Milan/Higher School of Economics, Moscow, *Ein 'Spiegel für die geistige Thätigkeit'. Language and categories from Herbart's psychology to Steinthal's Völkerpsychologie*

17.2. Robert Zwijnenberg, University of Leiden, *The humanities, biotechnology and bio-art*

## **18. Uses and Abuses of History**

18.1. Jacques Bos, University of Amsterdam, *Ancients and moderns: historical consciousness, historical method and the disciplines in Early Modern Europe*

18.2. Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, University of Roskilde, *Producing and reproducing the past in Enlightenment Germany*

18.3. Bart Karstens, University of Amsterdam, *The historicization of the world picture*

18.4. Katarzyna Jarosz, International University of Logistics, Wrocław, *Romanian national myths – Burebista as an example of falsifying history*

## 19. Historical Linguistics across History and Politics

*Organizer:* Angela Marcantonio, University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’

19.1. László Marác, University of Amsterdam, *Contextualizing the making of the Finno-Ugric languages classification*

19.2. Angela Marcantonio, University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’, & Juha Janhunen, University of Helsinki-Helsingfors, *On the position of Hungarian in the Ural-Altaic typological belt*

19.3. Toon Van Hal, University of Leuven, *The central place of Persia and Scythia in some lesser-known representatives of early nineteenth-century historical linguistics: continuity between the seventeenth and the nineteenth-century?*

19.4. Elisabetta Ragagnin, University Ca’Foscari, Venice/University of Cambridge, *Oghuzic language evolution and politics: Turkish and Azeri compared*

## 20. Discipline Formation

20.1. Ida Jahr, University of Oslo, *Mapping geopolitics of knowledge: the diffusion of American Studies in Europe 1945-65*

20.2. Joris van Zundert & Karina van Dalen-Oskam, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, *The digital humanities disconnect*

20.3. Julianne Nyhan, University College London, *The role of labels and metaphors in investigating interconnections between the digital humanities and the humanities*

## 21. Linguistic Turns and Animosities

21.1. Anna Pytlowany, University of Amsterdam & Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, *Colonial and missionary linguistic production in 16th-18<sup>th</sup>-century Asia as a mirror of European alliances and animosities*

21.2. Michiel Leezenberg, University of Amsterdam, *The vernacular revolution: reclaiming early modern grammatical traditions*

21.3. Jaap Maat, University of Amsterdam, *Connecting disciplines in the history of deaf education*

## 22. Antiquarianism

22.1 Jetze Touber, Utrecht University, *Reading and measuring antiquities: textual and metrical aspects of the study of the past around 1700*

22.2. Han Lamers, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin / Universiteit Gent, *A Cultural Encounter Revised: Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy*, **Winner of the Van Woudenberg Dissertation Prize.**

# Abstracts

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## 1. Plenary: The Subjectivity of the Humanities

Helen Small, University of Oxford

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Subjectivism in aesthetic judgement gives rise to some well recognised problems for criticism and for philosophy of value—not least among them the problem of how best to respond to the fact that, as Hume put it, ‘the taste of all individuals is not upon an equal footing’. This paper will describe a broad tendency on the part of those working in the humanities today to deal with this old difficulty by, in effect, discounting or ignoring the potential capriciousness or waywardness of the individual response. In the main, work in my own field, literary criticism, for example, is no longer much interested in the vagary of individual subjectivity, though it remains as interested as ever in (to quote Derek Attridge) the ‘unprogrammable’ specificity of literature’s effects on human subjects, and indeed builds some of its main value claims on that foundation. Many literary critics, for example, (including those at the forefront of ‘the new aestheticism’) want to talk about the unprogrammable but they want to talk about it in generalisable terms, securing a validation for subjectivism via history, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, post-structuralism, neuroscience, or other means.

This paper will explore some possible reasons for the lack of interest in the individual response understood *as an individual response*. Prominent among them is the understanding that criticism, as T. S. Eliot observed, usually has instrumental or technical or otherwise externally determined ends in view and those ends tend to make the merely personal response seem of little or no significance. Hume found a partial answer to his dilemma in the notion of ‘taste’: a word that acknowledged the serious difficulty of connecting the qualities of the aesthetic object to the response of the subject; also the difficulty, in turn, of connecting that individual subjective response to a true standard. The paper will ask what term if any, in our current critical vocabularies, might perform the function that ‘taste’ once performed, allowing for the ‘caprice’ of the individual response while also offering to take the critic beyond it to general agreeable standards of judgement. It will then try to assess what kind and order of problem it is for the humanities that our relationship to a standard of judgement is so markedly at variance with the way in which other divisions of the university understand and talk about their relationship to subjectivity.

## 2. The Scholarly Self: Character, Habit and Virtue in the Humanities

*Organizer:* Herman Paul, University of Leiden

*Discussant:* Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, University of Roskilde

### *General description*

One way of writing an interdisciplinary history of the humanities is to focus on challenges that scholars throughout the humanities encountered. One of these challenges was the ‘scholarly self,’ that is, the question what sort of persona scholars were supposed to embody in order to be recognized as true scholars. What did it take to be a scholar? What was seen as proper scholarly conduct? While some work on scholarly personae in early-modern Europe has been done, this panel breaks new ground by addressing scholarly selfhood in a nineteenth-century context. This was a time when ‘professionalization’ and academic institutionalization challenged existing views of the scholarly self, while creating new types such as the ‘scholarly entrepreneur.’ With case studies from Oriental studies and church history in England, Germany, and the Netherlands, this panel examines (1) what were seen as typical ‘vices’ or ‘temptations’ threatening the scholarly self, (2) how ‘professorial families’ served as contexts for socialization into scholarly selfhood, though often with unintended results, and (3) why scholars invested significant energy in keeping each other accountable to standards of scholarly selfhood.

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### 2.1 Léjon Saarloos, University of Leiden, *‘A walking encyclopaedia’: scholarly temptations in early twentieth century Britain*

A scholar in early twentieth century Britain was never solely a scholar; one was often a fellow, a father, a husband, a tutor or a politician simultaneously. It is only logical then, that scholarly lives were plagued by temptations arising from other aims as those recognized as the aims of scholarship. For example, how was one supposed to deal with the lure of money, the desire for scholarly fame or the dilemmas of political power? How did the scholarly community make sure that these other aims did not impede on what were the recognized goals of scholarship? The debates over good scholarship show that scholarly ideal-types were often best defined in the negative sense, by stating what it was not. Exploring the notions of vices and temptations in debates over scholarly conduct will greatly further our understanding of scholars’ lives, practices and their disciplines, because it is in confrontations with temptation and vice that contested scholarly *personae* show their commitments and boundaries.

This paper will zoom in on a debate that raged amongst British historians around 1900 about whether the writing of history should be modeled on German historicism and source criticism or on the British tradition of liberal education and the moral valuation of the past. These contested ideas about what good scholarship was also gave rise to ideas on scholarly temptations. Charles Oman (1860-1946), Chichele Professor in Modern History at Oxford University, warned in his 1906 inaugural lecture that historians should not overestimate

themselves and should not be tempted by the idea of writing a perfect book, a magnum opus based on a vast array of primary sources.

This overly thorough ‘German’ approach would lead to unproductivity, as illustrated by the negative example of the ‘walking encyclopaedia’ (25), the learned Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University Lord Acton (1834-1902), who in his laborious life published so little scholarly work. To withstand this temptation, Oman opted for a more modest approach: ‘by formulating a thesis that requires indefinite modification, we may serve the cause of history far better than by refusing to put anything on paper that is not absolutely certain.’ (29)

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The vice of self-overestimation and the temptations that the overly thorough German historicism raised for historians illustrate how competing positions on the nature and study of history also shaped debates on the scholarly *persona* around 1900. By analyzing this one specific temptation in the larger debate on what was recognized as good scholarly work, this paper will show the importance of studying the making of the humanities from the perspective of scholarly temptations and self-disciplining around 1900.

## 2.2. Katharina Manteufel, University of Leiden, *Professorial families: the making of scholars in one's own image?*

What did it take for students in late nineteenth-century humanities disciplines to acquire a ‘scholarly self’? In any case, professional socialization was never a straight-forward matter of teachers implementing their own ideals, or pupils conforming to a role model. More often than not, the best of intentions either way produced contingent results, as the case study I will examine in this paper nicely illustrates.

One of the most renowned church historians of his time, Adolf von Harnack, is seen as a pivotal figure of the discipline, who pressed his stamp on a whole generation of German theologians. And that was in spite of the fact that he would rather have risked *einen polnischen Reichstag der Wissenschaft*, as he put it, than to constrict the freedom of his students with demands of deference to him. Instead, as a teacher, he strove to imbue his followers with the ideal of science as a ‘noble edifice’, in which diligent labor and inspired outlook could never exist separately. As a scholar, promoter and politician of science, however, he impersonated a standard of universal proficiency that was hard to equal. Initially, from Harnack’s church historical seminar in the 1870s a group of students emerged as the ardent champions of his liberal, scientific theology. Professional, social and emotional bonds were fostered in correspondences and scientific collaboration. Three decades later though, bitter quarrels divided the members of the professorial family. In their successive careers, Harnack’s most promising students had come into their own and as it turned out, they had become either ‘ground-floor workers’ or ‘top-floor visionaries’, but none of them had managed to maintain the conjunction that their old teacher had envisioned. Some had mustered the discipline for profound, specialist scholarship, while others had

embarked on careers with social and political aspirations. In their appropriation of a professional identity, a distinct division of labor had thus occurred.

Doubtlessly, there was more than a single reason that the 'noble edifice' of universal scholarship appeared as an outmoded ideal by the time of Harnack's death in 1930, and with it, the scholarly persona that he had impersonated. But it is worth investigating how students engaged with their role model in selective, creative and productive ways, and what accounted for their inspiration or the pressure they felt to do so.

### 2.3. Christiaan Engberts, University of Leiden, *Scholarly gossip: negotiating standards of professional conduct in scholarly correspondences*

One way to look into the question 'What does it take to be a scholar?', is to look at the ways in which scholars kept each other accountable to standards of scholarly selfhood. The correspondences of scholars allow us to witness the appropriation and negotiation of these standards. Though a number of researchers have looked at scholarly correspondences for different reasons, these sources have rarely been used to paint a picture of the negotiation of these standards. Though the issues that are being discussed in these letters cover a wide range of topics, I plan to focus on only one of them: the evaluation of colleagues.

The evaluation of colleagues and their work could be rather harsh. Browsing through correspondences, one comes across a large number of more or less abusive terms. A quick look into the letters of some early twentieth century oriental scholars brought me, amongst others, 'Grosssprecher' (big mouth) and 'jeune étourdi' (young scatterbrain). Of course this type of gossip can serve multiple psychological and political purposes. One of these purposes – the one on which I plan to focus – is the negotiation of scholarly personae. Unchecked by the restrictions that courtesy places on commenting on each other's work and behavior, ideals of scholarly selfhood have often been articulated most clearly by commenting on other scholars' performance. Well-deserved praise was not denied to those who were deemed to deserve it. When a colleague's scholarly performance was considered to be inadequate, however, correspondents were often more than frank to each other.

In my paper I would like to present a case study on the correspondence of the German oriental scholar Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930) with his Dutch colleagues Michael Jan de Goeje (1839-1909) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). De Goeje was one of Nöldeke's closest professional friends. This friendship was passed on to de Goeje's student Snouck Hurgronje, who studied some time with Nöldeke in Strassburg as well, after obtaining his doctorate in Leiden. The friendly relationship between these oriental scholars allowed for the kind of candor in writing that will illustrate the relation between the evaluation of colleagues and the negotiation of the correspondents' scholarly personae.



### 3. Modes of Reading in the Humanities

*Organizers:* Henning Trüper and Mario Wimmer

#### *General description*

The aim of this panel will be to open a few vistas on the plurality and historicity of practices of reading in the humanities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hermeneutic philosophers since Schleiermacher have posited that the specificity of the humanities was founded in a form of ‘dialogical’ (Gadamer) reading as, ideally, conducted in a circular, open-ended process. The ‘understanding’ (Dilthey) of cognate minds left the ‘humanities’ with the presupposition that its subject-matter was always already human, and that the reading of text was ultimately grounded in the universality of humanity. The understanding of reading thus established was, however, ahistorical. The scrutiny of scholarly practice, by contrast, reveals that working procedures substantially deviated from the hermeneutic ideal.

As Roger Chartier points out, in a short essay on the work of Louis Marin, the early modern meaning of ‘reading’ commonly referred to the interpretation of objects rather than to deciphering a written document or text. One would rather ‘read’ a landscape, an image, or thing—biblical exegesis and the juridical practice of authenticating documents being the two important exceptions. It was only by the end of the 18th century that the understanding of ‘reading’ was even narrowed down to written matter. The reading of text acquired novel meanings both as cultural practice and as an important aspect of the institutionalization of literacy (alphabetization, university training in philology and critical reading). According to this the legibility of text can be considered one of the historical preconditions for the formation of the modern humanities. Yet, as we hope to show, by no means did this shift of theories and practices of reading entail direct and uniform convergence toward a hermeneutic understanding of the humanities. Accordingly, we seek to trace different notions of reading and legibility and different, potentially less humanist understandings of the humanities.

#### 3.1. Markus Klammer, University of Basel, *Construction and ekphrasis. ‘Reading’ in Freudian psychoanalysis*

The paper deals with the concept of reading as it is formed in Freudian psychoanalysis. For Freud reading, first and foremost, is not the reading of a constituted text, but the reading of an array of symptoms that present themselves mainly as images in the visual domain—most notably as dream images and hallucinations or as the fragmentary visual memories of repressed traumatic events, but also in the guise of works of art. In psychoanalytic reading these images are treated as *rebuses* that are composed of a finite number of discrete (visual) elements, in short, they are being treated *as if* they were a text.

The paper seeks to demonstrate that the textuality of this text is not a pregiven one, but that is only being produced in the act of psychoanalytic reading

itself. Moreover, it will show that psychoanalytic reading, being a reading of symptoms, does not render the repressed, traumatic experiences, wishes or events themselves, as they are usually not remembered directly by the patient in the course of the analytic session. Rather, psychoanalytic reading evolves as a ‘construction’ of past events, as Freud himself puts it, whose ontological status or ‘*Realwert*’ remains deeply precarious. The paper will address the various supplementary procedures Freud introduces to stabilize his *reconstructions* and to furnish them with an iron core of empirical reality.

The second part of the paper will focus on Freud’s strategies of reading as they are employed in his seminal 1914 essay ‘*Der Moses des Michelangelo*.’ It will bring to light a characteristic double meaning of the notion of ‘reading’ that structures Freud’s account—signifying the quasiekphrastic reading of visual features of Michelangelo’s famous statue as symptoms of a lost past as well as the critical reading of the plethora of art historical texts that have been dealing with the statue up to Freud’s time. In Freud’s article, these two modalities of reading—the reading of direct visual evidence on the one hand and the reading of various interpreting texts on the other hand—supplement each other in order to support his own interpretation of the statue.

