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## VORWORT DES HERAUSGEBERS

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Wie wäre es, wenn ein Fellow als teilnehmender Beobachter die Gemeinschaft seines Jahrgangs zum Gegenstand einer ethnographischen Untersuchung machte? Elisabeth Jelin, Soziologin aus Buenos Aires, ist erst im Januar, mit dreimonatiger Verzögerung, zur Gruppe ihrer fellow-Fellows gestoßen; es ergab sich die Versuchung, diese als eingessene Urbevölkerung zu betrachten und deren Ethnographie als regelrechtes Projekt in Erwägung zu ziehen; das Projekt wurde dann doch wieder fallen gelassen – aus berufsethischen Gründen: man könne nicht ethnographisch tätig sein ohne die Objekte seiner Forschung, d. h. die fellow-Fellows, darüber zu informieren; wenn man sie aber informiere, so würde sich zwangsläufig ihr Verhalten ändern, das Projekt verliere seinen Reiz. Der Herausgeber bedauert diese Entscheidung: Für die Planung zukünftiger Jahrgänge hätten die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung eine große Hilfe sein können. Zur partiellen Entschädigung findet der Leser in Jelins Bericht ein paar Eindrücke, die sich auf die gemeinsamen Rituale, Kolloquien und Mahlzeiten beziehen: „A network analysis would have shown the patterns of power, prestige and reciprocity quite clearly“ (86). Für einen Fellow-Bericht ist das ein überraschender Ansatz; zum Kanon der Berichterstattung gehört es vielmehr, die Gemeinschaft der Fellows als paradiesisch, klassenlos und ungespalten zu beschreiben: eine Insel der Seligen bzw. des herrschaftsfreien Diskurses. Das von Elisabeth Jelin skizzierte Bild ist irdischer und komplexer zugleich.

Die Fellows kommen aus den unterschiedlichsten Gegenden einer Welt, in der es gewaltige Unterschiede zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie gibt; sie können diese Unterschiede nicht leicht abstreifen und nehmen sie daher wohl oder übel mit ins Kolleg. Nicht zu-

fällig hat sich gerade in diesem Jahr eine Minderheit von Fellows zusammengefunden, die sich als Vertreter der Peripherie empfanden und die ihre Tischgemeinschaft (einen lockeren Club mit verschwimmenden Rändern) als „Third-World-Table“ bezeichneten. „There were no apparent rules of membership – required was a different way of looking at the world“ (171), schreibt Dhruv Raina. Diesem Dritte-Welt-Tisch war ein scherzhaft subversiver Charakter eigen: Er lenkte den Blick auf das Dominanz-Gehabe der Zentren und auf die real existierenden Machtgefälle. Das Wissenschaftskolleg kann die Welt nicht verändern, kann Machtgefälle nicht wegzaubern: Aber es ist schon einiges gewonnen, wenn es die Peripherie etwas mehr ins Zentrum rückt und ihr Gewicht zu stärken sucht.

Mit Ungleichheit hat auch das Sprachproblem zu tun, das in diesem Jahr eine bemerkenswerte Rolle gespielt hat. Einen deutlichen Niederschlag findet es im Bericht von Miriam Hansen (die, kaum zufällig, einen Teil ihres Lebens in Deutschland, den anderen in den USA verbracht hat, in beiden Welten zuhause, aber in keiner von beiden wohl vollständig daheim ist): „Should German scholars deliver their talks in German at the risk of being only vaguely understood by non-German speakers even after the intensive language course offered by the Wiko, or should they forego the subtleties and sophistication of speaking in their native tongue to get their arguments across to the greater number, including Fellows from countries outside the Western-European-US American sphere?“ (69). Should I continue in English? Ich bleibe lieber beim Deutschen (auch wenn es nicht meine Muttersprache ist). Milena Bartlová merkt in ihrem Bericht an, das Buch, woran sie im Kolleg gearbeitet habe, werde auf Tschechisch erscheinen; für eine Übersetzung auf Deutsch oder auf Englisch würde sich, so wie der Markt nun einmal strukturiert sei, kaum ein Verleger finden. Mit jeder Sprache ist, wie man sieht, auch der Zugang zu bestimmten Ressourcen gegeben bzw. erschwert. Wieder geht es um ein Gefälle zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie. Zum selben Thema bemerkt Catriona McCallum: „I was sorry that the language issue created such a barrier at the Wiko and wished there had been more leadership about this“ (126). Aber wie sollte eine solche Leadership denn aussehen? Die Vorteile des Englischen als einer *lingua franca*, in der (fast) alle sich miteinander verständigen können, liegen auf der Hand; innerhalb der internationalen Scientific Community wäre die Kommunikation unter anderen Voraussetzungen auch gar nicht mehr denkbar. Die unbezweifelbaren Vorteile haben zugleich aber auch eine Schattenseite. Für viele, die Englisch als zweite, dritte oder vierte Sprache gelernt haben, bringt die Entscheidung, Englisch zu sprechen, unvermeidlicherweise eine gewisse Einbuße an Differenziertheit, Geschmeidigkeit und Präzision des Ausdrucks mit sich; der intellektuellen Attraktivität des Spre-

chenden (und der Kommunikationsgemeinschaft insgesamt) ist das kaum förderlich. Für die Lösung des Problems gibt es allerdings kein Patentrezept: Jeder Fellow-Jahrgang muss für sich eine eigene Kompromisslinie finden. Das Wissenschaftskolleg kann keine Richtlinien vorgeben; es kann lediglich Übersetzungsdienste zur Überbrückung der Sprachgrenzen anbieten und an der grundsätzlichen Mehrsprachigkeit der Fellow-Gemeinschaft festhalten. Ein Milieu, in dem auf fruchtbare Weise über intellektuelle und kulturelle Vielfalt nachgedacht wird, kann und sollte sich nicht einer einzigen Sprache verschreiben.

In einigen der folgenden Berichte klingt deutlich die Erinnerung an die Abschiedsfeier nach, die einen ganz eigenen Höhepunkt markierte. Es war wohl nicht zuletzt Heiner Goebbels zu verdanken: Mit unsichtbarer, antiautoritärer Hand hat er die ganze Fellow-Gruppe in ein völlig unhierarchisches, beschwingtes, mitreißend zusammenwirkendes Ensemble verwandelt. Es war ein unvergesslicher Eindruck: „the most democratic farewell party“ (230). Danach wurde verschiedentlich die Frage laut, warum man dieses Fest nicht schon früher gefeiert hätte? Vielleicht sollte man das in Zukunft einmal ausprobieren: Die Abschiedsfeier vom Ende des Jahres an den Anfang verlegen und die Stimmung zehn Monate lang ausklingen lassen.

Luca Giuliani



*Arbeitsberichte*



SUMMER IN BERLIN 2008  
MILENA BARTLOVÁ

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Milena Bartlová was born in 1958 in Prague, Czechoslovakia. She studied art history at Prague's Charles University while also working at the National Gallery in Prague. She later served in a curatorial position there (1983–91, 1996–97) and then began teaching in the Department of History of the Faculty of Education at Charles University (1998–2005). She was simultaneously able to pursue her specialization in Medieval Studies after being recruited to the Art History Department of Masaryk University in Brno in the same year of 1998. Her habilitation was approved there in 2000, and in 2005 she received her professorship in Medieval Art history, thus becoming the Czech Republic's first female Art History professor. Her main fields of interest are Bohemian art and that of neighboring central European countries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially this art's relationship to the pre-Reformation Hussite movement; the theory of medieval imagery and iconoclasm; and the history and methodologies of art history as well as the concepts of national art histories. – Address: Institute of Art History, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Arne Nováka 1, 66088 Brno, Czech Republic. E-Mail: bartlova@mail.muni.cz

It is not easy to begin writing a text when one can be fairly certain in advance that it will likely contain few if any original ideas; that is, to praise that intellectual haven, the *Wissenschaftskolleg*, in such a way that one doesn't merely repeat what many have written before and will surely write in the future. Instead, following the intellectual traditions of my own field of medieval art history, I might do better to recall a certain literary authority. On my arrival I was reminded of the recipe from the *Glasperlenspiel* by Hermann Hesse – take forty professors from any country and any field, place together, and shake but do not

*stir* (or perhaps the literary authority was Ian Fleming). The fact that there is hardly a single TV set to be found in all the villas and that, upon first entering my apartment, the perfect armchair complete with a woolen plaid was positioned precisely where it should have been positioned, immediately revealed to me that this was a place where any intellectual would be most happy.

I understood very early on, however, that the comparison to Hesse's secluded monastery/castle is incorrect. Political topics form an important part of the intellectual agenda here. For me, this was just as inspiring and refreshing as the debates of the Dienstagskolloquien and at our group meals in the restaurant. Berlin is only four hours by train from my hometown of Prague, but it is light-years away from that country, which for decades was forcefully closed off from the intellectual debates taking part in the rest of Europe, in America, and the free world. On arriving in Berlin I found myself in an environment which can be best characterized as *open*. It may be hard for a Czech medieval art historian to accept being described as hailing from the *new Europe* by an American politician (the quality and quantity of cultural production emanating my home country during the Middle Ages being anything but negligible); on the other hand, although almost twenty years have passed since the Iron Curtain was finally raised, the years spent in cultural and ideological isolation are still strongly felt back home. It was not only the rich resources of the Berlin libraries – made so beautifully accessible by the fabulous Wiko library staff! – that opened up new vistas for me, but during my stay I was also imbued with the basic conviction that public topics deserve the serious attention of an intellectual élite. This was an attitude inherent to our dissident past but one that we have let slip away during the past two decades, to be appropriated by the professional politicians.

My own project fit the general situation quite well. My aim was to compose the first draft of a book dealing with medieval art, and more specifically medieval *image*, from the point of view, and in the language of, contemporary intellectual discourse. I arrived with hordes of excerpts and preliminary glosses, and already equipped with a title: *Medieval Image between the Icon and Virtual Reality*. The intensive concentration that can only really be achieved by leaving all everyday cares and worries behind (for a mother of two, the tasty cooking provided by the Wiko kitchen is not the least of the conveniences here!) and this coupled with the almost unlimited access to information sources and the inspiring atmosphere among the Fellows made it possible to fulfill my work plan. As Alex Nagel remarked over lunch one day: while one is here, it is important to spin out ideas; all the rest can be done later at home; but inspiration is the one thing that is native to this place, ac-

quired in contemplative walks among the Grunewald greenery. I had great opportunity to discuss my project with knowledgeable colleagues. In fact, Alex Nagel and I discovered that our projects share the same basic approach – even if the eventual results will differ in terms of strict methodology, content and elaboration. There remains one profound difference, however: my book will appear only in Czech and thus be accessible to a significantly smaller readership than something published in English or German. It will sit on the bookshelves of the Wiko Fellows library and will hardly if ever be looked at because of its exotic language. (Yes, it is certainly theoretically possible to publish the book in one of the internationally accessible languages, but the realities of today’s publishing industry in the Czech Republic and in Germany, England, or the United States makes this a highly improbable feat, irrespective of any possible quality the book might have.) It is hard to forget, even at such an open-minded venue as Wiko, that as an Eastern European you are still an *outsider*. It seems to me that, subliminally at least, this is a feeling shared with certain of the Fellows, say, from Argentina, the Middle East, or India. They may disagree – I do not wish to speak for them – and I hope not to appear oversensitive, but it was precisely this notion of a tension between the self-confident intellectual life in the core countries of the European democratic tradition, and that on the outskirts of the *first world*, that provided much of the inspiration and insight derived from my stay here.

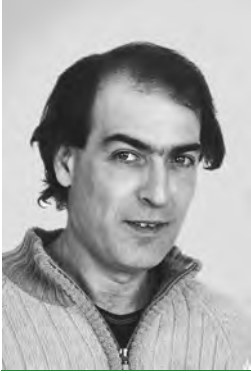
As a Mellon stipendium holder, I was only at Wiko for the last three months of its academic year. Because of that, my participation in the work group Image Science could not have been other than marginal. Nevertheless, the discussions that took place there were crucial in developing certain ideas that form the basis of my book project. Summing this up in just a few sentences, I am employing a consciously hybrid method so as to understand medieval images, always taking into account both current theoretical inquiry as well as the practical uses to which these images were put in their own day. I am also not only employing post-modern conceptual apparatus to talk about these images, but am elaborating the idea (proposed by David Freedberg) that the story of medieval image, above all the iconoclasm discourse, is in fact the story of all images throughout history. I have tried to approach the key topic of representation as the *real presence* of images within the framework of the image’s participation in “the Other” through mimesis of the visible, on the one hand, and on the other, the eucharist that does the very same thing by means of metamorphosis of the essence, not of the visible species. The two concepts converge in the communal experience of embodiment. Iconoclasm, running contrary to this need and proclaiming a disembodied purity of and direct approach to the spirit, can thus be seen as the ineluctable flip



side of any real image experience. In this confrontation, however, the embodied visual mediation of images seems to be always the winner.

Berlin is a wonderful location for a scholarly institution like Wiko, not only because of its great libraries, rich cultural life and pleasant living conditions, but were there to be a site where a common European historical memory could surface, it would certainly be here. I knew Berlin, from the Eastern side, in the 1970s and 1980s, and I recall very well the palpable feeling of menace that I had when the S-Bahn arrived at the Friedrichstraße station, last stop before freedom in the West, and the DDR border police, with guns at the ready, made quite sure that everyone got off. In 1992, I stumbled over a hole in the ground in the middle of nowhere, where a simple flight of stairs led to an austere U-Bahnhof called “Potsdamer Platz”. This year, I was witness to the demolition of the Communist “Palast der Republik”, and the next time I come a neo-Neo-Baroque replica of the Prussian royal palace will be standing in its place. If any kind of European spirit should indeed exist, it is surely in Berlin, where it will come to recognize itself.

The three months spent at the Wiko between May and July 2008 will remain a strong presence in both my personal and scholarly life. I hope the book that will be its fruit may bring the same openness and high intellectual standards I encountered here back to my homeland, the Czech Republic.



THE STORY OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY  
SALMAN H. BASHIER

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Born in 1964. Researcher at Van Leer Institute Jerusalem. Education: B.A. Haifa University, Philosophy-Sociology Departments, 1989. M.A. Haifa University, Philosophy Department, 1992. Ph.D. University of Utah, Middle East Center, 2000. Dissertation: *The Philosophy of the Limit: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Barzakh Concept and the Meaning of Infinity*. Publications: *Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Barzakh: The Concept of the Limit and the Relationship between God and the World* (2004). *The Story of Islamic Philosophy: Ibn Tufayl, Ibn al-‘Arabi and Others on the Limit between Naturalism and Traditionalism* (forthcoming). “Proofs for the Existence and Unity of God in Greek and Islamic Thought, with an Emphasis on Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Barzakh and its Role in Proving God’s Existence and Unity.” (*Transcendent Philosophy* 2, 1, 2001). “An Excursion into Mysticism: Plato and Ibn al-‘Arabi on the Knowledge of the Relationship between Sensible Objects and Intelligible Forms.” (*American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 77, 4, 2003). – Address: Van Leer Institute, 43 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem, 92182, Israel. E-Mail: bashiersalman@hotmail.com

I arrived at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin at the end of August. And even as I was climbing the stairs to my apartment in one of Wiko’s buildings, I found myself comparing the tense atmosphere that I left behind in Israel and the fifty minutes that we had to spend in the airplane due to a security warning with the atmosphere of peace and tranquility that surrounds Grunewald – the Green Forest.

I was one of those Fellows who chose to come to Wiko to take part in the intensive course in German. My group consisted of a small number of intermediate learners who enjoyed a special sense of humor in addition to eagerness to learn the language.

At the same time, I was writing responses to the reviewers of my project: *The Story of Islamic Philosophy: Ibn Tufayl, Ibn al-'Arabi and Others on the Limit between Naturalism and Traditionalism*. Thus it can be said that I was involved in two intensive courses at the same time, learning German and preparing my project for publication. At the beginning of December I received the good news that the project was approved for publication and I was given five months to complete the work and submit the final copy of the manuscript to my publisher. The work proved to be difficult also because I found it necessary to write a new introduction and conclusions and add a major chapter to the project.

*The Story of Islamic Philosophy* revolves around a philosophical story by the Andalusian Arabic philosopher Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185). Hayy Ibn Yaqzan (the Live Son of the Wakeful) is the name of the hero of Ibn Tufayl's story, a child who grew up on an isolated island away from society and the human touch. In accounting for his physical and intellectual development, Ibn Tufayl employs his sophisticated philosophical and scientific education to provide a concise account of the general history of the human species. At an early stage in the development of his life, Hayy succeeds in inventing means and tools to cope with the necessities of his physical environment. He imitates animals and follows their movements, but he soon gains mastery over the animal kingdom. Then he turns to pursuing his philosophical speculations and with his unaided reason he climbs the ladder of rationalistic inquiry and advances a great deal in his deliberations concerning the unifying principle in the physical world and then the metaphysical principal that governs its movements. Thanks to his distance from human social distractions and the purity of his natural, intuitive mind, Hayy excels in his logical deliberations and succeeds in drawing the best that can be drawn from his innate logical capacity. Hayy reaches a highly developed rational level. Unlike the rationalists among the philosophers, however, Hayy succeeds in realizing that reason or logical considerations have their limits and that man is more than his reason. This simple recognition that rationalism is, after all, only another phase in the evolution of the human intellectuality opens before Hayy's eyes an additional and extremely important dimension and layer of reality. This is the mystical layer that remains hidden from the awareness of the dogmatic rationalists among theologians and philosophers alike.

At the age of fifty, Hayy encounters human, religious society for the first time. Ibn Tufayl's concise but illuminating account of this peculiar encounter between the solitary one and the religious many is destined to teach us why religion, with its complicated laws and detailed ordinations, is needed for the sake of ordering the affairs of inferior humans who, due to their attachment to and constant occupation with the affairs of their community and

the mundane businesses of their world, must adhere to an inferior (religious) copy of the truth and who lack the capacity reserved for the illuminated ones to think for themselves. At the same time, the illuminated must keep intellectual and, even better, physical distance from humans. Due to his rather violent encounter with the members of the religious community, Hayy chooses to return to his solitary island, this time with another individual whose eyes are opened and who shows serious commitment to follow Hayy's path of illumination. The main lesson that Ibn Tufayl's philosophy teaches us is therefore that illumination is reserved for individuals and that dwelling in the social context not only does not contribute to the illuminative process, but also greatly inhibits and can even terminate it altogether.

The project deals also with another prominent figure among Islamic medieval thinkers and the greatest of Islamic mystics (Sufis), Muhyiddin Ibn al-'Arabi, who was born in 1165 in Andalusia and died in 1240 in Damascus and whose influence on subsequent Islamic thinkers is unmatched.

Among the major topics that the project treats are the origin of the world, the origin of the human being and human language, and the relationship between religion and philosophy. The work exposes the mythical roots of both philosophical naturalism and religious traditionalism and, by carefully analyzing philosophical, religious and mythical texts that deal with the aforementioned topics, it attempts to offer a new understanding of the limits as well as the possibilities of creating a unified vision of human reflection on persisting intellectual problems. In addition to Ibn Tufayl and Ibn al-'Arabi, the work provides a treatment of an important section of al-Farabi's *Book of Letters*, the Ninth Sort of Avicenna's *Allusions and Intimations* (al-Isharat wa-al-Tanbihat), the third part of Ghazali's *Niche of Lights* and the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

Despite the intense and difficult work, there were several occasions on which I could use a useful distraction from my occupation with the project. The Wiko Tuesday Colloquium provided such a highly demanding and, at the same time, highly enjoyable occasion. In less than one hour, each Fellow was expected to present the project in which he or she was involved, a project whose nature was in the process of unfolding even for himself or herself, and with which the scholar dealt in his or her own innovative way. It was clear to us that such a presentation by careful researchers at such a level of specialization was anything but a simple task. And yet with their unlimited spirit of support and patience, the Fellows made this difficult task most enjoyable indeed.

The Tuesday Colloquium posed a serious challenge to me personally. For most other Fellows, it was enough to mention the name of a modern thinker, say Kant or Spinoza, to have a general idea about the principle tenets of their thought and the social or historical circumstances of their lives. In my case, this privilege was not available. Despite the fact that Ibn al-‘Arabi is considered one of the most prominent Islamic thinkers of all times and certainly the greatest master of Islamic mysticism (Sufism), the majority of our Fellows did not even know his name. I must admit that this was very frustrating not only for the sake of delivering my lecture but also as a negative indicator of the ignorance of the world in general about a whole history of human intellectuality. And yet again our Fellows as well as the several visitors who came to the lecture proved to be most supporting as they heard and received the new discussion with such an enthusiasm and an encouraging spirit that it filled me with a feeling of wonderful satisfaction.

I enjoyed very much Wiko’s Tuesday dinners, especially as the Fellows loosened up after one or two glasses of good wine and a friendly conversation that was not necessarily related to intellectual concerns. The restaurant became louder and louder and from time to time you could hear loud laughter that announced the advent of the spirit of informality. Here you found past Fellows who came to bring memories back to mind gathering together with future Fellows who came to taste what it would soon be like, and then you – the present Fellow – find yourself in the middle and very much responsible for the gathering. Those from the past wish to know from you if it is still the same and those from the future wish to know how will it be. But the only thing that you know in this most wonderful time is the present joy that you would not want to replace with any pleasant memories or noble expectations. The Tuesday dinners were such a joyful time to me, a time that will linger in my memory for the longest time.

By May I had finally completed the work on the manuscript and was ready to send the final copy to my publisher. I still had two book reviews to write but I knew that members of my family were coming for a week visit and decided that it was time to take time out. After several months of continuous, intensive work, now I had the time to relax and see all those interesting places that I had had no real chance to see before in Berlin and the areas surrounding it. My guests loved Berlin. They admired most the order and the traffic quality in the city in addition to all the many attractions that Berlin offers for its visitors. Even after my relatives had left, I found myself simply unable to stop being on the move, and I continued to see more of Berlin. And inside myself I heard a voice saying that it was good that I did not expose myself earlier to the attractions of this beautiful city. Now I am

not talking about the places that even casual visitors to Berlin are recommended to visit right after they leave the airport. I am talking about a different experience in different places, small places whose special quality not even Berliners are aware of.

Time was pressing again, and again I had to befriend my writing desk for a number of weeks to do the book reviews that I was supposed to submit before the farewell party in the middle of July. After the farewell party, Fellows started to leave. Everyday you say bye to another face that you will probably never see again. After a year of knowing these special people it was not easy to depart from them. Even as you try to convince yourself that you might see them again one day, deep inside you know that it will never be the same experience of this communal gathering for a year with such special people. Some philosopher would say here that the experience as a whole is more than the sum of its members, but it is not only the people and the time that you spend with them, but also the place in which you spend the time.

Within the context of my fellowship I participated in EUME (Europe in the Middle East – The Middle East in Europe), a multidisciplinary program that deals with important subjects that have to do with the relationship between the Middle East and Europe. The program was rich with intellectual and cultural activities and I made my humble contribution to the program by delivering a lecture in one of its seminars. What I liked most about the program was the golden opportunity that it gave me to meet with scholars from different places in the Arab and Islamic world and to discuss issues of concern with them. I noticed that a number of Wiko Fellows participated in the lectures in EUME's seminars and I think that Wiko should encourage its Fellows to participate even more, since this only adds more depth and significance to the program. Finally, among the Wiko staff I would like to thank especially the library and the computer services. I must say that their service made my work, with all the pressure and the hard work, not only possible but also most enjoyable.