### 3.2. Andrew P. Griebeler, University of California, Berkeley, *Reading frontispieces*

How do philologists and art historians ‘read’ the pictures that fill the pages of ancient books? How are those readings preconditioned by their historical circumstances? My case in point is the frontispiece cycle from the so-called Vienna Dioscorides (Vind. cod. med. gr. 1), a large, luxurious manuscript, now known after its current location. The frontispiece cycle (fols. 1-7) lacks explanatory texts and stands alone as a kind of ‘visual prooemium’ that conjures mythical and historical visions of the codex’s emergence. The cycle has been an object of scholarship since the work of the librarian Peter Lambeck in seventeenth century. This paper takes as a case study Anton von Premerstein’s reading of the frontispieces published in 1903. Premerstein had studied under the philologists Wilhelm von Hartel and Karl Schenkl, the archaeologist Otto Benndorf, and the historian Max Büdinger. Written during a brief stint at the *Hofbibliothek* (1895-1905), Premerstein’s study demonstrates the interdisciplinary concerns and outlook of a broadly trained classicist turned art historian and byzantinist at the turn of the century: He painstakingly reconstructs an acrostic poem hidden in the border of a miniature, and represents those inscriptions through a set of plates. He then identifies the poem’s meter, and writes a commentary on it.

Premerstein’s loupe and etching plates exemplify a shift from ‘reading’ visuals to the reclamation and reading of inscriptions present but barely visible within the picture. Yet, at the same time, Premerstein conducts a series of iconographic readings of courtly attributes and costume. The ancient recipient of the book, Juliana Anicia, seems to reemerge enfolded through Premerstein’s figural reconstructions of her costume. Premerstein’s study discards the problem

of reading the frontispieces in terms of narrative or meaning in favor of presenting a vividly reinscribed and ‘humanized’ portrait of an elite Byzantine patroness and ‘dilettante’.

3.3. Henning Trüper, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton/EHESS, Paris, *Enemies of semantics: readings of late-nineteenth-century Old Testament philology*

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This paper will conduct a case study of German Old Testament theology in the late 19th century in order to achieve an analysis of such forms of reading that were connected with philology as an actual scholarly practice in the period. The paper will focus on Julius Wellhausen’s synthesis of the long-standing philological deconstruction of the unity and historical source value of the Hebrew Bible. It will contrast Wellhausen’s procedure with that of an opponent, the orientalist Fritz Hommel, and with that of an only marginally involved philological observer, the orientalist Georg Jacob. This contrast reveals that participants as well as spectators of the conflict followed a theoretical-practical model of *Realphilologie*.

This variant of philological method—which derived from a complicated and distant reception of the methodological teachings of the classicist August Boeckh—represents a specific stage in a history of scholarly reading. *Realphilologie* entailed a mode of reading that fragmented a given text, such as that of the Old Testament. This fragmentation brought out single components of the text that were treated as mere symptoms indicative of an underlying, both cultural and natural reality. In the eighteenth century biblical criticism had commenced disassembling the text of the Old Testament by tracing the divergent names of the deity. The procedure of drawing on the shapes, references and implications of isolated names, concepts and phrases was subsequently refined to an astonishing degree. The *realia* entailed by such fragments of text remained external to the assertoric content, the literal and other auctorial meanings of the actual text. Textual semantics was increasingly treated as a secondary concern to philological research. In a dynamic competition, biblical scholars sought to undermine as well as outdo each other’s results, to an extent that turned them into veritable enemies of hermeneutic interpretation. Their bible was not, any more, a meaningbearing text capable of dialogical engagement.

The enmity towards textual semantics – and the notion that the Bible had meaning, specifically—structured a vast array of philological undertakings and informed—as the paper will seek to briefly demonstrate in conclusion—also adjacent areas of the humanities.

3.4. Mario Wimmer, University of California, Berkeley, *Reading myth: K. Kerényi and C.G. Jung*

Wimmer’s paper engages with the possibility of reading ancient myth. Looking at the case of the classicist and scholar of myth Karl Kerényi, he argues that Kerényi’s reading of myth is based on both an established written tradition as

well as a set of cultural and intellectual practices that aim for the immediate experience of myth as a way of doing philology. Kerenyi's philology of experience returns to an early modern paradigm of deciphering the presence of myth in a purportedly timeless Greek landscape. On the return from one of his study trips to Greece Kerenyi writes to one of his colleagues that even after a couple of weeks he could not regain his sense of time. The experience of his travels could not fully translate into scholarly writing. As Michel de Certeau argued in his study on the writing of history, the symbolic economy of travel produces a surplus that on the arrival cannot be completely integrated into the discourse of the cultural formation from which the traveler had previously departed. Kerenyi used this surplus produced by the symbolic economy of travel as resource for his interpretation of what he considered a timeless myth. As he had pointed out with the publication of several illustrated travel books on ancient Greece, his experience of the atmosphere of the Greek landscape was a source for his reading of ancient myth. It was only the complex relation of different temporal structures that allowed for his particular reading of myth. The paper will engage with Kerenyi's method of reading myth in relation to both the experience of his study trips to Greece (in particular the trips organized by the *C.G. Jung Institut*) and its relation to the work on myth of C.G. Jung; Kerenyi and Jung had been in close contact over years and would later co-author several collections of essays. Wimmer's analysis of the reading of myth between classical and psychoanalytic scholarship will draw on both published and unpublished materials by Kerenyi and Jung and pursue the questions of how Kerenyi's momentary inability to regain his sense of time connects to Jung's conception of archetypes (the latter had adopted from Adolf Bastian's ethnographic notion of elementary thoughts), and of how the aporias of timelessness are prerequisite for the reading of myth.

#### 4. Philosophy and the Humanities

4.1. Carlo Ierna, University of Utrecht, *Against the mechanization of the mind: Brentano's psychology as the ultimate foundational and interdisciplinary Geisteswissenschaft*

In order to connect scientific disciplines and enable productive collaboration, we have to formulate an encompassing framework that allows for different forms of data to be shared. How can that be made possible given all the methodological diversity within the humanities, let alone across the disciplinary borders of the natural sciences and the humanities? What scientific paradigm could safeguard this unity of science while avoiding reductionism?

For Franz Brentano, the ultimate foundation for the humanities and social sciences as well as the natural sciences would lie in his descriptive psychology as the ultimate interdisciplinary paradigm. In order to avoid both the unscientific speculation of the idealists as well as the mechanization of the mind implied by the reductionism of the natural sciences, Brentano claimed an autonomous domain of scientific inquiry for the philosophical sciences: the mind. However,

Brentano's approach is strikingly contemporary in explicitly acknowledging sources of data about mental phenomena beyond subjective reflection, opening up the framework to both first- and third-person methodologies. Through the mediation of his philosophical psychology, Brentano is able to connect the domains of the *Natur-* and the *Geisteswissenschaften*, but without reducing the latter to the former or mechanizing the mind.

In Brentano's paradigm, the starting point for all sciences lies in the analysis of sensation. Since sensations depend on a physical stimulus, the science of mental phenomena must be complemented by the sciences of natural phenomena. However, psychology also draws on the humanities, i.a. history and linguistics. Specifically, Brentano claims that we can have indirect knowledge of other minds than our own insofar as it is expressed in words, since 'language in general has the purpose of expressing our mental phenomena.' Language itself is a cultural sediment of how people have put their mental life in words, providing at least a preliminary classification of mental phenomena. For instance, empirical generalizations from common sense insights are encoded in proverbs, which can then be verified by more detailed psychological research.

That this interdisciplinary paradigm was very fruitful indeed is shown by extraordinary success of the schools and movements captained by his students, across a wide spectrum of scientific disciplines (including i.a. musicology, linguistics, *Gestalt*-psychology), eclipsing their common teacher. Thus Brentano's 'invisibility' in the history of philosophy and psychology should be understood not simply as a contingent historical accident, but rather as a hallmark of the fruitfulness of his project.

#### 4.2. Fons Dewulf, Ghent University, *The unification of the natural sciences and the humanities in Carnap's Aufbau*

One of the most rigorous attempts to unify all the sciences both theoretically and practically was undertaken during the interbellum by the logical-positivist 'unity of science'-movement. Rudolf Carnap's 'Der logische Aufbau der Welt' (1928) can be considered a textbook example of the logical-positivist's hope to give the unity of science a logical basis. However, contemporary theorists of the humanities, like Ernst Cassirer or Max Horkheimer thought that both the book and the movement were hostile towards the humanities. Because the movement is most famous for their theories on lawful explanation and empirical verification, it has often been considered as a normative philosophy of science that would threaten to demarcate the humanities outside the scope of science.

In recent decades the movement has received new attention that emphasizes the interesting neokantian adaptations and political dimensions of their philosophy of science. One aspect of the movement has, however, been neglected up until now: the position of the humanities within the unity of science. I will show that at least partially the movement was attentive to the specific needs of the humanities, without excluding them from the unity of science.

First, I will argue that the humanities were not excluded from Carnap's Aufbau. Carnap actively tries to persuade his readers that the claims and methods of the humanities can be incorporated within his logical framework, without reducing them to objects or methods of the natural sciences. To this end Carnap tackles two problems concerning the humanities. First, he explains how the ideographical concepts of the humanities can be incorporated within his logical framework. This way he solves some problems of neokantians theorists as Heinrich Rickert and Wilhelm Windelband.

Next, Carnap also claims that the important methodological notion of 'verstehen' as introduced by Dilthey can be kept on board in a logical unity of science. Second, I will argue that the logical-positivist concepts of 'Gesamtwissenschaft' and 'Einheit der Wissenschaft' are used in the 'Aufbau' to defend the autonomy of the humanities.

I will show that Carnap considered the humanities as prime examples of the possibility to connect disciplines across the wide range of sciences in general. Creating a unity between the sciences without yielding methodological or conceptual autonomy, was his goal. This aspect of logical-positivist theory is still worthy of our attention, since it allows us to rethink the relation between the humanities and the natural sciences, both from a systematical and a historical perspective.

#### 4.3. Liisi Keedus, Tartu University, *Thinking beyond philosophy: Hannah Arendt and the Weimar hermeneutic connections*

Hannah Arendt's monumental legacy as a political theorist almost makes her personal intellectual history by definition relevant for the field's understanding of its own past. Yet this has proved to be far more complex than simply tracing her 'philosophical roots' back to the work of her two philosophical mentors - Karl Jaspers and Martin Heidegger. As is now well-known, Arendt began her studies as a theology student at the University of Marburg, where one of her instructors was Rudolf Bultmann, a front figure of existentialist theology – from whom Arendt said she 'had learned a lot.' Later in Heidelberg, she became a student of theologian Martin Dibelius, a pioneer of 'form criticism', and her doctoral dissertation bordered on theology, philosophy and classical studies. During her Heidelberg years, Arendt also attended the sociology seminars of Karl Mannheim, and participated in the 'sociology of knowledge debate.' As is less known, she took a serious interest in German Romanticism and studied literature with Friedrich Gundolf, one of the most celebrated literary theorists of the time.

All these scholars were pioneers in their own fields, but also widely read across disciplines. Their cross-disciplinary influence had above all to do with a shared effort to overcome the contemporary crisis of the Neokantianism and historicism – and in this attempt, they not only sought to rethink the human world, but also revise the methods for its study.

While there is increasing interest among Arendt's readers in the ways in which her political ideas can be traced back thematically to Weimar influences,

there are only fleeting reflections on the junctions between her famously unorthodox approach to political philosophy and the hermeneutic revolts of her youth. The present paper will explore some of these connections, with the particular focus on how the theoretical-methodological background of Arendt's thought shaped her approach to what she formulated as the basic predicaments of political modernity.

In this context, it is particularly worthwhile – or so I will argue – to read Arendt's early work in conjunction with Friedrich Gundolf, her literature teacher. It was particularly Gundolf's critique of Romanticism that became relevant for Arendt's work on Rahel Varnhagen, a Jewish hostess of a Berlin saloon in the age of Romanticism. This link is not merely interesting, especially in the light of Arendt's life-long passion for literature and weaving elements of it into her political theory. More importantly, it constitutes a crucial episode in the conceptual evolution of her critique of political modernity, and as such, in the genesis of her theory of politics.

## 5. Literature and Rhetoric

5.1 Neus Rotger, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, *The novel in between disciplines: poetics, rhetoric and literary history in early modern France*

Permanently in a state of crisis, the novel has from its origins been immersed in a tireless search for legitimization. Alien to classical theorisation and without the support of authorised models, the novel barely warrants a specific mention, as an independent entity, in the poetics of classicism, which perpetuate and extend the Aristotelian debate over tragedy and epic. Due in part to this lack of roots, the genre met with the disdain of the erudite, who over the course of seventeenth-century France issued harsh criticisms of its irregularity, lack of verisimilitude and moral ambiguity. Despite –or perhaps precisely because of– its growing popularity, the novel was consigned to the lowest ranks of the literary hierarchy, if it was not cast outside the walls of the belles-lettres altogether. And yet far from leaving this new genre to fend for itself in the limbo of indeterminacy, the authors and theorists of the period threw themselves into constructing a definition of the novel with the aim of regulating and dignifying the form.

Throughout the seventeenth century, there was an interesting tension between disciplines in these theoretical efforts to legitimize the novel. On the one hand, theorists of the time attempted to regulate the novel through poetics, equating the new genre with classical epic and tragedy, with their very same models and laws. Furthermore, the novel was interpreted from the parameters of rhetoric, measuring the effectiveness of novel writing as a discursive practice, with compelling similarities to history. The *Traité de l'origine des romans* (1670), by Pierre-Daniel Huet, and the *Sentiments sur l'Histoire* (1683), by the largely unknown Du Plaisir, both illustrate perfectly this disciplinary tension, which later led to conflicting visions of the novel. In this paper, I examine the sense of this tension and its subsequent impact in literary history.

5.2. Levente T. Szabó, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj/Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, *'We made a modern discipline: comparative literature'. Hybrid identities and the comparison of literary cultures in the first international journal of comparative literary studies*

The reception of the *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* (1877-1888), the first international journal founded in Cluj / Kolozsvár (today in Romania) by Sámuel Brassai and Hugo von Meltzl / Meltzl Hugó, has always suffered from a certain 'methodological nationalism' (Joep Leerssen). While it has always stressed the transgressing of national boundaries and the transnational network of scholars the journal succeeded to gather around the new idea of the comparative method in literature, it has also recurrently emphasized the ethnic and national 'belonging' of both of the founders and the collaborators. Hugo von Meltzl has been portrayed as the civilizing 'German' who founded the journal after returning from its 'Western' studies. The other founder, Sámuel Brassai was largely neglected as he was viewed as 'the Eastern figure', 'the Hungarian' who had never been abroad, and in contact with 'the West' before. Many of the extremely large network of scholars were mainly thought of as clear-cut figures of one and only ethnic or national group. For instance, Dora d'Istria came to be viewed as either an " or a 'Romanian'. Chen Jitong / Tchen ki-tong / Tschen ki-dong, the author of the first translation of Sándor Petőfi into Chinese, was thought of as a 'Chinese' scholar, even though he had been living in Europe for a long time, and had been acting like a cultural middlemaker. Ludwig-Adolf Simiginowicz-Staufe has been regarded as a 'German', even though his identity could not be simply described with such a clear-cut ethnic term. The presence of culturally hybrid figures (like that of Meltzl, Dora d'Istria, Tschen ki-dong etc.) among the founders or permanent collaborators, and the foregrounding of cultural hybridity as a major framework for comparative literature made literary and cultural hybridity an essential part of early comparative literature.

My paper will try to reassess this hidden interplay of hybrid identities and the thematization of literary and cultural hybridity in the *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*, presenting it as a major source of the alternative vision of 19th-century literary and cultural comparison and the comparative method of the first international journal of comparative literary studies.

5.3 Lodewijk Muns, independent scholar, The Hague, *Reviving rhetoric: 18<sup>th</sup>-century music and modern musicology*

That music and language are closely connected is a familiar topos, which has a particular relevance to music of the 18th century. Against the predominance of vocal (and texted) music, instrumental music increasingly claimed aesthetic autonomy. It did not thereby 'emancipate' itself from language. Instead, there was a shift from the late baroque conception of 'musical speech' (Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 1739), towards the idea of a 'universal language of



feeling' (Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 1788; Kant, *Kritik der Urteilkraft*, 1790).

In this changing aesthetics, the constant factor is a musicolinguistic analogy. The nature of this analogy poses a challenging subject for interdisciplinary study. But which are the disciplines to connect, and how should we connect them?

In his sketchy theory of music (1788), Johann Nicolaus Forkel makes a distinction between musical 'grammar' and 'rhetoric'. If grammar describes how sentences are put together, and rhetoric is above all the art of connecting sentences in discourse, this still seems a reasonable point of departure, given suitable definitions of musical sentences and musical discourse.

The study of musical rhetoric has seen a remarkable boom since the 1980's, in close association with the revival of historical performance practice. With its strong emphasis on period theory and aesthetics, it stands within a philological-musicological tradition. On the other hand, the most outspoken attempts to create a linguistically inspired musical 'grammar' (in particular, Lerdahl and Jackendoff's *Generative Theory of Tonal Music*, 1983), continue a formalist tradition which, paradoxically, minimises the language-like features.

That these approaches have failed to connect is hardly surprising, given the institutionalisation of the relevant disciplines. Both, moreover, are open to criticism on their own ground. My focus will be on rhetoric.

A critique of the rhetorical revival may address above all two points: (1) the accuracy of its assessment of source materials; (2) the ability of the framework of traditional school rhetoric to account for the complexities of musical discourse. Composers were acquainted with a rich variety of discourses: those of real life, of literature and of the stage. This experience of language-in-practice (which we share with them) is the object of a rhetoric more broadly conceived, of discourse analysis, and linguistic pragmatics.

## 6. Reason and Reasoning

6.1 Mathias Winther Madsen, University of Amsterdam, *The War of the Reasons: statistics, language, and 'Rational Man'*.

In the 1950s, Chomsky famously argued that statistical models give 'no particular insight' into the true nature of language, but are at best a distraction from the scientific issue. Although this criticism was partly targeted at the technical shortcomings of Markov models, it was also strongly informed by deeper resistance towards the idea of language as a random process. Many of his contemporaries expressed similar concerns about the conflation of scientific description the language system and the prediction of random events.

While these discussion were taking place in linguistics, a veritable war was breaking out in mathematical statistics, with the Bayesian paradigm of Harold Jeffreys on one side and the frequentist paradigm of Sir Ronald Fisher on the other. Seemingly benign mathematical questions were provoking surprisingly

heated disputes, with words like ‘charlatan’ and ‘hack’ being thrown around in the halls of the Royal Society.

These two controversies were in fact intimately connected. Both Chomsky and Fisher were driven by a opposition against what they saw as a perversion of the scientific method, a conflation of the random with the unknown. Meanwhile Jeffreys, on his side of the issue, insisted equally that he had the authority of science on his side, and argued that his philosophy alone reflected the true concerns of ‘practical men.’ In both cases, an implicit philosophical anthropology informed their mathematical preferences and frustrated attempts at mediation.

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In my paper, I will provide a historical overview of these debates and expose their common philosophical underpinnings. This requires me to trace the Chomskyan image of ‘Rational Man’ back to its historical roots in early modern England, Holland, and France. I will present evidence from textbooks in logic and other contemporary sources which documents how a specific cognitive and behavioural ideal of sober, disciplined rationality was gaining importance as a cultural shibboleth by the emerging middle classes of the early 17th century. When this ideal fused with the meditative practices of the Christian tradition in the philosophy of Descartes, it turned into the prototype of the statistical reason that Fisher would promote in the 20th century.

The conclusion I draw from this discussion is that the disagreements about the nature of language and linguistics — starting in the 1950s, and still ongoing — are fundamentally ideological in nature, and are so closely tied to notions of rationality that they cannot be resolved by rational means.

## 6.2 Floris Solleveld, Radboud University Nijmegen, *Styles of reasoning in the history of the humanities (1750-1800)*

In this presentation, I will be concerned with two general aspects of scholarship: how information is *ordered* into something that can count as knowledge, and how it is *presented* as such. These are two different things: the first is on the level of selection and argumentation, the second on the level of rhetoric and visual arrangement. But they also overlap: the rhetoric and the visual arrangement also have a logic to them, and the ordering of information in a text or scheme is also rhetorical or visual.

The problem is this: how to analyze argumentation and ordering that is essentially *open* and *informal*? This is where philosophy of science can learn from the history of the humanities. On the one hand, argumentation and selection require a certain degree of consistency and scrutability; on the other, concepts used in history, philology and (at least early) linguistics are structurally underdetermined, and human language and history are not closed logical systems. Moreover, an argument is something that you can disagree with; a formula is not an argument.

My claim is that the accumulation of information in the humanities essentially depends on *models*: not formal systems, but quite literally examples that you can follow, adapt, and recombine. These can be macromodels – examples

that define a genre or set the standards for a discipline – as well as micromodels – examples for textual analysis, statistics, conjectures and refutations, chronologies, visual arrangements, and more. Without such models, new information would simply be noise.

This approach has analogies with Ian Hacking's (2002) analysis of *styles of reasoning* as techniques for 'creating possibilities for truth-or-falsehood'. Hacking, however, is ambivalent between a strictly defined set of six styles identified by Crombie (1985), and a more general philosophical notion of local 'styles' rather than all-defining 'conceptual schemes'. Models, in my interpretation, would define styles of reasoning only in a very general sense. The ambivalence remains: can these styles be defined more precisely, and are we thereby surmising a hidden 'deep structure' in reasoning?

My presentation focuses on two models that emerged around 1750 and around 1800 respectively, *histoire philosophique* and *comparative grammar*. More specifically, I focus on the interplay between macromodels and micromodels: between general genre characteristics, visual and rhetorical strategies, chapter subdivisions, varieties of reference, and the use of core concepts.

### 6.3 Marieke Winkler, Radboud University Nijmegen, *Criticism as a connecting principle: 'modes of subjectivity' in the humanities*

Traditionally, a majority of the disciplines in the Humanities – especially disciplines concerned with the study of cultural expressions – perceived 'critique' or *value judgments* as one of its scholarly tasks, along with describing, analysing and understanding the object of study. This evaluative or critical standpoint has left the Humanities with the often-heard reproach of being inchoate and normative, or even subjective in its methods and statements.

In order to make the Humanities less 'subjective' and more 'scientific' a turn away from evaluation can be signalled. However, this dissociating also seems to go hand in hand with an undesirable estrangement of the Humanities from society. By focussing on scientific rigour scholars became increasingly inward-looking. At the same time criticism was narrowed down to 'academic criticism' and publications for a broader public are no longer qualified as 'scholarly output'.

In this paper, I would like to approach criticism as a scientific 'mode of subjectivity'. According to Steven Shapin the inquiry of scientific modes of knowledge-making focuses primarily on objectivity (as an ideal). As a result, the investigation of the workings and specific forms of subjectivity in science is often neglected. Yet, when thinking about connecting disciplines the aspect of criticism can offer a fruitful insight in the way the Humanities form a whole.

The study of this special mode of knowledge-making is much needed: What do we actually mean when we speak – as academics – of criticism? Does the academic idea of criticism differ from the public idea of criticism, and if so, in what respect? How do conceptions of criticism change through time? In my paper I will give a demonstration of current research into the interrelation of scholarship and criticism that is characteristic of the history of the Humanities.

Special attention will be paid to the interaction between the academic and public discourse within literary studies and historiography.

## 7. Counternarratives

### 7.1 Alpita de Jong, independent scholar, Leiden, *Those who did not make it*

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The theme of this congress urges to reflect on that in-between group of early nineteenth-century scholars who kept working in various disciplines and genres of science and did not give in to the tendency of differentiation and specialization. Although they were sometimes very much appreciated by their more ‘disciplined’ (specialized) colleagues for their scholarly contributions, they are considered as the ones who did not keep up with modern times and were of little importance for the making of humanities. Instead of questioning this historic judgement, I conversely want to elaborate on the judgment of some of these scholars regarding the turning of humanities into a disciplined science.

In my study of early nineteenth-century (language)scholars I not only got acquainted with Jacob Grimm but also with distinguished men like the German-Dutch scholar Philip Franz von Siebold who was well-known as a botanist but also famous for his collection of Japanese artefacts and study of the Japanese and Korean language. Another interesting figure was the Italian count C.O. Castiglioni who contributed largely to the study of the Arabian expansion in Europe with his research of Arab coins, and to the study of the Gothic language by his editions of parts of the Gothic bible. A third personage was the English pioneer on Anglo-Saxon archeology Charles Roach Smith who also published on Shakespeare and English dialects. They were men of study and knowledge, developed new insights and visions, attributed to the field of science by writing articles and books, had their share in learned societies and debates, and left their collections to be exposed in museums. Nevertheless, somehow they did not fit in what became modern humanities. Most interestingly, some of them indeed did not *want* to fit in, even if they acknowledged the value of scientific reform (like that of Jacob Grimm for the study of language), and adapted new insights and methods in their own work.

It seems that some early nineteenth-century scholars welcomed the scientific progress but feared it would break with the tradition in which the study of man and nature was the honourable duty of every civilized man serving mankind and society. With an outline of the work and biography of one or two of such scholars I will investigate this and discuss the meaning of their work as a comment on ‘mainstream’ humanities.

### 7.2. Hendri Schut, Leiden University, *From the Drachenfels, looking East... The Dutch orientalist H.A. Hamaker (1789-1835) as a Romantic scholar: a case study*

The history of ideas distinguishes an intimate connection between Romanticism and Orientalism. But how did the ‘Romantic Movement’ affect Oriental

scholarship and how did it contribute to its progress? The development of Oriental studies is part of that accelerated growth in knowledge and methodology in the humanities, from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Some have labelled this conspicuous progression as the ‘Second Scientific Revolution’. In it Germans played a leading role. This phenomenon coincides with the flourishing of the Romantic Movement.

In Holland of the early nineteenth century not everyone was that enthusiastic about modern German scholarship. Many dreaded its supposed over-inclination towards ‘speculative philosophy’. Neither the speed nor the directions of the development of scholarship in Holland benefited from this conservative attitude. Abroad Dutch scholarship gave the impression of being inward-looking. This ran parallel to a reserved, often dismissive attitude towards ‘Romanticism’. But there were those with more progressive inclinations, with their eyes open to developments abroad and taking an active part in the international scholarly discourse.

One of those was the orientalist Hendrik Arent Hamaker (1789-1835). With him the re-flourishing of Dutch Oriental studies sets in. He gives the impetus to bring these studies in accordance with current methodological standards in scholarship. What are those methodological standards? And are those the standards that were initiated by a ‘Romantic Orientalism’?

Taking an essay from 1835, *Talk on the Drachenfels* – a dialogue assessing contemporary ‘Romanticism’ – of Hamaker’s Leiden-colleague and close friend, Jacob Geel, as point of departure, this paper tries to establish in which ways Hamaker was a ‘Romantic’ scholar. This also implies an answer to questions like: What makes a Romantic scholar? What are the criteria for using the term in the context of Hamaker’s fields of study? Is the epistemological term ‘Romantic’ adequate for describing and explaining the complexities of scholarly developments in Oriental studies? Is it enlightening or is it too vague and more of an obstacle to our understanding of past reality, weighted as it is with all sorts of ‘bizarre’ connotations? Is it in the historiography of Oriental studies too much of a construct to be of help? What ‘principles’ and ‘patterns’ may be discerned in Hamaker’s work that connect him to ideas and developments which have been dubbed ‘Romantic’? What connects him to eighteenth-century-scholarship and what to that of the early nineteenth century, to which the term ‘Romantic’ has been applied?

### 7.3. Ingrid D. Rowland, University of Notre Dame, Rome campus, *Frances Yates: from magic to cultural criticism*

Perhaps the most influential figure to emerge from the Warburg Institute (the London refuge of what had been Aby Warburg’s Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg), Frances Yates (1899-1981) combined scholarly studies of the English Renaissance, occultism, mnemonics, and the philosopher Giordano Bruno with a lively participation in contemporary cultural debates through her contributions (1964-1981) to the *New York Review of Books*. In an age

of rapid scientific progress, her emphasis on the irrational and occult aspects of Renaissance belief ran counter to contemporary ideas of the Renaissance as a time of progressive scientific enlightenment, from Copernicus to Galileo to Newton. It posed, therefore, an inherent challenge to the nascent discipline of history of science. In general, however, her work knew no boundaries of discipline; she was largely self-educated.

The fact that Yates could succeed as scholar depended significantly on the clarity of her writing and her infectious enthusiasm for her material. In books like *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1962) and *The Art of Memory* (1966), she traced the development of specific ideas (the revelations of Hermes Trismegistus, the ‘artificial memory’) from classical antiquity through the seventeenth century by paying close attention to obscure people and daunting texts, making them come alive for readers. This ability to excite enthusiasm is what recommended her to the editors of the newborn *New York Review of Books* in 1964.

Her contributions to the *New York Review* show Yates in a somewhat different vein from her scholarly books, as a quick-witted, sharp debater rather than a patient, methodical scholar--but in fact her scholarly work also shows how habitually Yates relied on swift intuition to reach her captivatingly novel conclusions.

Because of her wide appeal, Yates left a legacy that is artistic and cultural as well as scholarly, and it is a legacy that is mixed, both because it is heterogeneous and because it has both positive and negative sides. Her impact on art has been enormous (see exhibitions in 2013 in Bonniers Konsthalle, Stockholm on the ‘Art of Memory’, the 2008 installation in Athens, Bristol, Münster, Padova, and Strasbourg, a 1980 exhibition in Rome in the long-defunct ‘Convento Occupato’, the Museum of Jurassic Technology, Culver City, California.) Her work on memory still stands in large measure; her view of Giordano Bruno as a religious reformer has been almost entirely discredited, but her delight in Bruno’s wit represents a true meeting of their minds over the centuries. The interest in magic she shared with her Warburg colleague D. P. Walker can be read as a critique of contemporary culture as much as a scholarly pursuit, and the work of their followers can be interpreted in the same way. As a woman, Yates was blocked from a conventional scholarly career (including at the Warburg Institute), a situation that bought her intellectual freedom at a considerable price. Only in her books, and in the *New York Review*, could she give full rein to her remarkable gifts.

## 8. PLENARY

Fenrong Liu, Tsinghua University, Beijing, *Ways of Reasoning - Similarities and Difference between Chinese and Western Traditions*

This talk will focus on ways of reasoning in both Chinese and Western traditions. In particular, by introducing the history of the interaction between these two traditions in the area of logic, I will explain by what sense one can meaningfully discuss the similarities, as well as difference between two traditions.

## 9. Logic and Philology in China

9.1 Peter van Emde Boas, University of Amsterdam, *Strategy theory and games: did the ancient Chinese invent Game Theory?*

Modern Game Theory, now existing for some 100 years, describes agents in strategic interaction. Strategic interaction in the context of warfare has been studied 2500 years ago in China, culminating in the famous books by Sun Tzu and Sun Bin.