LINKING EVOLUTION AND MEDICINE  
CARL T. BERGSTROM

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1989–1993 Harvard University: B.A. in Biology. 1993–1998, Stanford University: Ph.D. in Biological Sciences. Game-theoretic models of signalling among relatives. 1998–2001, Emory University: postdoctoral researcher, Department of Biology. 2001–2006, University of Washington: Assistant Professor, Department of Zoology / Department of Biology. 2006–present, University of Washington: Associate Professor, Department of Biology. Recent Publications: M. Rosvall and C. T. Bergstrom. “Maps of random walks on complex networks reveal community structure.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences USA* 105 (2008). V. E. Pitzer, S. J. Olsen, C. T. Bergstrom, S. F. Dowell, and M. Lipsitch. “Little Evidence for Genetic Susceptibility to Influenza A (H5N1) from Family Clustering Data.” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* (July 2007). M. Rosvall and C. T. Bergstrom. “An information-theoretic framework for resolving community structure in complex networks.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences USA* 104 (2007). – Address: Department of Biology, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-1800, USA.  
www: <http://octavia.zoology.washington.edu>

In an age of emerging infectious diseases, ecologists and evolutionary biologists have significant contributions to offer to medical research and practice. Containing the spread of antibiotic-resistant bacteria in hospitals, preventing avian flu from triggering a human pandemic, treating a cancerous tumor, or even slowing the progression of HIV within an individual patient – each of these problems is literally an exercise in applied evolutionary biology. In each case, physicians and public health experts are battling against an evolving enemy. In order to win, we need to know how that evolution is likely to proceed, and how

we can influence its direction. In order to anticipate and to contain disease spread and disease evolution, we need to understand the underlying population biology and population genetics of both pathogen and host.

Conversely, medical science offers one of the greatest resources to biologists interested in the “basic science” aspects of evolution. Through the wealth of available data and the rapidity of pathogen evolution, infectious disease biology offers to population biologists an opportunity to observe evolution taking place in “real time”, and as such provides a rich set of study systems for biologists who are interested in the basic ecological and evolutionary principles.

The fact that in medicine we often deal with rapidly evolving pathogens is only one of the many connections between the disciplines of evolution and medicine. Other connections reflect the fact that we ourselves, the beneficiaries of medical science, are evolved organisms. Without understanding how evolution has shaped our physiological and psychological responses to the world, we lack a full understanding of the nature of both health and of disease. To know how to promote health and avoid certain pathologies, it helps to understand the evolutionary origin of the responses involved in each.

Despite these seemingly obvious and clearly important connections, medical education and evolutionary biology have remained largely disconnected. Medical curricula rarely include courses in evolution, and relatively few (though this is changing) evolutionary biologists have a deep understanding of any area of experimental or clinical medicine.

This past year at the Wissenschaftskolleg, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to participate in a revolutionary working group led by Dr. Randolph Nesse, with the aim of engineering a unification of these fields. While I was only able to visit for four short weeks, due to the constraints of having young children at home in Seattle, I was able to make up for the restricted time with an intensity of work and focus that is rarely ever possible at home.

Meeting for several hours a day while I was there, as a group we sketched out the broad connections between the disciplines and drew upon one another’s diverse backgrounds in order to expand our own understanding of how these aspects of science fit together. We looked to the future, carefully evaluating alternative approaches to bringing these fields together, while at the same time always questioning the utility of doing so and moving forward only where we could solidly justify the benefits. I arrived in Berlin with a firm understanding of my own research area – infectious disease evolution – but largely ignorant (and sometimes skeptical) of the other connections between evolution and medicine.



I left Berlin with a much fuller background in the connections between evolution and mental health, evolution and nutritional health, evolution and genetic disease, to mention just a few examples. I hope I was able to contribute a small measure of my own background in infectious disease to the understanding of the other members of the group.

And I was able to be part of the founding of what I believe will be a very valuable service to our research community, the *Evolution and Medicine Review*, edited by Wissenschaftskolleg Fellows Randolph Nesse and Catriona MacCallum. One of the fascinating aspects of our discussions was the focus on how we could set up the appropriate communications structures to move the field forward. In 2008, a traditional scholarly society and associated print journal might not be the best way to go. Instead, we decided (among other things) to establish a new communication model, which we term a WeView – short for Web Review, that lies somewhere between commentary and review journal, a dynamic interactive forum with top-quality article content written by the leading people in the field and commented upon by the community at large. The *Evolution and Medicine Review* is a fully open-access, creative-commons licensed platform, available on the web at <http://evmedreview.com/>. I have already contributed several pieces – rather like short review papers or commentaries – in my capacity as a senior correspondent. This is a great venue for promoting ideas that have been published but perhaps underappreciated in the literature and for generating enthusiasm and interest in fruitful areas of evolution and medicine. Given my own personal interests in the evolving world of scholarly communication, this was a particularly exciting and gratifying project for me, and seeing it come to fruition serves as the highlight of my time in Berlin during 2007–2008.



DIE EVOLUTION AUS DER KISTE –  
ODER ICH HAB NOCH 20 KISTEN  
IN BERLIN!

HANS K. BIESALSKI

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Geboren 1949 in Marburg/Lahn. 1971–74 Studium der Physik Universität Mainz; 1973–79 Medizinstudium in Bonn und Mainz; 1975–79 Hilfsassistent am Institut für Kernphysik, 1979 Approbation als Arzt; 1979 Wissenschaftlicher Assistent am Physiologischen Institut der Universität Mainz; 1981 Promotion zum Dr. med.; 1985 Berufung auf eine C 1-Stelle am Institut für Physiologische Chemie der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz; 1987 Habilitation; 1993 Ernennung zum apl. Professor; 1993 Berufung auf eine C 4-Professur an das Institut für Biologische Chemie und Ernährungswissenschaften der Universität Hohenheim; 1995 Ernennung zum Geschäftsführenden Direktor des Institutes für Biologische Chemie und Ernährungswissenschaften der Universität Hohenheim. Veröffentlichungen: (Mit J. Frank, S. C. Beck, F. Heinrich, B. Illek, R. Reifen, H. Gollnick, M. W. Seeliger, B. Wissinger und E. Zrenner) „Biochemical but not clinical vitamin A deficiency results from mutations in the gene for retinol binding protein.“ *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 69, 5 (1999). (Mit D. Nohr) „New aspects in vitamin A metabolism: The role of retinyl esters as systemic and local sources for retinol in mucous epithelia.“ *J. Nutr.* 134 (2004). (Mit G. R. Chichili, D. Nohr, M. Schaffer und J. von Lintig) „Beta-Carotene conversion into vitamin A in human retinal pigment epithelial cells.“ *Invest. Ophthalmol. Vis. Sci.* 46, 10 (2005). – Adresse: Institut für Biologische Chemie und Ernährungswissenschaft, Universität Hohenheim (140a), Garbenstr. 30, 70593 Stuttgart. E-Mail: bisal@uni-hohenheim.de

Mit 20 Kisten über Jahre gesammelter Literatur bin ich am 1. 10. 2007 in Berlin eingetroffen, um am Wissenschaftskolleg mein Projekt zur Evolution der Karotinoide und Retinoide zu bearbeiten. Der freundliche Helfer, der mir anbot, meine Kisten (nicht ahnend wie

viele, neben der Literatur noch weitere 15) in meine Wohnung für das Jahr zu tragen (leider im 3. Stock der Villa Walther – ohne Fahrstuhl), war anschließend mehr als erschöpft. Voraussehend, war er eine Woche vor meinem Auszug in Urlaub gegangen – er hätte dann 20 Kisten zusätzlich schleppen müssen. Stellt sich die Frage: Mit was bin ich gekommen? Was, neben 20 Kisten, habe ich aus meinem Jahr im Wiko mitgenommen und fast noch wichtiger, was habe ich dagelassen?

Mit was bin ich gekommen?

Was war in besagten initialen 20 Kisten: sortierte Sonderdrucke mit der Idee, das wissenschaftliche Feld der Karotinoide, zu denen auch das Betakarotin, der gelbe Farbstoff der Karotte gehört, mit dem der Retinoide – Vitamin A und seine Metabolite – zu verbinden. Zwei der ca. 500 oder möglicherweise auch mehr Karotinoide können zu Vitamin A verstoffwechselt werden, genau darin liegt die Herausforderung und das Problem. Während die Karotinoide im Wesentlichen als sogenannte Antioxidanzien wirksam sind und auf diese Weise Pflanzen und Tiere, einschließlich der Menschen, vor den oxidierenden und damit schädlichen Wirkungen von Sauerstoff und UV-Licht schützen können, sind es die Retinoide, die wie Hormone Zellwachstum und Entwicklung regulieren. Dazu gehören auch Vorgänge, die in der Antwort der Zelle auf ebendiese schädlichen oxidierenden Wirkungen bestehen. Untersucht man also als Karotinoidforscher die Effekte von Karotinoiden als Antioxidanzien, so kommt man möglicherweise zu Schlussfolgerungen, die ein Retinoidforscher als reine Vitamin-A-Wirkung beschreiben würde. Umgekehrt könnten Vitamin-A-Wirkungen durch einen Karotinoidforscher wiederum als eben reine Karotinoidwirkung gesehen werden. Wie könnte man die beiden Forscher vereinen? Für jeden 10 Kisten und diese gut gemischt? Der Vorteil ist, dass die Karotinoide entwicklungs-geschichtlich viel älter sind als die Retinoide, die Evolution also lange auf die Retinoidkisten verzichten konnte. Genau darin liegt aber der mögliche Ansatz, die beiden Gebiete zu verbinden: Wann, d. h. bei welcher Spezies ist in der Evolution erstmals eine Spaltung des Provitamin A ( $\beta$ -Karotin) zu Vitamin A zu beobachten? Die Antwort auf diese Frage steckte, so meinte ich, in den 20 Kisten. Also auspacken, sortieren und loslegen. Alles ganz einfach, wenn da nicht neben der wunderschönen Dachwohnung, dem Herbstlaub vor dem Fenster und der kontemplativen und Visionen induzierenden Stimmung das Wiko gewesen wäre!

Was habe ich mitgenommen? bzw. was hat mir das Wiko in die weiteren 20 Kisten gelegt?

20 Kisten mehr! Und einen neuen Ansatz! Alle guten Ideen verpackt in 20 Kisten wurden schon zu Beginn nachhaltig durcheinandergeworfen und mussten ganz neu sortiert werden. Schuld daran, die Dienstagskolloquien, allen voran das erste: Horst Bredekamp, der Bildakt! Dabei in der Diskussion die Idee – welche Bedeutung haben Farben für die Auswahl von Lebensmitteln? Schließlich sind Karotinoide die wichtigsten farbgebenden Substanzen. Ein Bildakt – im Sinne eines Obstkorbess lässt manchem das Wasser im Munde zusammenlaufen – wenn, ja wenn dieser Obstkorb farbig dargestellt ist. Schwarzweiß wird derselbe Obstkorb als Ornament wahrgenommen und der Mund bleibt trocken. Schnell an den Schreibtisch und hier so ziemlich das Schlimmste, was einem Jäger und Sammler passieren kann. Das Wiko bietet Dienstleistungen, die mich an meinem Ursprungsziel – Schnittmenge aus zwei mal 10 Kisten – in verheerender Weise behindert haben: 1. Freier Zugang zu vielen wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften im Internet! 2. Online Bestellung über den Bibliotheksservice des Wiko für alle Artikel, die man nicht so schnell herunterladen kann. 3. Jede Menge Papier, Druckerpatronen, EDV-Service und Kopier-einrichtungen etc. etc. Und all das angeboten von immer freundlichen, hilfsbereiten, charmannten und kaum in ihrer Nachsicht und Herzlichkeit zu irritierenden Mitgliedern des Wiko Staffs.

Also dank der so wunderbaren Bremsklötze gesucht und gefunden: Es gibt tatsächlich nachweisbare Zusammenhänge zwischen Farbgebung und Wahl der Lebensmittel (drei Kisten neue Sonderdrucke). Mittels MRT konnte beobachtet werden, dass bei Normalgewichtigen bestimmte Hirnregionen beim Betrachten von Lebensmitteln in Farbe reagieren. Betrachten sie dasselbe Bild als Schwarz-Weiß-Aufnahme, so wird eine andere Hirnregion schwach angeregt. Bei Essgestörten dagegen entspricht die Reaktion auf eine farbige Abbildung der Reaktion der Normalgewichtigen auf die schwarzweiße. Wunderbar geeignet für den eigenen Vortrag, der eigentlich nur erklären wollte, wie das so ist mit der Chemie der Karotte und dem Menschen, der sie verzehrt (übrigens nutzt die rohe Karotte bezüglich des  $\beta$ -Karotins gar nichts, da dieses nur aufgenommen werden kann, wenn die Karotte als Saft oder gekocht verzehrt wird). Aber die Vorträge und, weit schlimmer, die gemeinsamen Mittagessen (immer wunderbar und in einer herzlichen Atmosphäre) füllen immer neue Kisten. Gerade die gemeinsamen Mittagessen, immer wieder ein anderer Tisch – mal diskutiert, was Napoleon mit Goethe gegessen haben könnte, mal erörtert, ob manche Bibelzitate durchaus auch etwas mit Ernährung zu tun haben könnten und letztlich, ob auch Tiere bzgl. der Farbwahl eigene Prioritäten haben könnten – nicht nur Bienen, haben mindestens 5 weitere Kisten gefüllt. Eine Kiste geht dann noch ganz separat

auf das Konto von Michael Fried, der mich anregte zu prüfen, ob es Beschreibungen geben könnte, die eine Beziehung zwischen Farbe, Bild und Betrachter herstellen. Sein Vortrag „The Moment of Caravaggio“ zeigte auch ein Stillleben mit Obst und zeitgleich einen Artikel in *Nature*, der der Frage nachgeht, warum der Betrachter eines Fotos, auf dem eine Schale mit Obst zu sehen ist, je nach Reflexion des Lichtes unterschiedlich auf das Bild reagiert. Es gibt sie also, diese Zusammenhänge, wie sich nach dreitägiger Reise durch die Datenbanken des Internet und die immer freundliche Hilfe der Bibliothek zweifelsfrei zeigen ließ.

Bis zum eigenen Vortrag noch wenige Wochen und vor lauter Kisten das anfangs so klare Bild völlig verstellt. Verstellt nicht nur durch die unzähligen Anregungen und Irritationen, verstellt auch, weil der Naturwissenschaftler, plötzlich mit Geisteswissenschaften konfrontiert, Begrenzungen erkennt, die vorher scheinbar gar nicht vorhanden waren. Vielleicht ein Tipp: Einziehen in die Wohnung des Wikos mit allen Kisten und sofort jeden Kontakt vermeiden, nur Kisten sortieren und schreiben. Am Ende steht dann das geplante Werk – aber man geht wie man kam, mit 20 Kisten und nicht mehr.

Dann der eigene Vortrag: Was haben Blaualgen und das Karottenbaby gemeinsam? Wenige der vielen Vorträge, die ich bis dato gehalten habe, habe ich so intensiv vorbereitet – sogar den Text weitgehend ausformuliert, was zu einer weiteren Kiste geführt hat. Im Gegensatz zu den naturwissenschaftlichen Vorträgen, wie ich sie von Kongressen als Aneinanderreihung von Abbildungen – schließlich muss alles belegt sein – kenne, so konnte ich im Wiko feststellen, dass Geisteswissenschaftler (einschließlich Juristen) Texte ausformulieren und „vorlesend“ vortragen, was zweifellos ein konzentrierteres Zuhören erlaubt als die in den Naturwissenschaften weit verbreiteten „Begleitbemerkungen“ zu den mehr oder weniger lesbaren Power-Point-Darstellungen. Hinzu kam, dass ich meine Botschaften auch verständlich rüberbringen wollte – ist mir fast gelungen, was Luca Giuliani in seiner charmant ironischen Art wie folgt festgehalten hat: „Ich habe das Gefühl, dass ich das Wesentliche also mindestens 50% verstanden habe – das hat auch daran gelegen, dass ich mir gesagt habe, folge ihm nicht in die Tiefe.“

Die anschließende Diskussion: 3 neue Kisten. Eine Anregung die Frage: Haben Zellen einen freien Willen? Grundsätzlich könnte man dies bejahen, wenn man unterstellt, dass die Aufforderung einer Zelle an ihre Nachbarin, sich doch bitte mittels Apoptose (programmierter Zelltod) zu entfernen, von dieser trotz eines entsprechenden Signals ignoriert werden kann.

Zurück an den Schreibtisch und das Problem eingekreist – und siehe da, es ist gar nicht so neu und wird immer wieder einmal diskutiert.

Besonders verheerend und völlig neue Kisten generierend sind allerdings die Donnerstage: Empfang mit anschließendem gemeinsamen Abendessen! Der exzellente Wein und das mindestens so gute Essen, oft auch als Büffet, ergeben (nicht immer, aber doch oft genug) einen kommunikativen Speed, der zu visionären Höhenflügen Anlass gibt, für die man dann das ganze Wochenende Zeit hat – Abstürze inbegriffen und am Ende 4 Kisten. Nicht alle haben etwas mit dem eigentlichen Thema zu tun. Neue Anregungen, wie Klimaforschung, Interpretation von Bibelstellen oder aber auch die dringende Nachfrage des Schriftstellers Dževad Karahasan: Wie bringt man im Mittelalter jemanden durch Ernährung „aus Versehen“ um, sind durchaus auch kistenfüllend. So auch eine Kiste zu diesem Thema, welches so manche Neuigkeit erbrachte, wie z. B.: 10 g Safran sind ebenso tödlich wie eine größere Menge Rosmarinöl. Beides im Mittelalter beliebte Methoden, aber eben elektiv und nicht zufällig. Die gewünschte Methode, einen Unfall durch Botulinumtoxine ist im Mittelalter schwer vorstellbar (entstehen in luftdicht verpackten tierischen Lebensmitteln, wie z. B. Dosenwurst). Nach Rücksprache mit Toxikologen und zunehmender Kistenfüllung dann die Lösung: Eine Hasenpastete, lange genug gelagert, könnte, wenn der Hase von genug Teig (luftdicht) umgeben ist, den gewünschten Erfolg (Besiedlung mit den entsprechenden toxinbildenden Bakterien) haben.

Es würde den Rahmen sprengen, alle die anderen Diskussionen und Anregungen (auch die, die nicht zur Generierung einer neuen Kiste geführt haben) hier aufzuzählen. Es liegt, so scheint mir, im Rückblick auf dieses Jahr, am Wesen des Wiko, dass es eine Vielzahl von flüchtigen Erinnerungen gibt, die sich zu einem positiven Gefühl ohne substanzielle Erinnerung verbinden, und dass es einige wenige Ereignisse gibt, die bleiben und durchaus prägenden Charakter haben. Dieses Wiko-Feeling, könnte auch heißen „Wir Kommen gerne immer wieder“, ist nicht zuletzt auch ganz wesentlich auf den Wiko-Staff mit dem Leitsatz „Fellows first“ zurückzuführen und das Selbstverständnis und die Unauffälligkeit, mit dem dieses umgesetzt wird. So besehen wäre die Beschreibung der Rundumversorgung durch den Wiko Staff mehrere Kisten wert.

Wer richtig mitgezählt hat, kommt auf 19 zusätzliche Kisten. Eine, die noch fehlende, ist gefüllt mit Erinnerungen an das Wiko. Mit Theaterbesuchen, Konzerten, Vorträgen, Radtouren und eben immer wieder Gesprächen und Anregungen. Die Kiste mit den „Souvenirs“ ist noch unausgepackt – am Ende soll ein Bericht daraus werden – vielleicht in Wiko-ähnlicher Atmosphäre, aber: der Alltag hat mich wieder, mit allem, was ich keinen

Tag vermisst habe, aber er lässt sich besser leben als vor der Wiko-Zeit, ein Zustand, der bei bleibender Gelassenheit hoffentlich noch lange anhält.

Bleibt die letzte Frage: Was habe ich dagelassen?

Oder anders ausgedrückt – wie viel „Kiste“ ist von mir im Wiko geblieben? Eine Frage, die nicht ich, sondern das Wiko beantworten muss.



HOME AGAIN IN GRUNEWALD  
NORMAN BIRNBAUM

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Norman Birnbaum is an American sociologist. He is an emeritus professor at the Georgetown University Law Center and a member of the editorial board of *The Nation*. – Address: 2815 Bellevue Terrace NW, Washington DC 20007, USA.  
E-Mail: red21@starpower.net

The three months I spent as Guest at the Wissenschaftskolleg – January, February, March – were not my first ones in its emphatically hospitable surroundings. In the calendar year 1986, I was a Guest Scholar at the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, but also a Guest at the Kolleg. I lived there for a while, subsequently moved to an apartment in Schöneberg, but participated rather fully in the life of the place. In 2008, I had the advantage of an apartment in Villa Walther – one on the fourth floor in the part of the building without a lift, to the considerable approval of my cardiologist. I suppose that there is a symbolic connection between my daily pre-Alpine ascents and my general enjoyment of the visit, to be summarized in the American phrase, “there is life in the old boy yet.” Certainly (I was born in 1926) I found the experience an interesting mixture of the renewal of old attachments and contact with a Germany strikingly different from the one I first visited as a student in 1952.

The project that brought me to Berlin is a memoir of a life spent exploring a variety of worlds. I was born into the Eastern European Jewish immigration in New York. My grandfather had served His Imperial Highness the Tsar in the Russian army, then left his native Radom, Poland for our city, then as now a great portal to our nation’s promises for newcomers. My father was a schoolteacher and administrator, and I had the good fortune



to grow up in a house with books and a nervous awareness of the nineteen-thirties – great years in the United States of Franklin Roosevelt, but clouded by Europe’s preparations for war, and its actual descent into disaster. I absorbed that optimistic progressivism that was the ethos of the New Deal, of course learned of the warring Marxist eschatologies of Stalin and Trotsky, recollect to this day the pitched whine of Hitler’s voice on the radio, and remember the young men who returned after defending the Spanish Republic in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

It was a febrile milieu, and the journalists, scientists, scholars, and writers who emerged from it know their debts to it. We were, however, impelled to move on, and move on we did.

I came to know the intellectuals who wrote for the New Deal weekly, *The Nation*, and the modernist quarterly, *Partisan Review*. At sixteen, I went to New England for my college education, at Williams – a college definitely belonging to a much earlier set of immigrants. My college years were interrupted by a return to New York during the war, when I worked for the US propaganda agency, the Office of War Information, and came to know Americans from every part of the country.

When I graduated from Williams in 1947 I moved to Harvard in quest of a doctorate in sociology. My studies in social science were disappointing. I did not believe in the development of a “science” of society on the model of the natural sciences; our teachers somehow regarded matters of class, gender, and race as off limits; and their contribution to the intellectual life of the university was to invent circumlocutions for the assertions that the US was a consensual society (in the epoch of the great persecutor, Senator McCarthy) and that we were in the vanguard of the historical process of “modernization” that would sooner rather than later alter every society on earth.

These were imperial illusions about which I had imperfectly articulated, but profound, doubts. The doubts came not only from American radicalism but also from reading decidedly non-radical Europeans. American Progressivism was a noble but localized world view, and I gradually experienced the need to develop another one. I was helped by joining the mainstream of Harvard life, living in a residential unit of the college as a tutor, and teaching in the General Education program. I also became friendly with Carl Kaysen and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who later went to the Kennedy White House, with Henry Kissinger who went to Nixon’s, and with H. Stuart Hughes and Morton White, who kept their distance from the prevailing complacency.

My own way out of thinking conventionally was to examine a phenomenon outside our own historical experience. The US is a Protestant nation, its spiritual roots lie in the Reformation – but so do those of many other histories, including modern Germany’s.

Encouraged by my teacher Talcott Parsons, I found in Troeltsch and Weber some of the answers to a question that had perplexed me since boyhood: why Nazism? The Heidelberg friends suggested that the Lutheran doctrine of the two realms was at the basis of German political quietism – but what underlay, social-historically, the German Reformation itself? I decided to write a thesis on the Reformation in the German cities, following Weber’s suggestion that inquiries of this sort were needed to complement his work on the social psychological consequences of doctrine.