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The work by Sun Tzu has an abstract character. The other ancient sources provide more concrete practical advice, aimed at tactics rather than strategy. Noticeable in Sun Tzu's work are the logical features like a semi-structured text and ideas related to modern game theory (prepare for your enemy, and you may win a war without serious fighting). The question arises how close the ancient Chinese came to inventing the fundamental concepts of today's Game Theory. In previous work Niou and Ordeshook have identified several game theoretical concepts in Sun Tzu. But did the Chinese recognize the inherently circular structure of reasoning about reasoning by opponents?

Historical sources give both strategic guidelines, and examples of instances where those guidelines were either used or violated. They contain examples of stratagems - tricks used during warfare to fool your enemy. However, authors of strategy guides, including Sun Tzu, do not explicitly consider the possibility that the enemy may use your own strategic recommendations against you. Generals using higher order theory-of-mind reasoning, which is a requirement for seriously taking your opponent's strategy into consideration, do appear in later sources. In the *Three Kingdoms* novel we meet generals who recognize their opponents' stratagems. This novel describes events dated at the end of the Han Dynasty (168-280 AD), but the book was written during the late Yuan and Ming dynasties (the 14th century). And some of the more interesting events in the book are believed to be fictitious rather than historical. An event believed to be historic which suggests theory-of-mind reasoning is the use of the Empty City strategy by Zhuge Liang in 228 AD. A game theoretical analysis of this event can be found in Cotton and Liu. These authors also analyse an earlier similar event dated 144 BC. Therefore it seems possible that the Ancient Chinese, by 200 AD had discovered the concept of higher order theory-of-mind reasoning; however, they didn't have a second abstract thinker like Sun Tzu to discuss it as an independent concept. Aside from our mathematical tools which they didn't have, they did not describe this fundamental ingredient of game theory. However, they came quite close.

9.2 Max Fölster, Universität Hamburg, *The origins of philology in China*

The emergence of philology or textual scholarship is closely related to the famous library of Alexandria. Scholars like Zenodotus of Ephesus, Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257 – c. 185/180 BCE) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220 –

c. 143 BCE), who all served as librarians in Alexandria, are said to have first developed philological or text critical methods. In China, this kind of development is equally related to the then largest collection in China – the imperial library of the Former Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 9 CE). In 26 BCE the emperor initiated a major project to enlarge and assess his collection. Head of the project was the renowned scholar Liu Xiang (c. 77 – 8 BCE) and after his death his son Liu Xin (c. 50 BCE – 23 CE) continued the work. Their undertaking was not restricted to cataloging the holdings, but moreover implied the editing of the texts found in this collection. For this reason father and son Liu are not only considered as the first librarians and bibliographers, but also as the inventors of text editing and text critical methods in China. What can be said about the methods developed and applied by the two Liu? And how far can they be compared to those methods invented by scholars in Alexandria?

## 10. Cultural (Mis)Connections I

10.1 Sara Gonzalez, British Academy, *The making of pre-Hispanic history by the indigenous elites in eighteenth-century Peru*

This paper will discuss the ways in which the indigenous elites of viceregal Peru fabricated Inca history in pictorial works and historical reenactments; this was done to construct an Andean identity that adapted to (and at the same time challenged) the ideological demands of the colonial society. Visual reconstructions of the Inca dynasty and pre-Hispanic characters such as Tunupa, Chimú Capac, Chuquismanco or Cuysmanco were an essential part of the indigenous Peruvians' development of an intellectual and social activism that sought to challenge the definition of Andeans as 'Indians', a colonial legal concept that signified cultural inferiority and the status of minors, neophytes, and worshippers of idols. In this process the indigenous noblemen and noblewomen, and especially those living in Lima, who erected themselves as representatives of a united 'Andean front', refashioned the official iconography of the Inca dynasty, which had been created in the 1570s under the auspices of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo to portray the Incas as devil-worshipping, tyrannical sovereigns, and therefore legitimize the Spanish conquest. To counter this stereotype, audacious neo-Incan effigies were created with specific references to Christian and classical iconographic prototypes, such as the Resurrected Christ, Saint John the Baptist, Archangel Saint Michael, or Constantine the Great, as a way of presenting the Indian nation as a viable political and Christian community.

In my presentation I will review the role of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Primera parte de los comentarios reales* in the eighteenth-century Inca 'revival' (which, I believe, has traditionally been over-emphasized, even if this chronicle does present the Inca empire as a complex, civilized pre-Christian society), and show the importance of other, lesser-known and rarer, historical essays in these reconstructions of pre-Hispanic history (those sources which actually provide the



reader with visual clues on the Incas, such as Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova's *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Pirú*, published in 1630).

10.2. Thijs Weststeijn, University of Amsterdam, *The Chinese challenge: accommodating East Asia in 17<sup>th</sup>-century European antiquarianism*

Chinese history and civilization confronted Western scholars with a far-reaching challenge. The impossibility of accommodating Biblical history with a 5000-year tradition of written records was only one of them. The Chinese language, arts, and medicine were just as incompatible with local knowledge. Yet in Europe until about 1650, the urgency of these issues was muffled by either Catholic missionary agendas or by Protestant travelogues catering to market demands. This paper will single out two events that forced the European Republic of Letters to finally come to terms with China. The first was a Zhou Dynasty mirror, found in a grave in Russian Verkhoturys, that came into the hands of a director of the Dutch East India Company. When he circulated it among his learned friends, soon scholars from Guillaume Bonjour in Rome, to Leibniz in Hanover, and finally the Beijing Jesuits frantically debated the meaning of its inscriptions. This was the first time that a physical Chinese antiquity, rather than a textual report, was the object of scrutiny.

The Siberian mirror was complemented by the first comprehensive Latin translations of Confucius's writings, published in 1687 and 1711. Confucius had already been known and some of his ideas appeared in print in late-sixteenth-century Italy. Yet the new "critical" editions sparked controversy in a variety of journals, from the Amsterdam *Journal des savants* to the London *Philosophical transactions*, the Lyon *Mémoires de Trevoux*, the Parma *Giornale de'letterati*, and the Halle *Freymüthiger jedoch vernunft- und gesetzmäßiger Gedancken über allerhand*.

These two debates, one played out in private correspondence, the other in a public arena, throw light on some of the earliest European attempts to understand the Middle Kingdom on its own terms or, at least, to use China to put the Classical Tradition to the test.

10.3 Ori Sela, Tel Aviv University, *Philosophy's ascendancy in Asia: categories of knowledge and their historical implications*

The birth – as well as maturation – of the distinct category 'philosophy' in East Asia, since the 1860s, was fraught with discussions about its applicability to the region's systems of knowledge; nonetheless, its importance has not been challenged and the historiographical implications of philosophy's uses and misuses in writing the intellectual history of China and Japan have largely been ignored. In this article I explore how and why the category of philosophy emerged in China, through the mediation of Japan and explain what 'philosophy' meant for Japanese and then Chinese intellectuals, from the mid-nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth. I then discuss the historiographical implications of philosophy's ascendancy by means of specific case studies that

demonstrate different ways of remembering Chinese scholarship and learning, and further elaborate on the consequences of such implications for the writing of Chinese history more generally to this day. In so doing the interrelationship between emerging disciplines and categories of knowledge in China, such as ‘new history’ and ‘philosophy,’ during the period at hand unfolds and relates the story of two of the most important disciplines in Chinese humanities.

#### 10.4 Gretel Schwoerer-Kohl, University of Freiburg, *Music and the making of humanities in Thailand*

This paper will discuss, how the faculties of humanities developed in Thailand, using the example of three leading universities: Chulalongkorn, Silapakorn and Mahidol University. The oldest university in Thailand is Chulalongkorn University (Chulalongkorn Maha Witthayalay). It was founded in 1917 by king Rama VI, who named it after his father Rama V, also called King Chulalongkorn. The preceding institute was the Royal Pages Barrack School of the Grand Palace founded in 1871, which in 1882 obtained the poetic name Suan Kularb (rose garden). Since 1899 it has been called the Civil Service Training School at the northern gate of the royal palace with the aim of education for civil pages, mainly in administration. In 1902 it became the Civil Service College of Chulalongkorn, and in 1917 finally the Chulalongkorn University with four faculties: Arts and Sciences, Public Administration, Engineering and Medicine. Today the university has 19 faculties. This paper will focus on the faculties of Chulalongkorn University, where music is taught, and compare them to the corresponding departments at Silapakorn and Mahidol University. Special attention will be given to the way in which the Royal household in the capital, the families of the aristocrats in the provinces, as well as the monks in Buddhist monasteries, had a crucial function for the development of musical knowledge.

### 11. Images and Words

#### 11.1 Bernd Kulawik, Technische Hochschule Zürich, *The Accademia della Virtù / Accademia Vitruviana in Rome (c. 1537-1555). The first international network of interdisciplinary research*

Since the Sienese humanist Claudio Tolomei published his letter to Agostino de' Landi from 1542 in 1547, the program for a series of 23 volumes about Vitruvius and Roman Antiquities described there has been cited and transcribed a few times, but never carefully read – and therefore, usually, misunderstood: First of all, it is commonly recognized as a research program – while Tolomei speaks of a publishing program of books (*libri*) that should and could be completed in only three years. Based on this first misconception, it has been thought that this program never reached any state of completion but remained a torso, consisting only of the *Annotationes* to Vitruvius by Guillaume Philandrier (1544) and two

volumes of drawings in Coburg and Berlin identifiable as the preparations for one (or two) of the 23 volumes.

During the research for my dissertation on architectural drawings showing the last project by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for Saint Peter's, I realized that their codex at the Berlin Kunstbibliothek (Hdz 4151) may also have constituted a part of the Accademia's program. Together with another large collection at the Albertina in Vienna, identified (erroneously) by Egger already in 1903 as 'copies' of the Berlin group, and many other drawings at New York and London (and maybe more collections), these drawings by mostly French draftsmen seem to represent the largest surviving group showing detailed studies of antique architecture from the Renaissance . . . if not: at all.

But while the connection between these incredibly detailed architectural studies to the Accademia is still based on a (short) chain of indications and (at the moment) still lacks a 'hard' proof in form, e.g., of a written document, there are many other sources that have been known to their modern disciplines since the 19th century but have never been brought into any relation to the Accademia's work, even though it could have been known that their authors belonged to this circle and have created their contributions at the same time in Rome.

This interdisciplinary group of philologists, architects, historians of epigraphic, numismatic and law (and some more disciplines) divided and organized its work in a strictly modern sense, following modern scientific criteria and leaving the most important sources on many antique remains that we have today. In my paper I want to demonstrate that a reconstruction of the project could be done – and should so as soon as possible.

11.2 Anna-Maria C. Bartsch, Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich, *Establishing Kunstwissenschaften in the 20th century: On the relation of Formale Ästhetik to a new discipline*

Art History is a relatively young discipline. By the end of 19th century the development of a more general discipline called 'Kunstwissenschaften', originating in philosophical reflections on aesthetic phenomena, emerged. Particularly the philosophical tendency of Formale Ästhetik, invented by Robert Zimmermann, marks the starting point of this process.

From Baumgartens' foundation of philosophical aesthetics as a science and further to Kants transcendental approach of aesthetic judgements, Robert Zimmermann drew special attention to the notion of Form and aesthetic objects. Resuming to Baumgarten and Kant, Formale Ästhetik proposes to focus only on the Form of objects when judging them. Since pure aesthetic judgements are based only on their Form, not on material (as colour, size, etc.) a separate discourse on the specific qualities of an artwork is necessary: therefore Zimmermann suggests to use the so called Kunstwissenschaften in order to reflect only on those empirical qualities. However, their notions and concepts are provided by philosophical aesthetics. Alois Riegl, who completed his Dissertation under Zimmermann in Vienna, was the one who fulfilled this proposal of

independent *Kunstwissenschaften* on the basis of *Aesthetics*. Riegl's *Stilfragen* (1893), as well as Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) have to be considered in the context of Zimmermann's *Allgemeine Aesthetic als Formwissenschaft* (1865).

My contribution aims to draw a continuance, starting from Baumgarten's foundation of philosophical aesthetics and Kant's transcendental establishment of aesthetic judgements and finally to the beginnings of *Kunstwissenschaften*, mainly grounded on Zimmermann and Riegl. Therefore I will start with a short but necessary overview on the relation of the named philosophers and focus in a second part on the influence of Formalism to guarantee not only a freedom for the artwork itself but also for the autonomy of *Kunstwissenschaften*.

### 11.3 Vera Zakharova, European University at St. Petersburg, *The making of an ideal: Wölfflin, portraiture and physiognomy*

My proposed topic deals with the issues of interpretation of Italian Renaissance portraiture in the works of Heinrich Wölfflin, one of the most influential historians of art, in particular, in his books *Classic Art* (1899) and *Italy and the German sense of Form* (1931).

I would like to consider the category of the 'corporeal', established in early works of the scholar (*Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture* and *Renaissance and Baroque*) and played a crucial role in the shaping of Wölfflin's position on Italian Renaissance portraiture and, finally, on Italian Renaissance art in general. I examine, how in the heritage of Wölfflin a notion of the corporeal and its manifestations (posture, motion and gesticulation) appear like a world view or a 'spirit of time's' expression and condition some fundamental differences in approach towards a form in the Early and High Renaissance periods. Secular as well as religious paintings of that time in the works of Wölfflin appear like a sort of reflection of a changed world-view; they are connected with transition from one social class (bourgeoisie) to another (aristocracy), and therefore with a process of a 'type's idealization', involving Italian painting in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In my opinion, idea of interrelation between artistic ideal and body build as well as reflection of moral qualities in a human appearance, developed in the Wölfflin's *Classic Art* and *Italy and the German sense of Form* go back to Johann Joachim Winckelmann and to physiognomy of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (first of all to the works of Johann Caspar Lavater). Wölfflin's passages on the nobleness, majesty and lucidity of Cinquecento works of art actually develop Winckelmann's famous theory of *noble simplicity and quiet grandeur* in the Ancient Greek works of the High Classical period. Thereby, art of the Cinquecento acquires a particular significance: it represents an order and opposes to chaos, personifying an aristocratic ideal. The case of Wölfflin could be a highly fruitful example of connection between such disciplines as physiognomy and history of art.

11.4. Adriana Markantonatos, independent scholar, Frankfurt am Main, *'In-Between' – Reinhart Koselleck 'connecting disciplines'*

The paper will take up the main thesis of my PhD project entitled 'Denken im Dazwischen. Nach-denken über das Werk Reinhart Kosellecks im Kontext seiner Bildarbeit' ['Thinking in the In-Between. Reflecting on Reinhart Koselleck's oeuvre in the context of his pictorial work'] in which I investigate the scholarly bequest – both written and pictorial – of the German historian Reinhart Koselleck (1923-2006).

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Still considered one of the most important international conceptual historians, Koselleck is probably most known for the standard work *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache* (1972-1997). Less well-known is his work on the culture of remembrance and memorials, and rather unknown the fact that already since the late 1950s, meaning before the actual renaissance of what is in modern terms called 'iconology' - connected to the names of Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky - Koselleck had been intensely dealing with art history and visual artifacts, in a methodological as well as theoretical but also practical way: as a keen and distinct photographer. As Koselleck himself once stated, his pictures might not be the best but from time to time the more ingenious ones. A kind of 'photographic diary' that does not only document Koselleck's intellectual biography - and thus also a part of the 'History of the Humanities' of post-war Germany - but also offers a rather unconventional approach to his published works, metaphorically and at the same time literarily reflecting his 'point of view', uncovering 'layers of time', illustrating 'spaces of experience' and pointing at 'horizons of expectation'.