I came to Germany in 1952 devoid of direct contact with German culture and history – even if of course I had met older and younger refugees from Nazism, Jewish and Gentile, and some post-1945 visitors to Harvard. My first year in Germany, 1952–53, was spent moving through doors half open, half shut – into the half lights of the German experience. Years later, when I went to teach at Oxford, I had the impression of turning the pages of a novel about the university. In my first year in Germany, I frequently felt as if I had stepped into a film – or rather, that I spent entire days at the movies, alternating vertiginously between the Expressionism of the twenties and the sobriety of the late forties. I did some work in Church history and theology, but I concentrated on experiencing the history of Germany, live.

I did not return to the US after the end of the academic year, but moved to the United Kingdom, where I taught for eleven years, followed by another two as a visiting professor at the University of Strasbourg. I had met my future wife at Marburg, we had children in England who grew up bilingually, and we went often to Germany. I knew not only figures like Abendroth and Kogon, Habermas and Hennis, and of course the Frankfurt School patriarchs Adorno and Horkheimer, but also a very varied cast of characters, including Schelsky, the Confessional Church theologians, and persons in the Group 47. I also, occasionally, visited the German Democratic Republic, from which I was barred in 1986 until the changes of 1989: I had been friendly with the dissidents who later constituted the Neues Forum.

Upon my return to the US in 1966, my contacts with Germany, if anything, intensified.

In the period of the student movement, I was one of its American interlocutors. My return to the US brought a three-fold re-integration – in academic life, with chairs at Amherst College and later Georgetown; in intellectual life, with membership in the editorial

boards of *Partisan Review* and *The Nation*; and in politics, where I worked with the United Auto Workers and figures like Senator Edward Kennedy. I came to know Willy Brandt and his circle (Horst Ehmke and Erhard Eppler) quite well. In the period of the German peace movement, the campaign against the stationing of the Euro-missiles in Germany, my house in Washington was a plaque tournant for it.

During my residence in 1986, I drew upon all of these experiences to write a book on American political and social thought, *The Radical Renewal: The Politics Of Ideas In Modern America* (Pantheon, 1988). In 2008, I came to continue the difficult process of settling my spiritual accounts – to work on a memoir. Obviously, Germany had changed in a half-century full of larger historical events: but which changes were salient and which ones carried portents of the future? When in February I presented my thoughts on coming to Germany in 1952, my colleagues posed questions so acute that, afterward, I could have drawn up a list of alternative answers to each of them. I profited from their interest. I was, indeed, talking about the Germany of their parents and grandparents – and however refined the questions of their children and grandchildren, they refracted the historical experience of several generations in ways I found immensely instructive.

Writing a memoir is anything but an experience with the linear properties of narrative. It is an inquiry into the meaning (rather, meanings) of the past – for the sake of making sense of the present. Personal insufficiencies, errors of professional and political judgment, injustices too often committed as well as occasionally suffered, combine to bring life to a specter: what might have been. Still, one has to live with the consequences of what actually happened, however tortuous the line between past and present. The responses of my colleagues to my recollections were decidedly therapeutic: they found these worth listening to.

That in itself was a major inspiration to persist. I thank the Wissenschaftskolleg and the Fellows for a splendid visit.



DAS WIKO ALS LEBENSFORM  
RÜDIGER CAMPE

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Studium der Germanistik, Latinistik und Philosophie in Bochum, Freiburg und Paris; Promotion in deutscher Literaturwissenschaft in Freiburg, Assistentur und Habilitation in Essen. Mellon-Fellow, Wissenschaftspreis der Aby-Warburg-Gesellschaft, Gastprofessuren in Deutschland und den USA. – Im Mittelpunkt meines Interesses stand und steht die Frage nach dem Ort der Literatur in der Moderne. Das Ende der alteuropäischen Rhetorik und Poetik und die Anfänge der Ästhetik im 18. Jahrhundert sind Forschungsthemen; in diesem Zusammenhang Bezüge zur Psychologie (Affekt und Ausdruck) und zur wissenschaftlichen Probabilistik (Spiel der Wahrscheinlichkeit). Das Gegenstück zum alteuropäischen System der poetologischen Formen und rhetorischen Figuren ist für mich der Roman des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts und sein ganz anderer Formbegriff. In den Vordergrund treten – nicht zuletzt durch das Jahr am Wiko – jetzt zudem eher systematische und anthropologische Fragen: Was sind Evidenz? Bildlichkeit? Empathie? Fürsprache? – Mein Lieblingsautor 2007–2008: Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. – Adresse: Department of German, Yale University, William L. Harkness Hall, P.O. Box 208210, New Haven, CT 06520-8210, USA.

Das Jahr am Wiko war beruflich eine Zwischenzeit: Seit 2001 hatte ich eine Professur an der Johns Hopkins University inne; 2007 habe ich den Ruf nach Yale angenommen.

Natürlich war auch mein erster Eindruck am Wiko: die große Freiheit im Grunewald. Keine Sitzungen, keine Sprechstunden oder Verwaltungsaufgaben standen an, nicht einmal mehr Seminare oder Besprechungstermine. Nichts als lesen und schreiben, von morgens bis abends. Aber dann gab es – von den Opern- und Theateraufführungen, zu denen

wir bald aufbrechen, und den dann doch nicht abgesagten Vortragsterminen zunächst einmal ganz abgesehen – eine unscheinbare kleine Regie: am Montag das gemeinsame Mittagessen zur Selbstbedienung im Speiseraum des Wiko; am Dienstag das vormittägliche Kolloquium mit anschließendem servierten Mittagessen; am Mittwoch wieder die Montagskonstellation; am Donnerstag kein Mittag-, sondern ein Abendessen; am Freitag wieder das Mittagessen zur Selbstbedienung. Am Wochenende ist der Fellow sich selbst überlassen. Die Regie schien auf den ersten Blick einförmig, mit der größten Sparsamkeit an Variation war aber jeder Tag der Woche auch wieder ein bisschen anders ausgestaltet. Ich merkte also spätestens von der zweiten Woche an, wie man in einen schwebenden Rhythmus hineinversetzt wurde – kaum spürbar und doch in subtiler Weise wirksam. Ob die Termine für die Mittag- und Abendessen und also für die Gespräche zur Sache oder weniger zur Sache nun günstig gewählt waren oder nicht, war dabei für mich eigentlich nicht sehr wichtig. (Trotzdem war es ein Thema der Gespräche während dieser Treffen und Mahlzeiten, und sicher bedeutete es für jeden einzelnen etwas Unterschiedliches.) Wichtig war, dass Lesen und Schreiben damit selbst in eine Art von Lebensform eingelassen waren, deren Mittelpunkt sie werden konnten – eine Form, die sich sonst gar nicht entfalten kann, weil der normale Tag an der Universität von ganz anderen Termin- und E-Mail-Kaskaden durchkreuzt wird. Was einem sonst selten bewusst wird, zeigte sich daran: Auch Lesen und Schreiben sind Tätigkeiten, die in einer Art von Regie ihren inneren Verfahrenssinn und mit diesem Verfahrenssinn auch erst ihre Form finden. Mir fiel eine Bemerkung von Kafka im Tagebuch ein: Schreiben, sagt Kafka dort, sei eine Tätigkeit wie alle anderen – mit dem Unterschied, dass diese eine Tätigkeit von allen anderen abhängig sei.

Spätestens als mir diese Assoziation kam, fiel mir auf, dass das ja eigentlich mein Thema, mein Projekt für das anstehende Jahr war: Ich wollte mehr darüber herausfinden, worin das Faszinosum von Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–99) und seinen *Sudelbüchern* liegt. Sicher gibt es die berühmten Aphorismen zum Verhältnis von Denken und Sprechen – „*Es denkt*, sollte man sagen, so wie man sagt: *es blitzt*“ –, und sicher findet man Beobachtungen höchster Intensität: „Meine Hand im Schlaf auf eine Falte eines seidnen Vorhangs geschlagen, diese Empfindung kann zu einem Traum aufwachsen und blühen, dessen Beschreibung ein Buch erfordert.“ Aber der Lichtenberg-Effekt – wenn man das Wort parallel zu den elektromagnetischen Lichtenberg-Figuren nehmen kann – schien mir noch einmal mehr als die Sammlung ungewöhnlicher Einsichten und überraschender Wendungen: eben die Autorschaft eines großen Lese- und Schreibexzessivums, Autorschaft im Sinne dessen, was man mit modernem Zungenschlag „das Schreiben“ nennt.

Ich hatte das Thema im Voraus skizziert und auch schon einen kleineren Aufsatz dazu geschrieben. Aber erst jetzt wurde mir klar, worum es ging. Seit Lichtenberg im 19. Jahrhundert das Eigentum der Literaturliebhaber und -wissenschaftler geworden war, hatte man das Schreiben in seinen *Sudelbüchern* als Aphorismus verstanden, eine romantische Kunstform, die das Ganze im Teil, das Große im Kleinen gestaltet. Inzwischen hatten uns die Historiker der Bildungsgeschichte und besonders der Wissenschaftsgeschichte gezeigt: Was Lichtenberg hier macht, ist nichts anderes als die Fortführung einer weitverzweigten Aufschreibe- und Notierpraxis der frühen Neuzeit – eine Praxis des Exzerpierens, des Ausschneidens aus Kontexten, des Neumontierens in andere Zusammenhänge, des Abschreibens und Kommentierens, Stehenlassens und Veränderns. So funktionierten die Collectanea der Lateinschüler für die Stilübungen, aber auch die Notathefte, die Bacon empfiehlt und die sich parallel zur Praxis des Experimentierens und Beobachtens seit dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert ausbildeten. Während man Lichtenberg in den *Sudelbüchern* so lange als den Vorläufer der romantischen Aphoristiker und ihrer Kunstform gesehen hatte, war sein Schreiben also in Wahrheit nichts anderes als eine alltägliche Übung, ein studentisches Exerzitium und eine Technik von Gelehrten? Wollte ich also, daran anknüpfend, Lichtenberg den Wissenschaften und ihrer Geschichte wiedergeben?

Die Lebensform des Wiko hat mir sozusagen die Antwort gegeben – und ich möchte hinzufügen, die sehr engagierten Kommentare vieler Fellows, ob sie nun mehr an der Literatur oder an der Wissenschaft interessiert waren, haben mir die Antwort verdeutlicht: Es geht nicht um eine bloße historische Korrektur, und es geht nicht darum, das literarische Ereignis der *Sudelbücher* in einer allgemeinen Geschichte des Wissens und seiner Praktiken verschwinden zu lassen. In der Regie und der Form von Lichtenbergs Lese- und Schreibpraktiken geht es um eine unserer Moderne voraus und zu Grunde liegende Erfahrung, in der Schreiben und Lesen die Möglichkeiten für Unvorhersehbares schaffen, indem sie sich als eine Form des Lebens ausbilden. Damit sind ästhetische und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtung keine Gegensätze mehr. Das war – sehr allgemein und grob formuliert – die Entdeckung für mich, die es ohne das Wiko, seine Lebensform und meine Gesprächspartner wahrscheinlich nicht gegeben hätte: Nur wenn es mir gelingt, in den wissenschaftlichen Prozeduren die ästhetischen Möglichkeiten zu zeigen – ohne den Unterschied zu leugnen –, kann ich formulieren, was mich an den berühmten Exzerpt- und Notizheften Lichtenbergs fasziniert.

So wurde dann auch klar, dass – wie ich immer gehofft hatte – mein Projekt zu den *Sudelbüchern* eine Fallstudie für das mich seit längerem beschäftigende große Thema der

Verfahren der Evidenz zwischen Descartes und Kant, zwischen der Mitte des 17. und dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ist. Denn gerade darin stimmen die Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts – ihr Gründer Baumgarten – und die Philosophen des Experiments von Boyle bis Lichtenberg überein: Der Effekt des von sich aus Einsichtigen ist in Prozesse seiner Herbeiführung eingelassen. Evidenz gibt es nur in der Form ihrer Verfahren.