Working through Koselleck's bequest with special focus on his picture archive, autographs and readings has resulted in the hypothesis that Koselleck's intellectual mobility and habitus originates from what might be called a 'Thinking in the In-Between': i.e. between concept and icon, historical and visual studies, their theories and methodologies.

Centering on an unpublished speech on 'Ikonik and Historik' Koselleck held at a conference on the German art historian Max Imdahl in 1996, in which he connected these two major methodological-theoretical programs on an anthropological basis, i.e. the basis of the humanities, the paper will take a closer look at Koselleck's rather idiosyncratic way of 'Connecting Disciplines' - long before what has become today's (often empty) formula of 'Interdisciplinarity' - discussing some of his main arguments and categories established in his historiographical writings in the light of his pictorial bequest.

## 12. Cultural (Mis)Connections II

12.1 Oliver Weingarten, Academy of Sciences, Prague, *Disciplining philology: Chinese textual studies before and after the Western impact*

Familiarity with the textual heritage was a precondition for success in the imperial Chinese examination system, hence the study of ancient writings was a prime concern of the socio-cultural elites. Literati engaged with texts in an active manner, their reading habits comprising such practices as punctuating, memorising, and copying as well as emending and adding comments. Generations of Chinese scholars were motivated by social conditions and the features of their textual culture to become active, inquisitive, and analytical readers. Consequently, they devised an extensive repertory of philological tools. In scope and depth, this development culminated in the ‘evidential scholarship’ (*kaozhengxue* 考證學) of the eighteenth century.

Philological methods were rarely theorised. Examples of their application were typically scattered across reading notes on specific texts and were intended to be assimilated by inductive reasoning. Only with Yu Yue’s 俞越 (1821–1907) *Cases of Doubtful Meaning in Ancient Books* (*Gushu yiyi juli* 古書疑義舉例; 1871) did the first systematic exposition of textual mistakes, stylistic features, and grammatical patterns appear that was intended as a *vade mecum* for novice students. Yu drew on Chinese scholarship from the recent heyday of philological ingenuity, but scholars of his generation still remained largely impervious to Western ideas. *Cases of Doubtful Meanings* therefore shows no influence of foreign linguistic concepts.

Attitudes began to change shortly after, and in 1898, French-trained Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠 (1844–1900) published *Penetrating the Literary Language* (*Wentong* 文通), the first native grammar of Chinese consciously modelled on Latin grammar.

In the 1920s, Yang Shuda 楊樹達 (1885–1956), a Japanese-trained professor of Chinese at Tsinghua University, started publishing a series of books on grammar, function words, punctuation, and stylistics that engaged with Yu’s and Ma’s previous works and employed categories derived from the Chinese and Western traditions. Yang’s *Chinese Stylistics* (*Zhongguo xiucixue* 中國修辭學; 1933) grew out of his realisation that *Cases of Doubtful Meaning* did not distinguish between intricate stylistic features and textual mistakes, viewing both as impediments to comprehension. Yang decided to treat both fields separately.

The present paper addresses the methodological frameworks and assumptions underlying Yu’s and Yang’s works, the first a summa of traditional Chinese philology, the second an effort to develop the tradition further, partly under Western influence. It will focus on a comparative investigation of the books’ structure, contents, and terminology to shed light on the transition from traditional philology to modern philological and linguistic disciplines.

## 12.2 Beate Löffler, University of Duisburg-Essen, *Japanese architecture and the consequences of disconnected disciplines*

During the latter half of the 19th century Japan was forced by the western hegemonies to end its isolationist policy and to accept the settlement of foreigners. This affected diplomats and tradesmen at first, but soon included missionaries, teachers and military personnel as well as transients like artists, globetrotter and journalists. Many of them reported home and thus helped to collect a body of knowledge concerning Japan which shaped its perception and is influential even today. In regard of art and handicrafts – for example – the tremendous western interest was quite quickly guided into safe channels between academic art history and art trade. In regard of architecture the situation was different. The traditional wooden building weren't perceived as architecture at all, neither art history nor architects were intrigued, except for carvings and decorative details. Hence Japanese building tradition and practice was appointed as of ethological relevance alone and got lost between academic minority interests: seismology and civil engineering discussed earthquake-proof construction methods, social reformer noticed the hygienic living conditions of all classes or the manual perfection of the carpenters, and designers praised the abandonment of dust catchers in living rooms and salons. As a result, each discipline established certain Japanese topics within their curriculum while mostly ignoring the work done in other fields.

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When the architects finally discovered Japanese architecture as actual architecture during the 1920's and 1930's, their discourse and research developed on weak foundations, often generating and solidifying simple explanations and clichés. To solve this, today's Japanese architectural history studies try to bridge between linguistics, art studies, cultural studies on one hand and the construction-related fields of engineering on the other hand.

The paper is based on an on-going project regarding the factors which influenced the collection and interpretation of western knowledge regarding Japanese architecture from the latter half of the 19th century onwards. It sketches the first fifty years of modern western art studies about Japan and shows the western research interests against a backdrop of cultural expectations and public discourses, when methodical approaches and research ethics became shaped in struggles for academic professionalization and differentiation.

## 12.3 Jidong Li, Nankai University, Tianjin, *The Influences of Japanese Kanji in Modern China*

Based on a historical review on the origins of Japanese Kanji and a comparative study on the Japanese and Chinese translations of the English terminology in the western academic works in modern time (from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), this paper analyzes and discusses the historical and cultural reasons that Japanese Kanji were introduced to modern China and accepted by Chinese people, and that many Chinese-translated terms were

abandoned. Some remarks on the main influences of Japanese Kanji in modern China are concluded in this paper include: (1) Many Japanese Kanji were integrated into the Chinese language, enriched the Chinese vocabulary and became an important integral part of modern Chinese, even promoted and facilitated the reform of modern Chinese language, education and the New Culture Movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (2) Since languages are the tools of human thinking and communication, as units of modern Chinese language, those Japanese Kanji accepted by the Chinese played a very important role in changing the way of thinking and the habits of expression and communication of modern Chinese people. (3) Those Japanese Kanji introduced to modern China were originally the translations of the English terminology in western academic works. They were, in fact, functioning as a bridge connecting China and the western world, and helped Chinese people get a more precise and profound understanding of western culture. (4) Because most of the Japanese Kanji introduced to modern China were translated from the western works on social sciences such as philosophy, logic, sociology and psychology, etc., they did contribute a lot to Chinese people's construction of the knowledge systems of these sciences in a new way and perspective.

### 13. The Humanities and the Social World

13.1 Cynthia M. Pyle, New York University, *Applied Renaissance humanism and the making of the humanities*

In 'Bridging the Gap: A Different View of Renaissance Humanism and Science,' *The Making of the Humanities*, Volume 1: *The humanities in Early Modern Europe*, Amsterdam, 2010, 49-67, I outlined my thesis regarding the discipline of history as a historical natural science, specifically a life science. In applying this concept to work being done in the Renaissance, particularly by 15th century humanists (scholars, teachers and literati), I have begun to distinguish two separate strands of Renaissance humanism: scientific humanism and applied humanism. Both these strands had profound effects on the making of the humanities in the 15th and subsequent centuries, and continue to have these effects in our own day.

Scientific humanism, discussed in 'Bridging the Gap,' is the scholarship on texts begun by Francesco Petrarca in the 14th century, and carried on in the 15th century, sometimes on the very same manuscripts of classical authors, by humanists like Lorenzo Valla and Angelo Poliziano, in their quest to arrive at the text as it was written by its author. It feeds into both modern science and modern scholarship.

Applied humanism, the primary focus of this paper, involves, first, Renaissance humanists' decoding of those methods of research and patterns of thought evidenced in the newly discovered work of classical authors -- Herodotus, Polybius, Lucretius and others -- and, second, the pragmatic uses of these methods and patterns. The paper will discuss the application of these



revived ways of thinking to the humanists' own 15th and early 16th century world by figures like Leonardo Bruni, Niccolò Machiavelli and Desiderius Erasmus, in their development of theories of education, statesmanship and ethics. It will also look at how these applications have affected the evolution of our own culture and society, as in the development of core curricula, public libraries and democratic and ethical ideals.

13.2 Borbala Zsuzsanna Török, University of Konstanz, *The humanities as administrative sciences? Revisiting the German (-inspired) sciences of state, 1750-1850*

My proposal argues for the significance of a specific disciplinary context in the dynamics of the humanities in German-speaking Europe, in particular ethnography and history. The geographical scope of the suggested presentation encompasses the territories at the intersection of the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy, with an outlook at Russia. The disciplinary context was the sciences of state (descriptive statistics or *Staatenkunde*), making part mostly of the legal curriculum at the German universities, while the University of Göttingen becoming their theoretical epicenter towards the end of the 18th century. *Staatenkunde* aimed at the encompassing description of the political, economic and military 'strength' of states in a comparative and historical perspective.

Following an increasingly empirical and mathematical method, it sought to identify 'state particularities,' (one would call them today units of analysis) which could be described, measured and compared across space and time. *Staatenkunde* employed a host of disciplines, ranging from geography to history, from ethnography to cameralist science. According to Göttingen professor August Ludwig Schlözer, who also coined the word ethnography, the definition of relative state strength demanded the precise knowledge of the geographic parameters of a state, the nature of its government, as well as the national character of its inhabitants. He also intended a historical understanding of these parameters.

My first argument is that the content, methods (description and comparison), and political finality (the empirical study of political power) in the contemporary development of historical writing and ethnography in German-speaking Europe were co-determined by the their meta-disciplinary context *Staatenkunde*. Representative examples from the German states, Austria and Hungary shall illustrate the incorporation of the very thematic units of state description, namely 'Staatsgrundmächte' (fundamental factors of strength including geography, people, natural resources, produce, economy, and commerce), 'Staatsverfassung oder Staatsrecht' (the fundamental laws of the country), and 'Staatsverwaltung' (public administration and the executive branch of the state) in the discipline of history.

Futhermore, the presentation shall explain the role of ethnographic characterizations of the state subjects within the overall picture. My second argument is that following the crisis of encyclopedic and predominantly

descriptive *Staatenkunde* in post-Napoleonic Europe as a leading academic discipline, and its replacement by quantitative statistics, ethnography and history inherited the descriptive and comparative method, and also the orientation at the state (history) and its nation(s) (ethnography, history). Mere quantification, so it was held, could not grasp the most relevant components of state power.

### 13.3 Matthias Neuber, Universität Tübingen, *Ostwald, Weber, and the foundations of an 'energetic' theory of culture* Page | 41

Wilhelm Ostwald's program of a physical energetics is the attempt at a comprehensive description of nature on the basis of the concept of energy. In his book *Energetische Grundlagen der Kulturwissenschaft*, first published in 1909, Ostwald applies this conception to the area of culture. His central assumption is that cultural phenomena should be described by the energetic notion of 'quality relation' (*Güteverhältnis*). His systematic thesis is that science, when organized according to the Machian 'principle of economy,' proves as the highest form of cultural expression, since it instantiates the notion of quality relation most efficiently, that is, 'with the lowest energy expenditure.' This view echoes August Comte's 'law of the three stages' and is intended to supply it with a scientific, i.e., energetic foundation.

Max Weber regarded Ostwald's energetic theory of culture as a misguided attempt at an absolutization of the methods of concept formation within the natural sciences. As he wrote in his devastating review essay "'Energetische" Kulturtheorien' (1909), Ostwald transformed a certain world view (*Weltbild*) into a scientifically frivolous ideology (*Weltanschauung*). In particular, Ostwald's adherence to the Comtean law of three stages and the associated hierarchy of the sciences were criticized by Weber as outdated and completely beside the point. According to Weber, the concepts of the cultural sciences are not at all dependent on natural scientific concepts such as 'energy.' In his view, culture cannot be reduced to nature. But exactly this seemed to be the principal aim of Ostwald's program.

In my talk, I will critically investigate Weber's critique of that program. I shall argue that Ostwald's assumption of a natural basis of culture can be 'rescued' as a methodological device, but that Ostwald's – thoroughly substantialist – view of energy should be discarded as a metaphysical relict of ancient 'stuff ontology.' On the whole, it will be shown that the foundations of a possible energetic theory of culture are purely conceptual and have nothing to do with putative entities outside a (projected) unified system of the natural and cultural sciences.

## 14. Technique of Art across Disciplines

*Chair and discussant:* Sven Dupré, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin

### *General description*

This session is primarily concerned with artistic technique, how it was studied in different disciplines, and the connection between shifting meanings of 'technique' and developments in the humanities (art history, philology, ...). On the one hand, there are textual practices to study technique in the arts (centered on reading of textual sources such as recipes). On the other hand, there are object practices (from the human eye to scientific investigation and visualization: e.g. pigment analysis). The papers in this session investigate how the study of technique in the arts moved between textual and material object practices, and shows that approaches shifted in the way in which aspects of both practices were combined. It also seeks to address the connection between these practices of the study of technique and the shifting meanings of the term 'technique', and is especially interested in conflicts of expertise.

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14.1 Paul Taylor, Warburg Institute, London, *Concepts of technique from Diderot to Doerner*

In the *Grove Encyclopaedia of Materials and Techniques in Art* there is no entry for 'Technique'. There is an entry for 'Technical Examination', but from it we learn that technical examination does not mean examination of artistic technique; rather it means 'examination of a work of art by technical means'. During this examination, we are told, one aim will be 'to investigate the techniques used in [a work's] production', but quite what is meant by 'technique' here is not made explicit. We are however told that 'the technical examination of paintings is concerned with investigating the support, the ground, the paint layers (pigments and binding medium) and any varnish or glaze-paints applied to the surface', and since nothing else in the article refers to anything one might call a technique, we have to suppose that these physical layers of the painting correspond to 'the techniques used in its production'.

This is a very limited number of 'artistic techniques', and they happen to correspond to those aspects of a painting which can be examined by technical means. The *Grove Encyclopaedia's* use of the word 'technique' is perfectly orthodox within the world of conservation, but in books on technique aimed at artists, many more practices are mentioned. Techniques of painting might include choosing a viewpoint, designing the perspective, arranging the composition, suggesting light and shade, depicting flesh, painting mountains and landscapes, and so forth. And when the word 'technique' was first introduced into the artistic lexicon, by Denis Diderot, it had an even wider sense. Diderot wrote: 'Do you wish to make sure progress in the knowledge – so hard to acquire – of the technique of art? Walk round a gallery with an artist, and have examples of technical words explained and shown to you on the canvas; without doing this,

you will only ever have confused notions of *flowing contours*, of *beautiful local colours*, of *virgin tints*, of *a frank touch*, of *a free, facile, bold or soft brush*; *made with love*, of these *happy lapses or omissions*.'

Modern technical art historians do not concern themselves with qualities of this kind, either because they are not susceptible to technical examination, or perhaps because they are 'subjective'. In my paper I shall argue that if these senses of the word 'technique' are to become obsolete, this should happen through conscious choice, rather than inadvertent semantic drift.

14.2. Marjolijn Bol, University of Hamburg, *Histories about technique and techniques for history, 1800-1900*

The spectacular verisimilitude in the paintings of Jan van Eyck and his contemporaries breaks in a revolutionary way with everything that had been made before their time. Its technical aspect has received much speculation. Already in the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari introduced the influential myth that Jan van Eyck was the inventor of a special varnish that could dry without the sun, and, most famously, of an oil for painting with. According to Vasari, it was the invention of oil paint that enabled Van Eyck's remarkable visual realism. This invention story persisted for many centuries. Only from the eighteenth century onwards did it come under attack when art technological sources were discovered that showed that painters had been using oil centuries before Van Eyck. Artists and art historians of the day started making historical reconstructions to attempt to investigate the special nature of Van Eyck's techniques in another way than he eye could. From the nineteenth century onwards, scientific analysis of paintings of various periods refuted Vasari's story in another way. Finally, from the nineteenth century onwards, analysis of written sources and technical research into paintings showed that painters had been using drying oils to make paint on a large scale well before the 13th century.

Indeed, within art history, Vasari's story about the invention of oil paint has been the best known and investigated history about an artist's technique. It has often been argued that it triggered art technological source research in the eighteenth century and the making of historical reconstructions and the technical investigation of art works for other reasons than conservation or restoration. However, because of the long mythology around the invention of oil paint, the precise history of this interest in sources on art technology, historical reconstructions and technical research into art objects from the late eighteenth century onwards, has been much clouded. The present paper therefore, focusses not on the historiography of Vasari's invention myth per se, but instead readdresses our attention to some of the main protagonists that contributed to its interpretation between 1800 and 1900. This way, this paper attempts to give a first insight into why the interest in artist's techniques was on the rise in this period, and, what is more, thus investigate if the hitherto assumed special role of painterly techniques in this history needs to be readdressed.

14.3 Marco Cardinali, Emmebi Diagnostica Artistica, Rome, *The Conference on the Scientific Analysis of Works of Art, held in Rome in 1930: European intersection of disciplines, approaches and schools*

The concept of technique in the Italian art studies – from XIX to first half of XX century – was either harshly criticized or mainly underestimated, since the leading view in art criticism depended on Croce's idealism. The great philosopher conceived technique as a communication tool while the pure creation and art expression would realize in the preceding artist's intuition. Nonetheless the first international inter-disciplinary conference in the field, focusing on the study of art technique and conservation by means of scientific analysis, took place in Rome on October 1930 (*Conferenza internazionale per lo studio dei metodi scientifici applicati all'esame e alla conservazione delle opere d'arte*). Many outstanding Italian art historians were actually in the organizing committee, but very few joined the group of lecturers or had any significant role in the conference. My studies mean to show how crucial was on the contrary the role played by Henri Focillon, supporting the project of the conference within the *Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* (IICI) and taking directly part to it. One of the pioneering researchers in the field, Fernand Mercier (director of the *Laboratoire microradiographique* of the *Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Dijon) gave a lecture maintaining that the objective and scientific study of technique may detect the peculiar characters (*déterminates caractéristiques*) of a distinct artist or *bottega*. The relation between Mercier and Focillon can be traced and develop some of the ideas the great French scholar expressed in his own theories by the second decade of XX century.

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The general approach of the conference, connecting disciplines and practices, didn't break through at the moment and was actually opposed by relevant Italian scholars (i.e. Roberto Longhi). However some Italian art historians would reveal more sensitive to the theme as Sergio Ortolani, director of the Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale, Naples and promoter of the first scientific laboratory established in an Italian Museum. Ortolani was actually inspired by the 1930 Conference, formed relationships with experimental researchers possibly met on that occasion (Fernando Perez) and would have got into Focillon's theories some years later, as his own copy of *Vie des formes* can prove.

In Italy, such a difficult connection between distinct but integrating approaches has produced an evident delay as for the development of a new branch in art studies: technical art history. Differently from France, where Focillon's formalism some overcame the dichotomy spiritual-material, studies on technique have been kept away from the discipline for a long time and specifically addressed to conservation practice.

## 15. Disciplining Experiences – Experiencing Knowledge

*Chair & Commentator:* Kaat Wils, University of Leuven

### *General description*

Individual experiences, such as the pleasure of learning, the joy of beauty, the thrill of a discovery, are ephemeral in the modern disciplines of the humanities. Yet, they often appear in the personal notes of scholars, sometimes as the ultimate justification of their interest in culture and history. This panel takes these personal experiences seriously and explores how they can be taken into account in the history of the humanities. Therefore, the role these experiences played will be questioned, as well as the ways in which they were tamed or ‘disciplined’ in various academic disciplines. The panellists will elaborate both on the kind of experience at stake, and on practices and instruments developed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to neutralize the individual experiences by turning them into disciplinary methodologies. By doing so, this panel will trace back some congruencies across present-day disciplines which became invisible behind methodological differences.

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### 15.1 Camille Creyghton, University of Amsterdam, *Taming the archives, disciplining historical experience*

In his *Sublime Historical Experience* (2005, Dutch: 2007), Frank Ankersmit reassessed the concept of ‘historical experience’, which was coined originally by Johan Huizinga. It in Huizinga’s work denoted the sensation, by the historian, of a having direct contact with the bygone past through the contact with traces of this past. Ankersmit argues that Huizinga wrote his *Autumn of the Middle Ages* as a result of such a personal historical experience. He further states that in the professional study of history, these experiences are marginalized and repressed by the methodological guidelines of the discipline.

This historical discipline developed in the nineteenth century, first in Germany and subsequently in other European countries, by the establishment of specialized university curricula, journals and a method codified in textbooks. The archives, researched in a methodological way, provided history of a strong empirical basis. However, archives are considered by various authors since Derrida (*Archive Fever*, 1996), as a probable source for anything but methodological historical experiences. The best-known example is probably the French romanticist historian Jules Michelet, who wrote of the archival records as ‘voices of the death’ speaking to him.

In this paper, I will compare two French historians of different generations in order to trace how the status of the archival experience changed as a result of the development of the professional historical discipline. Firstly, I will discuss Jules Michelet himself, working in a pre-disciplinary context. Secondly, I will discuss Gabriel Monod, one of the leading historians of the ‘positivist’ or ‘methodological’ generation which is deemed to have discarded the imprecise and high-flown manners of the romanticists. Yet, Gabriel Monod was also one of the

most intimate friends of Michelet during the last years of his life and the keeper of his personal archives after the death of Michelet's widow. Moreover, the methodological differences between his own work and Michelet's notwithstanding, he considered of the romanticist historian as his true master. A close look on Monod's work reveals that archival experiences play a role in it too. Therefore, by comparing these two historians, this paper will provide insight in the vicissitudes of the historical experience in the evolution of the historical discipline. It will be argued that historical experiences continued to play a role in the methodological and professional study of history, albeit in a – literally – disciplined way.

#### 15.2. Jan Rock, University of Amsterdam, *The experience of reading: the pleasure of old texts and the establishment of Dutch lexicography and national history*

Since scholars read more than they do anything else, it is useful to explore the experience of reading in order to understand experiences as a connection between modern disciplines. At least for the history of historiography, Frank Ankersmit's writings on the sublime *historical* experience proved fruitful. A concept of the experience of *reading* can be equally fruitful, for even more disciplines. In order to define it, I confront Ankersmit with insights from poststructuralist notions of 'text', presenting in particular Roland Barthes' *The Pleasure of the Text* (1973). A more recent and broader frame is provided by studies on affect and embodied knowledge, such as the work of Eve Sedgwick (on the critical potentialities of affective reading) or Stephen Arata (on intimacy with the past through literary texts).

The concept is tried out on a twofold case from the history of Dutch philology, in which international developments come together: the scholarly practices of Matthias de Vries (1820-1892) and Willem J.A. Jonckbloet (1817-1885). They respectively established Dutch lexicography and medieval history as modern disciplines. Both reported on reading experiences in personal correspondence, in reviews of each other's work and in mutual dedications. However, they differed fundamentally in the epistemological validity they assigned to such experiences. De Vries, on the one hand, set up in the 1850s a collaborative workflow for editing a dictionary, which he copied from the brothers Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* and which was aimed at disciplining each of the editor's individual reading experiences with standardized processes. Jonckbloet, on the other hand, took the *Mémoires* of the French philologist J.-B. de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781) as an example. He focused on individual reading of romances as a means of experiencing the medieval world, through abstract forms and types. Jonckbloet thus combined an idealistic concept of national history (J.G. Herder), eighteenth-century ideas on sympathy (A. Smith and D. Hume) and even older pleasures of antiquarianism.

Notwithstanding the differences, De Vries and Jonckbloet held for some decades the conviction that they shared the single discipline of vernacular philology. This conviction was based on their old friendship, and even on what

Spinoza called the 'joy' of a 'common idea'. Such joy, but especially a shared experience of reading connected their diverging disciplines of lexicography and national history.

15.3. Arnold Witte, University of Amsterdam, *Aesthetic experience and the development of art history around 1900*

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With his aim of a '*Kunstgeschichte ohne Namen*', Heinrich Wölfflin strove to liberate art historical practice of the focus on canonical works of art by canonical artists, and invent a 'neutral' approach to the development of the visual arts through a formalist method. His contemporary Alois Riegl went one decisive step further in his statement that 'the best academic art historian is he who does not possess personal taste'. It is therefore around 1900 that the aesthetic approach is finally banned from the discipline of art history and is being substituted by other approaches. The decision on quality (as prerequisite for authenticity) is no longer a major theme for academic art historians, and personal taste had become anathema.

But this led to two different possibilities: on the one hand, the aesthetic becomes formalistic, and the philosophical suggestion of eternal values is substituted by a methodic analysis of the visual form, suggesting scientific objectivity. This is especially the take that Wölfflin developed in his work, based on psychology and phenomenology. On the other hand, there is a tendency to historicize the visual experience, into what was later called the 'period eye' (Baxandall). It was in particular the subjectivism and his attention to the affects of the beholder in Riegl's method that lent itself to this approach. This meant that the academic could work from his own experience, by historically contextualising it, towards an objective representation of the historically subjective experience.

In the period between 1900 and 1920, art historians had to choose between two opposing roads away from aesthetics and personal taste. One art historian in particular offers an interesting case on this; Hans Rose was a pupil of Wölfflin and wrote his *Habilitation* on a subject very close to his teacher's, namely the formalist development of the Late Baroque; but in his 1926 excursus on a publication by Wölfflin of 1888, he decidedly incorporated the subjectivist, historical approach as developed by Riegl, and therefore admitted the concept of experience back into the formalist approach.

15.4. Krisztina Lajosi, University of Amsterdam, *How musical experiences could not be replaced by formalism: 20<sup>th</sup>-century musicology and artistic practices*

A process of institutionalisation took place in musicology during the nineteenth century, famously accounted by Carl Dahlhaus. It brought the majority of musicologists to turn away from an emotional language towards a formalistic discourse. Yet, formalism could never fully replace individualistic approaches of the 'experience' of music, nor metaphorical phrases to define its 'meaning'. As a



consequence, a particular dynamic came into being during the twentieth century between formalistic and empirical conceptions of musicology. It occurred not only among musicologists and music critics, but also among composers. This contribution will trace the role of experience in the history of musicology as an academic discipline, but it will also map the shifting boundaries between cultural scholarship and artistic practices.

## 16. PLENARY

Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin,  
*On the making of historical epistemology*

The paper looks at the coming into being of historical epistemology as a way of conceiving the sciences as an ongoing cultural, deeply historically embedded process. What does that mean? Can historical epistemology be seen as a bridge between the sciences and the humanities?

## 17. Mind and Body

17.1. Nadia Moro, University of Milan/Higher School of Economics, Moscow,  
*Ein 'Spiegel für die geistige Thätigkeit'. Language and categories from Herbart's psychology to Steinthal's Völkerpsychologie*

Language, signs and symbols have been investigated in many respects as an anthropological *proprium*. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, language played a crucial role in the making of scientific psychology, linguistics and ethnology as well as their mutual connections, as I will show in the case of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899).

What makes language decisive in post-Kantian philosophy is its relevance in constituting objectivity psychologically or anthropologically: I claim that the transition from the transcendental investigation to a dynamic conception of the a priori, analysed in psychology and comparative studies, occurs also through a renewed attention paid to language. Herbart and Steinthal had a substantial role in this transition: they approach Kant's formal, logical basis as a problem and replace it dynamically with mathematical, psychological, anthropological, ethnological and linguistic processes. Dynamic accounts are based on the idea of a necessary determination of categories, which are both objective and able to be developed, and depend on genetic, logically valid constitution processes.

I wish to critically reconstruct and assess the explanations of objectivity based on its dynamical constitution through language. My interpretive hypothesis is: Herbart's and Steinthal's approaches to language overcame Kant's static view of the a priori by establishing dynamic interactions between language and categories on the cognitive and psychological levels.

In his philosophical psychology, Herbart adopted a genetic approach aimed at perfecting Kant's critical philosophy by a psychological survey into the progressive constitution of ideas. Herbart got close to a linguistic critique of

knowledge by defining philosophy as ‘reworking of concepts’ and challenging Kant’s deduction of categories by a linguistic account. Steinthal’s *Völkerpsychologie* was based on the assumption that the Kantian programme had to be developed analysing the objective products of reason, starting from language; he eclectically connected Herbart’s psychology with Humboldt’s linguistic programme, his interest in symbolic forms with positivistic methods, emphasising the psychological relevance of language. I will compare Herbart’s functionalistic understanding of knowledge and Steinthal’s theories on semantic unity in order to reconstruct the progress of linguistic studies and assess the mutual dependence between language and categories in explaining cognition.

The outcome expected is a historico-conceptual enquiry into dynamic conceptions of the a priori in the Humanities, justifying the status of categories relating to language. The research will also provide a case study on the interdisciplinary character of 19<sup>th</sup> century philosophy and the sciences of language.

## 17.2. Robert Zwijnenberg, University of Leiden, *The humanities, biotechnology and bio-art*

Contemporary biotechnological practices (inheritable genetic modification, cloning, tissue engineering) that involve manipulation of living beings present a challenge to traditional notions of nature and the human body. Within the humanities it is recognized that the traditional attitude of critical distance is no longer viable to meet the challenges posed by biotechnology: the humanities can no longer guide our decisions on urgent legal and ethical issues in life sciences research that often have major societal implications. We need new humanities methodologies to answer question such as who has the right to re-design life, do we think it is necessary, and if so, how do we want to re-design nature and the human body? What limits do we wish to impose on biotechnological innovation involving nature and the human body? And what notion of ‘being human’ and of nature are these limits based on?

New materialism, a recent strand of thinking, appears to be able to provide a more satisfactory answer to the question of what attitude we should take to biotechnological developments. However, so far - as I will argue - new materialism has shown little potential for use in daily life.

In view of biotechnological developments, the subject of the humanities becomes fluent, multi-faceted and dynamic. In response, humanities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will need to expand their methodological repertoire so as to better address the dynamic character of its research subjects. I will suggest that the humanities can amplify its reflective force by partaking in the biotechnological issues in a hands-on manner. I will propose a ‘hands-on’ methodology as a valid, complementary research strategy for scholars in the humanities.

As a model for a ‘hands-on’ methodology I will discuss bio-art that use living materials and the tools of biotechnology to address the cultural, political, social, ethical and aesthetical implications of biotechnology from an artistic perspective. Much bio-art literally comes out of the laboratory. Bio-art shares

with the life sciences a material engagement – something that the humanities do not have - and both bio-art and science are engaged in constructing new metaphorical relations between life and matter.

The relevance of the hand-on practice of bio-art to the humanities is that this new form of art provides the humanities – through this artistic material engagement - with a rather idiosyncratic access to the life sciences, and as such bio-art opens up a promising direction for a new humanities methodology.