Damit ist das Thema eines Kolloquiums genannt, das ich mit einer Arbeitsgruppe vom MPI für Wissenschaftsgeschichte am Wiko organisieren konnte. Es ging um die Frage, inwiefern „Verfahren“ – vielleicht eher „Proto-Verfahren“ (Gunther Teubner) – Organisationsformen eigenen Rechts und eigener Logik gegenüber Methode im wissenschaftlichen und Stil im künstlerischen Sinne sind. Verfahren in diesem Sinne beschreiben Anschlussmöglichkeiten ohne vorangehende Regeln bzw. Herstellung von Unvorhersehbarkeiten. An diesem Gespräch haben aus der Reihe der Fellows teilgenommen: Heiner Goebbels, Sibylle Krämer und Gunther Teubner. Ihnen verdanke ich jeweils auch einzeln mehr, als in das Gespräch dieses Nachmittags hineinpasste. Auf ganz verschiedene Weise haben sie mir geholfen, die Kunst in der Wissenschaft und das Verfahren in der Kunst im Auge zu behalten.

Und einen anderen unvorhersehbaren Anschluss gab es, der mir erlaubt hat, das größere Thema der Evidenz-Verfahren in einer für mich neuen Weise zu diskutieren. Die „Image Science“-Gruppe am Wiko adoptierte den Literaturwissenschaftler für ihre Sitzungen. Ich hatte dort die große Chance zu erproben, welches Potential in der berühmten „Bildlichkeits“-Formel der rhetorischen und poetologischen *evidentia*, der Figur des Vor-Augen-Stellens, steckt.

Neben dem Resultat von fünf Aufsätzen, der Herausgabe eines Sammelbandes und einem Buch über Lichtenberg und das Verfahren der Evidenz auf gutem Wege haben die locker geregelten Wochenabläufe am Wiko zwei neue größere Projekte entstehen lassen, für die ich von nun an Zeit suchen muss. Vor allem ist mir im Speise- und im Kolloquiumsaal des Wiko klargeworden, wie ich meine Arbeiten beschreiben und zu welchem Zweck ich sie unternehmen möchte. Die Formel dafür könnte heißen: das „Wissen der Literatur“ oder: welches Wissen liegt in der Literatur und welchen Platz im Wissen hat die Literatur. Das heißt erstens nicht: dass schon klar ist, wie sich die Literatur vom Wissen und den Wissenschaften unterscheidet; und zweitens nicht: dass Literatur nur als Darstellung von Wissen interessiert oder überhaupt primär Darstellung von Wissen ist. Aber es heißt: dass und wie es Literatur gibt, hat Voraussetzungen bzw. Konsequenzen im Wissen einer Zeit.

Den Dank für die großartige Betreuung in der Bibliothek der Weißen Villa teile ich, wie ich weiß, mit allen Fellows. Dasselbe gilt für die immer prompte Hilfe der EDV-Abteilung, die Perfektion und große Freundlichkeit der Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter, die für den kulinarischen Teil des Aufenthalts sorgen, und überhaupt die sichtbare und unsichtbare Hilfe in fast allen Lebens-, Arbeits- und Kooperationslagen. Kurz: vielen Dank denen, die den Rhythmus der Wikotage ins Werk gesetzt haben – für meine Frau und mich gleichermaßen.





FELLOW #984  
PETRA DOBNER

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Petra Dobner, geb. 3.10.1964 in Homberg/Niederrhein, Politikwissenschaftlerin. – Adresse: Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Emil-Abderhalden-Straße 7, 06108 Halle (Saale).  
E-Mail: [petra.dobner@politik.uni-halle.de](mailto:petra.dobner@politik.uni-halle.de)

auf präzision kommt es an dieser stelle nicht an. mein (sinnloser) versuch, die altfellows (eine kategorie, in die ich mich nach 10 monaten erwartbar und trotzdem plötzlich nun einsortiert finde) in eine excel-datei zu packen, um sie zur bestimmung meines eigenen, unverrückbaren platzes automatisch durchzählen zu lassen, war nicht von erfolg gekrönt. egal. sagen wir einfach fellow (falsch: altfellow) #984, also ich, muss noch koffer packen, papiere sortieren, letzte aufgaben erledigen (deren vornehmste ist, endlich und kurz RECHENSCHAFT über das hiergewesensein abzulegen), sich verabschieden, den hund trotzdem bei laune halten und kann sich nicht auch noch damit belasten, den eigenen listenplatz exakt zu ermitteln, den zu wissen ohnehin von begrenztem wert wäre. denn was sagt schon #984, ist doch dieser – wie vor ihm bereits #333 und #007 – immer faktisch fellow #1, wenn es darum geht, ein buch zu bestellen, sich bedienen, beraten, beputzen, be-kochen etc. zu lassen.

so dauert es einen moment, bis der schnell verwöhnte, seiner erstmaligkeit und einzig-artigkeit beständig versicherte fellow merkt, dass vor ihm andere da waren. überraschend öffnet die bitte um butterbrezeln zum abendvortrag die tür zu 25 jahren wiko(teppich)geschichte. die fellowbibliothek macht offenkundig, dass manches schon gedacht wurde, das man noch selbst frisch erfinden zu müssen glaubte. der vorschlag, die kaffeemaschine, das

mittagessen, das colloquium oder gar das wiko (nämlich mitten in die stadt) zu verlegen, löst eine reaktionskette aus interessiertem zuhören, freundlichem nicken und der abschließenden, ein vierteljahrhundert lang gereiften antwort aus: die dinge sind aus den BESTEN GRÜNDEN so geregelt, wie sie geregelt sind.

die erkenntnis bestehender pfadabhängigkeiten bestürzt, befreit. sie hilft, sich des historischen platzes in der wikowelt bewusst zu werden. es spornt an, nach einer innovation zu suchen, die wirklich originell ist. das wärmt den geist auf und hält ihn eine weile beschäftigt. bedauerlich nur, dass sich dieser irgendwann an kaffeemaschine und mittagessenszeiten (zwischenzeitlich auch: eichhörnern und einrichtungsfragen) ausgetobt hat. vermutlich ist der erste schnee schon gefallen. spätestens dann bleibt dem armen fellow nichts anderes mehr übrig, als sich gedanken über das eigene projekt zu machen.

das liegt keineswegs nahe. einsicht, taktik, boshaftigkeit (undenkbar!) oder schlichter realismus – was immer es auch war, das die begrüßungszeremonien um das mantra kreisen ließ, dass der ideale fellow sich dadurch auszeichnet, die FREIHEIT zu nutzen, sich über alles mögliche GEDANKEN zu machen, und NUR, wenn welche (gedanken, freiheit) übrig sind, diese auf das eigene projekt zu verwenden – es trifft den kern. wohl aber denen, die zusätzlich zum betreuten wohnen im wiko auch für das betreute denken eingeschrieben, in der fachsprache: mitglied einer SCHWERPUNKTGRUPPE, sind.

neidische beobachter der szenerie glauben, dass eine schwerpunktgruppe so heißt, weil sie nur schwer auf den punkt kommt. das stimmt zwar, verkennt aber, dass der reiz dieses intellektuellen geocachings gar nicht darin liegt, auf den punkt zu kommen, sondern ihn zu suchen. ein gutes versteck ist folglich das geheimnis des erfolgs. vorbildlich hierfür unser schwerpunkt: VERFASSUNG JENSEITS DES NATIONALSTAATS. die gibt es nämlich nicht, was unseren gruppenerfolg nahezu ausreichend erklärt.

wir haben gesucht, gestritten, gestikuliert, er- und gefunden, verworfen, wieder angefangen. eifrig. wöchentlich. erbittert. freudig. die wöchentliche pflichtlektüre garantierte immer neue ausgangspunkte und somit neue aussichten. ein jeder blickte freilich in eine andere richtung und berichtete den anderen, was dort zu sehen war. mit diesem kollektiven radarsystem scannten wir sorgsam die umgebung, bis ein neues stückchen transnationaler verfasstheit eingefriedet war. so schritten wir voran, ein jeder auf seine weise und für sich, alle zusammen. und wenn uns auch die verfassung jenseits des nationalstaates an sich verborgen bleiben musste, so brachte die suche doch zahlreiche schätze zutage.

der größte – und in seinen folgen nicht wirklich abzusehende – schatz ist die verschiebung des eigenen koordinatensystems. hilfreich ist hierfür die schwerpunktgruppe, weil

die eigene ehre verlangt, nicht jede woche dasselbe von sich zu geben, was man natürlich auch nicht will, weil doch die anderen, die man im laufe der zeit richtig lieb gewinnt, enttäuscht wären, wenn man sich nicht änderte, sich ihnen nicht anverwandelte, ihnen nicht wenigstens gelegentlich recht gäbe. die geborgenheit in der schwerpunktgruppe verleitet dazu, probenhalber den platz der anderen einzunehmen, und siehe da, oft ist das einleuchtender als das, was man selbst bisher so dachte. so entsteht fortschritt, quasi inkrementell, großer dank gilt den freunden der schwerpunktgruppe!

doch auch der edukatorische wert geregelter und gemeinsamer mahlzeiten kann nicht überschätzt werden. über dinge zu diskutieren, von denen man eben noch nicht wusste, dass es sie überhaupt gibt, weckt neue interessen (manchmal natürlich nur kurzfristig, aber trotzdem). die fellow-fellows anderer länder, kontinente und disziplinen können jederzeit anregen, neu und anders über die dinge oder erstmals über andere dinge nachzudenken. scheinbar nebenher erzeugen die fellow-fellows einen reichthum, den man mit nach hause nehmen darf.

leider auch muss – denn irgendwann senkt sich düster und drohend der schattenriss von fellow #985 auf die sommerlich heitere atmosphäre. plötzlich versteht man, wie sich die zwerge gefühlt haben müssen, als schneewittchen in ihr reich eindrang: wer will von meinem tellerchen essen? in meinem bettchen schlafen? aus meinem gläschen trinken? in meinen büchern lesen? der wahre zweck der sommerpause liegt darin, das zusammentreffen mit den nachfolgern zu verhindern, das, wie gesine an anderer stelle treffend sagte, einem kampf „röhrender hirsche im nebel“ gleichkommen müsste.

doch der sommer legt sich schützend zwischen die einen und die anderen. umzugskisten weisen den weg vor die tür, dezente mails betreffend „your departure“ machen klar, dass bleiben nirgends ist. wer sich jetzt noch widersetzt, der wird von der nicht enden wollenden abschiedsatmosphäre zermürbt, bis auch er, bis auch sie, traurig, murrend, doch brav und vor allem sehr, sehr dankbar das feld räumt.



AN INDELIBLE MARK  
ON THE LANDSCAPE OF MY THOUGHTS  
GIOVANNI FRAZZETTO

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Giovanni Frazzetto received his undergraduate education in Molecular Biology at University College London. He then carried out his Ph.D. at the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL) in Heidelberg, Germany, which he completed in 2003. He is currently a “Society in Science – Branco Weiss Fellow” at the London School of Economics and at EMBL. His transdisciplinary research focuses on behavioral neuroscience and on its societal and cultural implications. He is a founding member of the European Neuroscience and Society Network, a five-year programme involving leading neuroscientists and social scientists from eleven European countries in collaborative research and debate on salient societal issues related to neuroscience. He is also curating a project called “neuroculture” for the exchange of cultural projects at the intersection between neuroscience, the arts and the humanities. A passionate reader, he enjoys writing poems, stories and learning foreign languages. – Address: BIOS Centre, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE, Great Britain. [www.society-in-science.ethz.ch](http://www.society-in-science.ethz.ch); [www.neurosocieties.eu](http://www.neurosocieties.eu)

The *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin* is a setting that defies imagination. Unless you have stepped into it and spent a reasonable time within its walls, it is hard to capture in your mind.

I arrived in Berlin on the very last weekend of September. The weeks prior to my arrival had been frantic. I had planned to finalise projects and bring to an end various writing obligations before my departure, so as to start my residency free of thoughts other than the project I had chosen to carry out there. Proofs to check, an article to finish, a review to submit and an inundation of DNA samples to genotype. Mouse behavioural tests to run.