## 18. Uses and Abuses of History

18.1 Jacques Bos, University of Amsterdam, *Ancients and moderns: historical consciousness, historical method and the disciplines in Early Modern Europe*

The past is an important object of study in the humanities, not just for historians but also in other disciplines. In the study of objects from the past – texts, works of art, cultural patterns, human actions – two kinds of assumptions play a central role: ontological assumptions about the nature of the past and its relation with the present, and methodological views about the best way to analyse the past.

In this paper I shall examine the relation between historical ontology and historical method in early modern Europe. The focus will be on two crucial episodes in the development of historical thought, the Renaissance and the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. In my analysis I shall emphasise the parallels and connections between various disciplines, such as history, literary studies, and art history, which until now have mainly been examined in isolation.

In early modern Europe, the nature of the past was primarily explored in terms of the relation between ancients and moderns. The central question was to what extent ancient models could and should serve as examples for the present – in a wide range of domains, from politics to art and literature. For the classical past to have a truly exemplary function, it had to be regarded as essentially similar to the present and as an object that could be studied unproblematically. On the other hand, some early modern authors started to explore the idea that past and present were distinct periods with their own specific characteristics, thus undermining the self-evident use of the past as an example for the present and raising the methodological problem of acquiring a correct understanding of the past.

Renaissance historical thought has received a significant amount of scholarly attention, but most analyses are quite one-dimensional, claiming that the Renaissance either fully acknowledged the distinctness of the past or did not acknowledge it at all. I shall argue that the Renaissance attitude towards the past is best seen as a debate, not unlike the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, but less explicitly polemical. The uncertainty about the relation between ancients and moderns is visible in Machiavelli's political history, but also in Vasari's history of art, and in discussions about literature. I shall try to uncover the interconnections between these fields, while also paying attention to explicit discussions of the function of history and its methods in specialised treatises (the

*artes historicae*). The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns is primarily a debate on the exemplary value of classical literature for the present, but it has broader implications for historical thought, which have not yet been analysed extensively. Interestingly, the period of the Quarrel was also important for the development of historical methods (the most prominent example is the work of Mabillon). This concurrence deserves further scrutiny because of what it might disclose about the connections between historical ontology and historical method and the interrelatedness of various disciplines.

## 18.2 Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, University of Roskilde, *Producing and reproducing the past in Enlightenment Germany*

This paper investigates how eighteenth-century German antiquarians and historians used different kind of sources in different ways as historical evidence. It especially focuses upon how they attempted to solve and circumvent problems relating to the reproduction of these sources. Following in the footsteps of Early Modern skepticism, many eighteenth-century scholars challenged the trustworthiness of the historical record. This critique questioned not only the testimony of past witnesses and the works of past scholars, but also works of reference, sources editions, and drawings and etchings of antiquities, etc. However, most antiquarians and historians recognized that the progress of scholarship depended upon finding practical and reliable solutions to the problems of reproduction. They not only experimented with new techniques of reproduction, but also attempted to identify types of objects and texts, which were less vulnerable to manipulation. Some scholars shifted attention towards objects that were more plentiful and portable and representative rather unique.

Others, on the contrary, tried to show how the distinctiveness of certain kinds of sources would survive even the worst reproductions. The paper illustrates these developments through the examples of the Halle professor Christian Adolph Klotz, who during the 1760s introduced a program for antiquarian research based upon coins and imprints of engraved stones, and the Göttingen professor Johann Christoph Gatterer, who at the same time argued for the value of acts and charters for historical studies. Klotz's and Gatterer's research programs had many similarities. They both acquired research collections and ordered these in similar ways. They both emphasized the importance of repeated and personal observation of minute details and typological differences. They both encouraged collective research and even worked together with some of the same scholars. However, their choices of sources – coins and engraved stones versus acts and charters – resulted in very different views of the past.

## 18.3. Bart Karstens, University of Amsterdam, *The historicization of the world picture*

In a perhaps less well-known paper, published in *Isis* in 1961, Thomas Kuhn introduced the concept of a second scientific revolution. With this concept he intended to capture major changes in the investigation of nature in terms of

general approach to the subject, application of methods of research and the scale of organization of the endeavor, which came about around 1800, and have remained with us ever since. The term second scientific revolution has not caught on in historiography of science. I don't believe this is justified because I think Kuhn pointed at an important caesurae in his paper, albeit for different reasons.

Where Kuhn essentially presented the second scientific revolution as a repetition of the first, only as a much broader and more permanent quantification (or mathematization) of the sciences, I believe the concept is better understood as representing a new major transformation in thought. This transformation has, in my view, consisted in a thorough historicization of the world picture. We can read this off from changes in the meaning of concepts used and the invention of new concepts. We can also see the transformation happen in the respective scientific disciplines. In my contribution I will mainly focus on the latter and point at some highly interesting connections between fields from the humanities, such as history and linguistics, with fields from the natural sciences such as geology, chemistry and biology. I argue that we can only properly value the transformation in thought if we study these disciplines in connection to each other and if we study developments in the longer term. My interpretation of the 'second scientific revolution' is further articulated by relating it to the work of Foucault and in discussing the relation between the first and second scientific revolution which is marked by compatibility and tension at the same time. I end my contribution with a note on what this interpretation may imply for future historical research into the modern period.

#### 18.4 Katarzyna Jarosz, International University of Logistics, Wrocław, *Romanian national myths – Burebista as an example of falsifying history*

History is not an objective science, as we always have filter of consciousness that transforms history in discourse. Historians do not live in social and political vacuum. Nationalism is one of the most characteristic singularities in the communist Romania. The communist regime in Romania reinvented biography of Burebista, a king of the Getae and Dacians, who unified their tribes for the first time and ruled them between 82 BC and 44 BC. Burebista was portrayed as the unified of the Dacian tribes. In 1980, the Romanian government declared the celebration of the 2050th anniversary of the founding of the 'unified and centralized' Dacian state of Burebista. They wanted to draw comparisons with Ceaușescu's Romania, and claim an uninterrupted existence of the Romanian state from Burebista to Ceaușescu.

The aim of this phenomenon was to legitimate mythical origins and to present Ceaușescu as a real descendant of the antic hero. It was a very efficient propaganda tool. The cultural current, the way of presenting 'big Dacian civilization', mixing facts with historical phantasies, was a common phenomenon. It was a very efficient tool to expand the intellectual reach of national socialism. The aim of my paper is to analyse what tools and mechanisms were used in

Romanian press, popular culture whose aim was to support the ideas of protochronism- idea of Romanian chronological and at the same time cultural superiority. I aim to analyse national press articles, that appeared in the years 1968-1989, and to find any patterns of writing about Burebista, presenting him and creating his myth. I also aim to compare the archaeological and historical sources with the way of presenting him in Romanian press. 215 articles are the object of my analysis, published in the journal 'Știința și tehnica'. Both content of the articles and the pictures will be analysed.

## 19. Historical Linguistics across History and Politics

*Organizer:* Angela Marcantonio, University of Rome 'La Sapienza'

### *General description*

The publication of *The structure of the Scientific Revolutions* (Kuhn 1962) has raised awareness among the public on how historical and /or political circumstances can exercise influence on the success of theories, models, opinions, practically in any field of science. Historical linguistics, as a rigorous discipline – not a 'hard' science – is not immune from these effects: its paradigms, founding principles and methods of analysis have been affected by their historico-political context. Even more so because the development and diffusion of languages is inextricably connected with speech-communities, their origin, culture, etc., not to count the role played by languages in shaping nations, or promoting socio / ethnic cohesion (or division). The speakers of this panel will illustrate aspects of historical linguistics theories, methods and patterns in connection with their historical background, comparing them with the analyses and paradigms proposed by other humanistic disciplines, like historiography and the study of (political) culture.

### 19.1 László Marác, University of Amsterdam, *Contextualizing the making of the Finno-Ugric languages classification*

Present-day textbooks of linguistics and encyclopedias consider the Finno-Ugric language classification – including, for example, the genetic relation between Hungarian and Finnish – as a well-established fact as well as (typically), a real (pre-)historical event. This is an outcome of historical linguistics research, in particular, of the methods of comparative linguistics. In today's academic practice this is the only theory available in Hungary regarding the origin of the Hungarian language (and peoples). Interestingly enough, the possible connection of Hungarian with other language families is not explored in the linguistic comparison, although there are strong empirical linkages between Hungarian and non-Uralic languages, such as (mainly) Turkic. However, in recent publications, the Finno-Ugric language classification has been challenged by internationally respected scholars, on the basis of both its methodological and empirical foundations. The theoretical foundation of the Finno-Ugric language family (that is, in fact, in close accordance with the historical-comparative school of Indo-

European linguistics), does not display a solid scientific basis. For example, from an empirical point of view, there are actually too little convincing lexical and grammatical ‘cognates’ between Hungarian and Finnish.

These linguistic shortcomings of the Finno-Ugric language classification are spelled out in Angela Marcantonio’s study: *The Uralic Language Family. Facts, myths and statistics* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). The question then arises: why and how the Finno-Ugric family has come into being at all? This question cannot be answered by relying on linguistics only. Here the results of other scientific disciplines have to be drawn into the debate. In order to get a deeper insight into this issue we will contextualize the ‘making’ of the Finno-Ugric language classification. By doing so we will elaborate on historiographical methods and analyse the socio-political discourse within which the Finno-Ugric language classification was settled. It turns out that this language classification was established largely on the basis of non-linguistic factors and circumstances. As a matter of fact, it was put on the research agenda in the aftermath of the Hungarian Freedom Fight of 1848-1849, when the Habsburg ruling-house installed a neo-absolutist regime, ‘germanizing’ the Hungarian academic institutions. The proponents of the Nordic, but European, ‘Finnish’ connection of Hungarian enjoyed the political support of the Habsburg ruling-house, since this propagated a Euro-centric world view, in contrast to those scholars who searched the linguistic relatives of Hungarian outside Europe, in a south-easterly direction. Within this context, the presentation by Prof. Janhunen will illustrate the Hungarian / eastern connection.

19.2 Angela Marcantonio, University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’, & Juha Janhunen, University of Helsinki-Helsingfors, *On the position of Hungarian in the Ural-Altaic typological belt*

The conception that Hungarian belongs to the Uralic language family is based on the principle of comparative linguistics that the genetic identity of a language is determined by the relative chronology of its lexical elements. This chronology can be approached through systematic phonetic correspondences – sound laws – which allow lexical elements to be arranged in layers according to the time they existed in the language. The layer exhibiting the largest number of historical processes due to sound laws corresponds to the genetic lineage of the language. For Hungarian, this lineage is Uralic, although Hungarian contains many other layers of lexical elements, some of which are relatively old and more numerous than the Uralic component, such as the groups of Turkic elements, which in the 19th century created confusion about the origin of Hungarian.

However, not everything that looks Uralic in Hungarian is necessarily due to inheritance. The Uralic family is a member of the trans-Eurasian belt of languages known as Ural-Altaic, comprising Turkic, Mongolic, Korean and Japanese. The origins of Ural-Altaic typology lie in the Far East, and Hungarian itself is known to have arrived from Inner Asia relatively recently. Due to the prolonged interaction of Hungarian with Turkic (especially Bulgharic), probably

some of its structural features are actually due to Turkic influence, such as vowel harmony: although of assumed Uralic, it is actually a very unstable feature, which in other Uralic languages has been easily lost (Estonian) or re-created (Mountain Mari). We might say that vowel harmony in Hungarian is one of its Ural-Altaic features: it may or may not represent genetic inheritance, but has been corroborated by areal interaction. Hungarian is interesting also because, in some respects, is so different from the other Uralic languages. Perhaps, in its prehistory Hungarian passed through a bottle-neck that has greatly affected its lexicon and structure. Within Uralic, Hungarian is conventionally classified as Ugric, on the basis of both lexical and structural evidence. However, Ugric remains a contestable entity, and at least some Ugric properties may be due to secondary interaction between the languages concerned. The close relation assumed to exist between Mansi and Khanty (Ob-Ugric), may be an illusion created by their areal adjacency. It appears that Mansi shares a significant number of diagnostic innovations and retentions with Hungarian, so that they, without Khanty, could be viewed as a branch of Uralic, leaving the position of Khanty to be defined separately.

19.3 Toon Van Hal, University of Leuven, *The central place of Persia and Scythia in some lesser-known representatives of early nineteenth-century historical linguistics: continuity between the seventeenth and the nineteenth-century?*

The rediscovery of India at the turn of the 19th century fuelled a general Western fascination for India's traditional religion, literature, and language. Recent years have witnessed a flood of books devoted to European *Indomania*, with particular attention to the highly politicized German-Indian connection. It is well-known that the study of Sanskrit, age-old yet brand-new, played an important catalyzing role in the foundation of linguistics, particularly, historical linguistics, as an academic discipline.

This paper aims at investigating to what extent much older ideas and theories, if still vivid in the 19th century, left their mark on the development of historical linguistics.

(1) The idea that Modern Persian (Farsi) and the Germanic language group (especially Dutch and German) were connected dates back to the end of the 16th century. My paper will show that some 19th century scholars were still convinced of the primacy of Iran to the detriment of India. (2) To some extent, the 'Scythian theory', developed by Leiden scholars in the midst of the 17th century, elaborated on the Persian-German hypothesis. By positing a hypothetical 'Scythian language' to explain the similarities between German(ic), Greek, Persian, the champions of this theory somehow adumbrated the much later idea of Proto-Indo-European. A number of 19th century scholars still explained the similarities between Sanskrit and the European languages by relying on this Scythian theory. Some of them even claimed that Sanskrit was in fact the supposedly lost Scythian language.



This talk will also try to investigate the reasons why these scholars, who are not widely known today, did not believe in India's primacy and to what extent their adherence to Persia and Scythia reflected a specific political standpoint. Last, but not least, the following will be observed: the historical development of the Indo-European theory (as we know it today), fully embedded in the romantic climate of the late 18th / 19th centuries (climate prompted also by the formation of the modern European nations and the search of their origin) closely mirrors the more or less contemporary formation of the Finno-Ugric / Uralic theory, equally embedded in the same romantic and politically charged climate – as already hinted at by Prof. Marác in his presentation.

19.4 Elisabetta Ragagnin, University “Ca’Foscari”, Venice / University of Cambridge, *Oghuzic language evolution and politics: Turkish and Azeri compared*

This last talk will deal with a different topic from the ones dealt with thus far, that is: the different evolution of two similar languages due to different socio-political forces: Turkish and Azeri. Turkish and Azeri are two closely related Oghuz Turkic languages that have followed quite different evolutionary paths, especially in the last centuries. Historically, in the 9th and 10th centuries several Oghuz clans migrated westwards, from the regions of the Altai Mountains and Mongolia, to Transoxiana, where they came under the influence of Islam. Successive Turkic dynasties of the Middle and Near East, namely Seljuk, Ottoman and Safavid were predominantly Oghuz. Ottoman Turkish – the historical forerunner of modern Turkish – has been subject to a drastic language reform, whose ‘hottest’ stage started with Atatürk in the 1920s. On the other hand, Azeri or Azerbaijanian, evolved from Ajami Turkic, that is, a transregional written Turkic variety geographically placed between Ottoman and Chagatay, and actively spoken and used for literary purposes in the Caucasus and Iran until the end of the 18th century. During Russian colonization first and the Soviet era later, the fate of Azeri was similar to that of other minority languages. However, Azeri did not go through the process of ‘de-persianization’ and ‘de-arabicization’ that characterized the Turkish language reform. For instance, Persian elements are viewed as bonds to the glorious literary tradition of the past.