Perhaps because of this final rush, I arrived in Berlin tired, with a bit of a cold, and made use of the few days before the official start to get better and settle in. I had been impatiently looking forward to what I considered a once-in-a-lifetime new adventure. I had waited to be absorbed by the Berlin autumn, reconcile myself with memories of Germany from the five years I had spent in the country when I was in graduate school in Heidelberg, and dive into wild intellectual exchange with my new fellow Fellows. *Große Vorfreude*.

Once in Grunewald, some of the images I had built up in my mind suddenly materialised. The quietness, the red shadings above and below, the lakes and the bicycle paths matched my expectations. I inaugurated the stay by marking my new Sunday walk in the newly discovered woods. For the following three months, those surroundings were going to be my thinking shell.

K3 in the Weiße Villa was my new home, with the largest kitchen I have ever had. What I certainly did not imagine was that I was going to live on the top of that beautiful villa alone. No sign of any other human being on the weekend. Very conducive to concentration.

Then came the first lunch. Who shall I sit with? I know nobody, but I have read almost everyone's project description.

I am the third "Society in Science – Branco Weiss Fellow" to be admitted to the Kolleg. I explain to the Fellows at my table that the fellowship programme I belong to is intended for young researchers from the life sciences, who – as part of their scientific research – want to challenge disciplinary boundaries and extend their scientific and personal perspectives by incorporating novel social and cultural aspects into their work.

We go deeper than that. I have a chance to say that I work in the field of behavioural genetics. More specifically, I am conducting research devoted to the unravelling of gene-environment interactions underlying behaviour, with a special focus on anxiety, and to the analysis of the existing feedback-loop dynamics between behavioural genetics and a medicalising society, which are reinforced by the escalating consumption of psychopharmacological drugs.

Wiko is a place where my otherwise unusual and hybrid background is not regarded as such. Very comforting. On Wallotstraße it is accepted as orthodoxy to stem from one discipline and find oneself at the border with neighbouring disciplines or with unexplored fields.

Throughout its buildings, in the *Kolloquiumraum*, in the library, and especially amidst the fragrances of the *Speisesaal*, knowledge fluidly floats in the air, and it does not matter

where it comes from or what discipline produced it. There are no entrenchments in one's own field. Ideas and concepts transmute, surprise you in various disguises, and come in different recipes.

So, for the time to follow, anxiety was going to be simultaneously and legitimately physiological and clinical, genetic and molecular, environmental and existential, global and personal. Telling that I work on anxiety immediately establishes a bond with a lot of people, because even if, in and of itself, anxiety eludes precise and univocal definitions, each and every one of us seems to have firm knowledge of the experience of this condition and is ready to share it with others.

Very soon I came to realise that I was the youngest Fellow. Not only that. I was indeed the youngest Fellow ever visiting the *Kolleg*. This realisation exerted some kind of pressure on me, not a negligible one. And I felt so privileged to be surrounded by a group of immensely knowledgeable individuals and be able to enjoy their company and generous conversation.

The one thing I had been told about life on Wallotstraße was the common lunches, and I was encouraged to take full advantage of those. Indeed, conviviality takes a distinctly elegant form at the *Kolleg*. At the tables, time is not wasted talking about the weather. There was mainly one not-strictly scientific topic you could often hear of in the room and that was opera. At a high level.

Otherwise, the midday recreational break is crucial for the enrichment of your day. It can make you leap forward or arrest you and send you into deeper reflection. Meals are occasions where knots in the filament of your thinking can be shared with commensals and resolved, or where whatever you were convinced was a linear argument can indeed suddenly reveal itself as a stubbornly entangled thread. They are spaces of invention, parentheses of inspiration.

Lunch was not the only occasion for a good thought exchange. Some of the Fellows preferred to have their brain food at breakfast, occasionally inspired by the headlines of a newspaper. I was myself a regular visitor of the breakfast buffet – the fresh *Brötchen* and the yoghurt were not to be missed. If you were sluggish and still sleepy, conversation would quickly make you alert. I remember the most demanding early morning conversation involved explaining how to attempt to measure levels of anxiety in a mouse. For non-experts in the field, the mere idea of measuring such a complex phenomenon in a rodent sounds impossible.

Indeed, even for people working in behavioural genetics, anxiety is an ambiguous phenotype that is hard to measure. Importantly, even if anxiety is a universal functionality of the body, the contexts in which it is experienced, the interpretations of its meanings and the responses to it are influenced by historical contingencies, cultural permutations and practices of a given time, especially medicalisation forces.

While at Wiko, I brushed up on the history of the conceptualisation of this condition and of its diagnostic classification, with special attention to the most recent contribution of neuroscience. I came to realise that, from a neuroscience perspective, the current clinical categories of anxiety disorders, which are based on symptoms and not aetiology or treatment responses, are not a useful tool for the assessment of an anxious phenotype. A more suitable alternative to a dichotomous classification is a dimensional approach, or a “spectrum” approach, in which mental distress is assessed on a continuum scale, with individuals falling within a range and with no cut-off points to designate those with or without a presumed illness.

Because of its diverse manifestations, it remains difficult to distinguish between normal and pathological anxiety (and to set boundaries for clinical intervention and treatment). In light of this difficult distinction, a non-categorical assessment is a more apt approach, as it is not a black-or-white decision, but describes behavioural shadings of individuals. It lets an individual be seen from more perspectives and as more than a cluster of symptoms listed on a manual page, thereby reducing the tendency to pigeonhole people.

According to recent epidemiological studies, as many as 30% of adults will suffer from one of the seven forms of anxiety. This high figure may make us think that we are more anxious now than we used to be or that we live in an “age of anxiety”. However, the contemporary high prevalence of anxiety disorders is not a reflection of a decline of the normative strategies our bodies employ to face life, but maybe a change in the stressors against which these strategies are exercised or an accentuation of the medicalisation conditions that render anxious behaviours pathological, undesirable and worthy of pharmacological treatment.

Each period in history has manifested its own forms of different, but equally disruptive stressors and turmoil. All modern Western societies seem to have been afflicted with the same dismal and frustrating experience of anxiety. Contemporary threats and stressors are comparable to those that were responsible for the onset of neurosis or neurasthenia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What seems to count more in the rise of anxiety prevalence are medicalising conditions, and most importantly, the availability of anti-anxiety drugs.

From the 1950s through the 1970s, the minor tranquillisers radically turned ordinary problems of living into medical conditions. Since the end of the 1980s, selective serotonin re-uptake inhibitors (SSRIs) have extended and intensified the medicalisation process and opened up new avenues for intervention.

I examined the spectacle of advertisements for both the old and new class of medications. In these images, drugs offered promises to overcome worries arising from a variety of everyday hurdles and difficulties in social or interpersonal contexts. The situations and characters portrayed are comparable across adverts for the two types of medications and contribute to the reinforcement of a negative connotation for the behaviours the promoted drugs are supposed to alter or abolish. In both cases, mild or circumstantial anxiety is depicted as an undesirable mind state that should be left behind, a view that clashes with praised social norms of self-sufficiency, productivity, initiative and self-realisation. In some respects, the dynamics of medicalisation have remained unchanged.

However, a crucial change in the set of advertisements for SSRIs is the increasing and explicit reference to the biochemical underpinnings of the drugs' mode of action and of the behaviour they work upon. Indeed, the transition from one type of drugs to the other followed a marked increase in knowledge of the biological components of this complex behaviour and momentous shifts in its conceptualisation and classification. Advertisements for early anti-anxiety drugs bore psychoanalytic references to the origins and causes of the distress to overcome. Of course, they were acting on the body, but they were operating on the resolution of conflicts and troubles with powerful environmental elements and whose neuroanatomical residence was only starting to be localised. Quite differently, images and statements in advertisements for SSRIs underline a biochemical explanation for mental disorders, favouring faulty functioning of genes, molecules and cells as the basis for their occurrence and manifestation, and obscuring context- and environment-dependent contributions. Anxiety is simplistically portrayed as a reduction of serotonin in the synapses. This has consequences for the recruitment of more and more individuals into a way of living in which personal problems and interpersonal relationships are understood in chemical terms and mastered through the ingestion of drugs. To date, however, there is no proven or definite correspondence between levels of neurotransmitters and mental disorders, and ongoing work aimed at resolving this question remains contradictory. Indeed, evidence – also coming from the lab where I work – actually suggests that an excess of serotonin, rather than a deficit, is responsible for the manifestation of anxious behaviours.

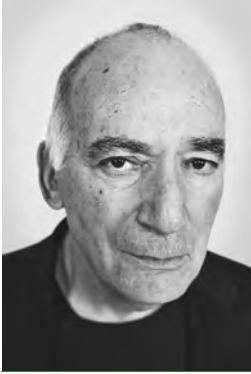


Failing to distinguish between contextual or environmentally elicited disturbances, responding to stress or hardship, and dysfunctional states that persist beyond exposure to stress will probably maintain the disease confusion and over-diagnosis regimen that pharmaceutical companies have exploited and encouraged.

Unbridled use of anti-anxiety drugs will not decline until we can overcome medicalisation forces and select for the most severe forms of anxiety. And this will probably not happen until we incorporate into research a clearer appreciation of the set of socio-economic, familial and cultural reasons for distress, resist disease fashions and set a much higher threshold for *bona fide* pathology.

My three months at Wiko until December went way too fast. Not only was Wiko a congenial environment to concentrate on the work I had planned to undertake, it was also a rich source of inspiration to delineate future prospects and to generate new ideas to take back with me. It gave me the chance to cultivate, in the most appropriate of settings, a “heterologous knowledge” at the boundaries between neighbouring disciplines, rather than at the centre of well-defined areas of knowledge. Wiko opens all those paths that, prior to your time there, had always appeared foggy and impenetrable.

After leaving, for a while I craved for the same daily dose of stimuli and inspiration. Wiko leaves a mark on you and the very meaningful intellectual and personal bonds with all the other very special Fellows and staff members will last for a very long time.



WALLENSTEIN AND AFTER  
MICHAEL FRIED

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Michael Fried (born in 1939 in New York City) took his B.A. at Princeton University and his Ph.D. in Fine Arts at Harvard University. Since 1975 he has taught at the Johns Hopkins University, where he is J. R. Herbert Boone Professor of the Humanities. His books include: *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*; *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane*; *Courbet's Realism*; *Manet's Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*; *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews*; *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin*; and *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*. He has also published three books of poems, *Powers*; *To the Center of the Earth*; and *The Next Bend in the Road*. – Address: The Humanities Center, The Johns Hopkins University, 3400 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-2690, USA.

ONE: My plan when my wife Ruth Leys, our daughter Anna, and I arrived at Wiko last August was to spend the next eleven months finishing a book on Caravaggio, based on lectures that I had given at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., five years before. As of the present moment (mid-July 2008), I am partway through the footnotes, with the expectation of completing the manuscript within the next two or three months. In the course of the year I also wrote from scratch four lectures on contemporary artists (Anri Sala, Charles Ray, Joseph Marioni, and Douglas Gordon), which I delivered on successive afternoons in late March at the University of Toronto. As soon as *The Moment of Caravaggio* is off my hands I will make those lectures into a short book. It goes without saying that none of this would have been possible without fabulous library support from

Frau Bottomley and her staff, as well as, in organizing my Powerpoint presentations for Toronto, from Benny Drieschner in computing services. Plus I wrote some poems. I'd have liked more, but strictly in terms of work it has been a good year.