In this talk, aspects regarding the evolution of Turkish and Azeri in relation to political changes and language politics will be contrastively highlighted. Besides, present-day Turkic languages classifications as taught in Turkey and Azerbaijan will also be discussed. Although the actual historico-political forces that influenced the reform, development and classification of these Turkic languages has nothing to do with those that contributed to the formation of the Finno-Ugric/Uralic and Indo-European theory, it appears evident that, once again, (socio-)political forces are involved, playing a relevant role in shaping the paradigms and methods of historical linguistics.

## 20. Discipline Formation

20.1 Ida Jahr, University of Oslo, *Mapping geopolitics of knowledge: the diffusion of American Studies in Europe 1945-65*

In his notes from an interview with the head of Statistics Norway Petter Jakob Bjerve in 1957, the Rockefeller Foundation officer Erskine W. McKinley points out that Bjerve is a good man and a good economist, but his 'genious' is not comparable to another Norwegian economist of the time, H. Wold. 'Neither by the way, is his taste in art.' Wold had recommended the Munch museum to McKinley, whereas Bjerve had recommended the Oslo City Hall, a WPA (Works Progress Administration)-style horror, according to McKinley. He concludes that 'Oh, well. He is a good economist. But so is Wold!'

What McKinley's interview notes show, is that trust is inherently social, also in academic knowledge construction. Rockefeller grants were instrumental in the post-war rebuilding, and the post-war restructuring, of European academia. These fellowships did not just provide their recipients with knowledge of the latest developments of their field and professional authority, they also both created and were dependent upon international social networks of scholars, foundation officers and state functionaries. These 'state-private networks' of elites in areas as seemingly disparate as the university and intelligence, foreign policy establishments and libraries was a key aspect of the complex process of 'Atlanticist' ideological alignment between European and American elites in the immediate post-war period.

World War II was the start of a new geopolitics of institutionalized knowledge production. The academic field of 'American Studies' in Europe is both a part of and a reaction to this development. I am currently designing a project to map the spread of this field in the first post-war period through a digital social network map of the first generation of American Studies scholars in Europe, to examine the intersections between the institutional and the ideational structurations of the academic public sphere, and would like to present this project at your conference.

20.2. Joris van Zundert & Karina van Dalen-Oskam, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, *The digital humanities disconnect*

On face value a most recent development in the history of the humanities—the advent of digital humanities—should represent an significant impetus for connecting disciplines to and from the field of humanities. The very nature of digital humanities as an inter- and multidisciplinary domain should warrant the emergence of methodological connections and interplay between for instance computer science and various humanities domains. However, despite a history spanning at least six decades—if the computerized concordancing work of Father Busa is taken as a starting point—and notwithstanding the high

expectations about its potential for transforming and revolutionizing the humanities from both policy makers and humanists, the connection of digital humanities to other scholarly disciplines is hardly without friction and far from seamless. Rather in contrast digital humanities are often vigorously and passionately attacked from the ranks of conventional humanists.

Thus digital humanities has been portrayed as a scholarly empty answer to a presumed valorization crisis in the humanities, as a managerial fad, a big data ideology, and many other ugly things.

As an exercise in the historiography of current humanities this paper compares the observed disconnect between conventional and digital humanities that is manifest in the Anglo-American dominated international digital humanities community to the development of digital humanities in the Netherlands in the last three decades. We focus most prominently on the differences between the rationales underpinning the various typologies that have been proposed for the major developments in digital humanities in the last three decades—i.e. first and second wave digital humanities, digital humanities types I and II (Ramsay 2013), and humanities 1.0 and 2.0 (Bod 2013).

From this comparison we are able to identify three key issues that will prove pivotal in answering the question whether digital humanities will establish itself successfully as a connective methodological trading zone and middle ground between humanities and computer science, or as an academic discipline in its own right. These key issues that we will highlight are: 1) the definition of scholarly questions beyond the conventional realms of humanities and computer science; 2) the status of mathematics & logic, code, and interfaces as viable means of scholarship; 3) the ability to define a hermeneutic frame and critical theory for digital scholarship.

20.3 Julianne Nyhan, University College London, *The role of labels and metaphors in investigating interconnections between the digital humanities and the humanities*

It is not uncommon for practitioners of Digital Humanities (DH) to portray their research and colleagues as revolutionary. Looking to the published literature, for example, it can be noticed that a significant number of articles use the term in order to describe, define, demarcate and categorise Digital Humanities. These include articles with titles like ‘The Digital Humanities Revolution’ (Mattison 2006); articles and pieces that describe the work of Digital Humanities as being revolutionary in nature or effect, for example, the ‘Digital Humanities Manifesto 2.0’ (Presner et al. 2009), which explicitly refers to the ‘Digital Humanities revolution’; while works such as Matt Gold’s ‘Whose revolution? Towards a more equitable Digital Humanities’ (2012) also consider the supposed revolution in a more critical way.

Are Digital Humanists revolutionaries and is their work revolutionary? Indeed, what is meant by this term and, looking to the historical record, what other labels have been used by practitioners of DH to describe their work? Indeed, it is clear that most disciplines tell creation myths and stories and identify

with various labels. These can offer a coherent and stable narrative about where a discipline perceives it has come from, what it believes it is doing and why it has taken the shape that it has. This serves an important purpose given the inherently 'changing nature of knowledge domains over time' demonstrated by Becher (1989). Taylor (1976), who looked at the role of 'heroic myths' in the discipline of Geography has argued that their function is to 'create an 'overall purpose and cohesion to the very obvious disparate researches of members of the geography community'.

This paper will take as its starting point that the labels that DH has appropriated in order to describe itself to both fellow practitioners, and the Academy as a whole, can grant a key insight into its connections with, and divergences from, the Humanities itself. The stories and labels that Digital Humanists tell and use about the discipline have received relatively little sustained analysis. McCarty (2005) examined three well established metaphors: Tree, Turf and Centre and, from the perspective of Humanities Computing, found them lacking; in their place he argued for the metaphor 'archipelago', having earlier argued for the metaphor of 'Phoenician trader' (1999). This paper will draw on archival research, a comprehensive literature review as well as close readings of oral history sources created during the 'Hidden Histories: Uncovering the hidden histories of computing in the Humanities c.1949 – 1980' project (see, for example, the project's website: <http://hiddenhistories.omeka.net/>). It is hoped that it will contribute to a better understanding of how DH conceptualises its interconnections with the Humanities and that it may help to foster a more critical dialogue on this issue that has heretofore been evident.

## 21. Linguistic Turns and Animosities

21.1 Anna Pytlowany, University of Amsterdam & Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, *Colonial and missionary linguistic production in 16th-18<sup>th</sup>-century Asia as a mirror of European alliances and animosities*

This paper examines the multinational history of religious and secular language practitioners from Europe in India, Japan and the Philippines, and the influence their intertwined relations had on the colonial and missionary linguistics in the times of the European expansion in Asia.

For commerce and evangelisation alike, knowledge of local languages was a crucial asset. Secular trade companies, as well as various religious orders tackled the task by educating translators and compiling grammars and dictionaries. However, depending on the nationality, religious affiliation or denomination of the author, very different strategies were used.

The analysis of historical documents suggests that in daily life, the demarcation line between the Europeans overseas did not always follow the standard Catholic–Protestant divide. Rather, it meandered with the wealth and knowledge, which for instance occasioned in the members of the Jesuit order finding themselves on one side with the anti-Papists.

In our presentation, we will attempt to trace the reflections of the contemporary political situation in the linguistic production of the 16th-18th century European communities in Asia.

21.2 Michiel Leezenberg, University of Amsterdam, *The vernacular revolution: reclaiming early modern grammatical traditions*

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In this contribution, I would like to call attention to the neglected field of early modern vernacular traditions of learning, in particular in the language sciences. In the eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Ottoman empire, a number of grammars and comparative vocabularies were written, like Sümbülzâde Vehbi's Turkish-language *Tuhfe-i Vehbî*, Mullah Eli Teremaxi's Kurdish-language *Serfa Kurmancî*, Dimitrie Eustatievici's *Gramatica rumânească*, and Neofit Rilski's *Bolgarska gramatika*. These works not only use spoken vernaculars as languages of instruction; they also, and for the first time, turn them into objects of knowledge. They have arguably had a tremendous influence on the development of vernacular education and, by extension, of modern national identities. Although rooted in premodern local cosmopolitan traditions, these works focus on locally spoken vernaculars rather than written classical languages like Latin, Sanskrit, or Arabic; their historical importance, however, has been downplayed by modern critical philology in the nineteenth and twentieth century, which saw native learning about languages as merely an obstacle on the path to correct and scientific descriptions.

In the context of Mughal India, Mohammed Tavakoli-Targhi has argued that such texts of native learning have been rendered 'homeless' by both orientalist Western and modernist nationalist narratives, as both are premised on an opposition between a stagnant premodern Orient and a modernizing West that leave little or no room for early modern local traditions of learning. As an example, he shows to what extent William Jones's famous 'discovery of Sanskrit' builds upon the knowledge of local Persian-language scholars, and to what extent this work has been erased from the history of scholarship. Here, however, my main point concerns neither anti-orientalist polemics nor native-scholarship apologetics; rather, I will sketch how these early modern traditions of learning mark a distinct phase that cannot be reduced to either classical cosmopolitanism or modern nationalist philology. For this purpose, I will describe a number of these local vernacular grammars emerging from an Ottoman background in more detail, briefly compare them with nearly simultaneous developments in the Indian-Persianate world as described by the likes of Tavakoli-Targhi and Sheldon Pollock, and draw some tentative conclusions about the role of local vernacular traditions of learning in the constitution of the linguistic dimensions of modernity.

In every period in the history of mankind, a considerable number of people have suffered total or partial lack of hearing. Today, *Deaf Studies* is an academic subject that merges pedagogical, medical, linguistic, anthropological, psychological and sociological approaches in addressing questions that arise from this fact. This paper reviews the early history of the subject, focusing on the first stages of deaf education in Europe.

The phenomenon of deafness, and its implications for those affected by it, were the subject of theorizing from Antiquity onwards, but apart from failed attempts to provide a medical remedy, it was not until the sixteenth century that systematic attempts to counteract the effects of deafness were undertaken. This concerned first of all the teaching of language to deaf persons. In the mid-sixteenth century, a Spanish monk succeeded in teaching several deaf aristocrats to read, write and speak, thus disproving some widely held beliefs about the educability of the deaf, and also about the way in which speech and written language relate both to each other and to extra-linguistic reality. In the seventeenth century, other Spanish teachers succeeded in teaching language to deaf persons, and the first book on how this was done appeared in 1620.

In Britain, deaf education became a matter of both theoretical and practical concern in the course of the 17th century. Several books on the subject appeared, and in the 1660s, prominent members of the Royal Society undertook the teaching of speech to deaf pupils, so as to prove by experiment that their phonetic theories were correct. Deaf education as a topic required and stimulated the connection of various disciplines. The paper explores how these connections worked out differently with various 17th-century authors, and varied according to their goals in deaf education: Kenelm Digby and Bulwer connected deaf persons' speech and lip-reading with a philosophical thesis on the 'community of the senses'; Bonet, Holder, Wallis and Amman merged physiology and linguistics into a theory of articulatory phonetics; Deusing, addressing a theological concern, connected sign language linguistics with a thesis on the mental capacities of the deaf; Dalgarno, finally, linked epistemology, pedagogy and a linguistic thesis on the independence of written language to support his proposal for a way of educating the deaf that excluded the teaching of speech.

## 22. Antiquarianism

### 22.1 Jetze Touber, Utrecht University, *Reading and measuring antiquities: textual and metrical aspects of the study of the past around 1700*

Isaac Newton (1643-1727) may have belonged to the last generation of natural scientists who could invest years of their intellectual careers trying to recreate divine harmony by meticulously establishing the measurements of biblical antiquities. Such an effort is reflected in his publication of an exhaustive

overview of ancient measurement units, aimed at determining the *cubitus sacer* used for the design of Solomon's Temple.

This endeavour is typical of the entanglement of methods and goals in the study of the human past as practiced in the Early Enlightenment, methods and goals that have since progressively come apart and followed their own trajectories: measurements of material objects, critical reading and contextualization of literary sources, the effort at plotting the history of humanity within the framework of salvation history, systematically studying nature and culture. In a variety of ways, such an all-inclusive transdisciplinary approach to the vestiges of the past was common to contemporaries of Newton.

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This paper examines a number of scholars who, like Newton, seamlessly combined measurements and historical criticism in reconstructing ancient realities, at the dawn of the period that witnessed the definition of modern disciplines with the rise of the Enlightenment universities. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), for instance, known for his interest in Eastern languages and cultures as well as in mathematics and logic, will be seen assisting his French and Italian correspondents in determining the material properties of Roman antiquities. Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729), a canon from Verona, less famous, but a personal acquaintance of both Newton and Leibniz, and well established within the curial hierarchy of Rome, was an avid practitioner of intellectual pursuits which ranged from astronomy to antiquities. Bianchini directed his optical devices both at the stars and at architecture that was hard to discern with the naked eye. Taken together such intricate instances of transdisciplinarity, traversing methodological and conceptual landscapes that were subsequently parceled out with institutional rigidity, occasions reflection on the relation between hermeneutics and metrology in the study of objects and texts for the sake of reconstructing the human past.

22.2 Han Lamers, Humboldt Universität, Berlin, *A Cultural Encounter Revised: Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy*

### **Winner of the Van Woudenberg Dissertation Prize**

In the 15th century, the greatest part of the Byzantine Greek intelligentsia moved to the Latin West, particularly Italy, for a combination of cultural, political, and economic reasons. They brought with them knowledge of ancient Greek and Greek literature, as well as Greek manuscripts, and Italian humanists welcomed them as transmitters of Greek learning. This Byzantine brain-drain has been recognized as a major impulse for Italian humanism and has generally been understood in terms of a cultural transfer from Greek East to Latin West. Although Italian humanists did write about this cultural encounter in terms of a transfer or *translatio studiorum*, the Byzantines resisted this Italian-humanist point of view. They strove to maintain claims to what they considered to be 'their' ancient legacy and even based political claims on their (in their eyes)

rightful 'possession' of it. This lecture will trace the tension between Italian and Byzantine claims to the ancient Greek heritage by looking at some understudied or scarcely known texts. It will be argued that the encounter between Greeks and Latins in this period cannot be one-sidedly characterized as a transfer of knowledge but was also a negotiation over cultural ownership.



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## BOOK PRESENTATION

### **Fragmenta 5: Art and Knowledge in Rome and the Early Modern Republic of Letters, 1500-1750**

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Turnhout: Brepols & Rome: Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, 2014  
VIII+372 p., 118 b/w ill., 160 x 240 mm  
Online: [goo.gl/IViXMU](http://goo.gl/IViXMU)

How were Early Modern artists, from Michelangelo to Piranesi, engaged in the production, diffusion, and reception of knowledge? In this book, sixteen chapters explore painters and architects as agents in a European network of communication that involved texts, images, and material culture. The metaphor of the Republic of Letters illuminates exchanges between the cultural centre of Rome and different European peripheries. The role of the Low Countries stands out, which gave rise to a variety of innovations, from the first studies of the Early Christian Catacombs, to new reproductive techniques for 'paper museums', and seminal interest in Egyptian antiquities.



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