TWO: However, Wiko is famously more than simply a place to get work done. In that larger sense, my year at Wiko truly got under way when, on October 4, 2007, I turned out to be the only Fellow rash enough to accept an invitation extended to us all to attend a ten-hour performance of Friedrich Schiller's stupendous dramatic trilogy *Wallenstein*, starring Klaus-Maria Brandauer in the title role, an extraordinary actor named Jürgen Holz in the complementary role of Buttler, and directed by Peter Stein, a major figure in the modern history of the German theater. (Also a controversial one, for his admirable refusal to go along with the otherwise all but universal tendency to play fast and loose with classic texts.) The trilogy, held in an abandoned warehouse before no less than 1200 spectators, began at 2 p.m. and ended around midnight. There were, I think, four intermissions, one of them long enough for a quick dinner in a nearby restaurant or at one of the food stands outside the building. As it happened, I had read *Wallenstein* in translation several months before, and in preparation for the performance I read it again from start to finish the previous day; in effect I had the whole text in English available to be scrolled through mentally as the play unfolded in Schiller's demanding – and to me almost perfectly opaque – German on the stage. I found the entire occasion immensely gripping, probably the most rewarding experience in a theater I have ever known. But the afternoon and evening were also remarkable in that I found myself seated next to Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus, whom I had previously encountered over early lunches and dinners at Wiko, but still as yet hadn't really gotten to know. We exchanged a few words before the curtain went up, but we spent the intermissions together talking about the play, and when it came time for dinner Reinhart led the way to a nearby restaurant where we each had a plate of pasta produced in no time at all (under the circumstances, though, I found it marvelously tasty). By the time the performance ended at midnight, there existed between us a connection that I could already see would be deeply meaningful for me during the months to come.

THREE: Just before coming to Berlin I had completed a big book on art photography since the late 1970s, entitled *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*. About half of the figures dealt with in that book are German, and in the course of writing it I had become friendly (if not yet friends) with two outstanding photographers, Thomas Struth (based in Düsseldorf) and Thomas Demand (who lives and works in Berlin). I got in touch with Demand as soon as I arrived, and through him I soon met other artists of his generation

or younger, such as the painter Thomas Scheibitz and the photographer and videomaker Anri Sala. During the months that followed I saw a great deal of Thomas Demand and Anri especially, though I also gave a talk on Struth's family photographs at the opening of an exhibition of them in Cologne (and spent the next afternoon with him going through the show), lectured on Andreas Gursky in Basel (also in connection with an exhibition of his work), and – realizing a fantasy – gave a lecture on the photographers Bernd and Hilla Becher in Düsseldorf with Hilla Becher in the audience (Bernd had died in June 2007). In Düsseldorf, too, I met and spoke at length with the sculptor Thomas Schütte. On another occasion Thomas Demand and I drove for hours through the former GDR countryside to visit an older photographer named Michael Schmidt, whose powerful and original work was only partly familiar to me; we all spent an intense afternoon talking and looking at photographs, with Thomas serving as both brilliant interlocutor and equally brilliant translator. Recently Demand and I conducted a public conversation about his work in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, where he had installed an outstanding exhibition comprising two recent series of photographs plus several related pieces. Another younger artist I have come to know is Tino Seghal, who generously arranged for a “sculpture” of his, *Kiss*, to be performed for Ruth and me in the Johnen Gallery by two dancers (as Seghal is aware, his work engages with issues of “theatricality” in ways that I can only find extremely challenging). I also saw something of Douglas Gordon, whom I had met the previous year in New York, and Mitch Epstein, another first-rate photographer, who spent the spring of 2008 at the American Academy in Berlin. All this barely scratches the surface of my engagement with contemporary art and artists during the past eleven months, but it perhaps suggests how crucial it has been to my experience of living and learning in Berlin.

FOUR: In February 2008 there arrived for a month's stay at Wiko one of the most distinguished senior art historians anywhere, Willibald Sauerländer, together with his wife Brigitte. I had first met Willibald at Wiko roughly twenty years ago, when Wolf Lepenies, then Rektor, invited me to lecture on the French painter Gustave Courbet. Willibald was in the audience, and he, Ruth, and I all had dinner together the next day. At that time Ruth and I were living for six months in Paris, and Willibald visited us there as well. Over the years we remained intermittently in touch, but it was altogether special to have the chance to spend hours at a stretch in his company, both at Wiko and in Berlin museums talking together in front of paintings. So for example Willibald, Brigitte, Ruth, Reinhart, and I devoted an unforgettable afternoon to the Menzels at the Alte Nationalgalerie. (That's Adolf Menzel [1815–1905], a far greater artist than tends to be recognized even in Germa-

ny; see my book *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* [2002], an excellent German translation of which came out in the fall.) And on the evening of February 29, Willibald's birthday, at the invitation of Luca Giuliani, I delivered a lecture on Caravaggio in his honor. In May, too, Willibald returned to Wiko for a week and we again passed hours in fruitful and, for me, fascinating conversation. Shortly after that I visited Munich, where he and Brigitte live and where he and I spent an afternoon going through a temporary Menzel exhibition that included numerous works from private collections and from the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, an occasion that was marked by Willibald's repeatedly setting off the gallery alarm by his insistence on studying the paintings and drawings at much closer range than the authorities considered safe. In short, looking at art and talking about it with Willibald Sauerländer was one of the high points of my year.

FIVE: Among the other Fellows at Wiko I soon became friendly with Antjie Krog, who is the author of a brilliant book on South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Ruth taught the book at Johns Hopkins) as well as a poet in Afrikaans of tremendous power and distinction. Starting in February 2008 Antjie, Reinhart, and I met in Reinhart's office to read German poetry together for two intense hours one afternoon each week; we started out with Gottfried Benn, then moved on to Paul Celan, to whom we devoted the lion's share of our sessions, then to Georg Trakl, then (briefly) to Hölderlin, and finally (at Reinhart's insistence) to Goethe . . . The sessions themselves had a simple format: we would painstakingly read and discuss just a few poems extremely closely, with the aid of dictionaries but no translations, and naturally under Reinhart's expert and passionate guidance. We also gave two weeks to Celan's extraordinary 1960 prose text "Der Meridian", arguably the most important essay in poetics since the Second World War. There is no describing how thrilling it has been to work through such poems in Antjie and Reinhart's company; I only wish we had begun meeting sooner. There is no feature of the past year I expect to miss more, back in Baltimore.

SIX: I'm conscious, of course, of how much a short account like this leaves out of what has made my time at Wiko so enjoyable. But let me close by mentioning two noteworthy excursions Ruth and I made with other Fellows, one with Catriona McCallum and Peter Jones to Braunschweig to look at paintings in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum there (my target was a Giorgione self-portrait but at least three other canvases, by Orazio Gentileschi, Bartolomeo Manfredi, and Peter-Paul Rubens, were terrifically rewarding) and the second with Gustav Seibt, a historian and regular contributor to the feuilleton of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, as navigator and Ruth at the wheel through the Mark Brandenburg, with special

emphasis on places and scenes important to Theodor Fontane, author of *Before the Storm* and other major novels and an aficionado of that region. The latter excursion took place on a beautiful late June day, and ended, more or less, with an al fresco dinner in Neuhardenberg within sight of the gleaming white and breathtakingly original Schinkel-Kirche ... A few weeks earlier, Gustav had led Ruth and me to the vast and moving – also artistically compelling – monument to the Soviet army dead in Treptower Park, and thinking about both visits now they seem to encompass so much of our experience since arriving in Berlin eleven months ago.



THE WISSENSCHAFTSKOLLEG  
EXPERIENCE  
MOIRA GATENS

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Moira Gatens holds a first-class honours degree in Philosophy from the University of New South Wales (1977), completed her Ph.D. at the University of Sydney in 1986, and has taught at Monash University, the Australian National University, and the University of Sydney, where she is now Professor of Philosophy. She was admitted as Fellow to the Academy for the Social Sciences in Australia in 1999. She has held visiting fellowships at the Australian National University, the London School of Economics, the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, and the University of Dundee. She presently holds an Australian Research Professorship Grant (2006–10). She is the author of *Feminism and Philosophy* (1991), *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality* (1996), and (with Genevieve Lloyd) *Collective Imaginings: Spinoza, Past and Present* (1999). In addition to editing several books she has published many articles, and book chapters in the areas of social, ethical and political philosophy. – Address: Department of Philosophy, The University of Sydney, Main Quadrangle A 14, NSW 2006, Sydney, Australia. E-mail: moira.gatens@usyd.edu.au

Perhaps it is true that if one had stayed at home one would have read more, written more and have more publications to show for the year. But the Wissenschaftskolleg does not appear to be concerned to maximize the “outputs” that many contemporary academics have come to internalise as the sole marker of research activity. Rather, the atmosphere and norms of the Kolleg encourage curiosity about one’s Fellows’ research projects, vigorous debate and the exchange of ideas. The Tuesday Colloquia were an education and the range of disciplines represented in our year ensured that the seminars were never dull. The re-

search community was further enriched by the presence of the spouses of the Fellows, some of whom also are academics, all of whom are interesting.

In some ways, being at the Kolleg is like attending a conference that goes on for a very long time. In other ways, the Kolleg is nothing like a conference, because conferences usually involve discussing topics within the narrow range of one's own specialization. By contrast, I found myself discussing, among other subjects, the notion of "absorption" in painting, Arabic philosophy, modernist cinema, the concept of "risk", the benefits of "open access" publication, the work of R. C. Dutt, the evolution of lactase persistence and why it is important to be honest with children who have a terminal illness. These and many other topics were mulled over in the corridors, at lunch and at the Thursday evening dinners. Our research community was certainly intellectually challenging and rich, but it was also an intensely sociable and constructive community. Many of the Fellows from 2007–08 have, I am sure, forged relationships that will continue into the future. It was particularly pleasing to be part of a cohort in which the gender balance more nearly approached what one might expect from a fair-minded and forward-thinking research institute.

In addition to the tempting distractions presented by other Fellows' research, the task of learning at least *some* German was time-consuming. While the tired battle over whether English or German should be the language of the seminars limped on, I was fighting my own battle with the *Dativ*. Almost every non-German speaking Fellow made an enormous effort on the language front. And many German-speaking Fellows, and their spouses, were touchingly patient and kind in the face of non-German speakers' attempts to communicate in German. I always will have fond memories of Frau Eva von Kügelgen's friendly smile as she inquired whether I would be joining the *Deutschisch* for lunch! For myself, I regard as a triumph that I managed an interesting and lengthy conversation in German with a six-year-old at the final Thursday *Familienabend*. (One must keep in mind that the children of the Fellows are exceptionally clever and mature beyond their years!).

Despite the fascinating research projects of the other Fellows, the considerable time I spent working on my German and the endless distractions provided by the spectacular city of Berlin, I am satisfied with the progress I made on my project, which is in the field of philosophy and literature. I spent several months studying the work of Ludwig Feuerbach (in English but consulting the German text) in order to assess his influence on George Eliot (a Victorian novelist and the first English translator of Feuerbach). George Eliot also translated the work of the seventeenth-century philosopher, Benedict Spinoza, whom Feuerbach acknowledged as his precursor on the question of religion. Part of my interest in this



research is to understand how the relationship between religion and morality was conceptualised in the nineteenth century. Although the framework of my project did not change over the course of the year, an informal philosophy and literature *Schwerpunkt* (with Philip Kitcher and Candace Vogler) certainly helped me over several hurdles and has influenced how I now see the project going forward. I completed an edited anthology of twelve essays on the philosophy of Spinoza, completed most of the work of editing a special issue of *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* (on the topic of “Gender and Genre”), drafted four chapters of the planned monograph on Spinoza, Feuerbach and Eliot and presented aspects of this research at Oxford, the University of Utrecht and the Freie Universität.

Although it sometimes seemed as if the Wissenschaftskolleg operated by magic, this illusion itself stands as a testimony to the exceptional competence, intelligence and diligence of the wonderful support, kitchen, IT, library, and language staff. They are the lifeblood of the Kolleg and I am grateful for their warmth, patience and generosity.



BESSER SCHEITERN  
HEINER GOEBBELS

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Heiner Goebbels, Komponist von Ensemblestücken und Werken für großes Orchester, ist auch Regisseur seiner zahlreichen, vielfach preisgekrönten eigenen Hörstücke und Musiktheaterarbeiten. Seit 1999 unterrichtet er als Professor am Institut für Angewandte Theaterwissenschaft der Justus-Liebig-Universität in Gießen, das er seit 2003 leitet. Er lebt in Frankfurt am Main und ist Mitglied der Akademie der Künste Berlin und der Akademie der darstellenden Künste Frankfurt. Seit Herbst 2006 ist Goebbels Präsident der Hessischen Theaterakademie – Adresse: Institut für Angewandte Theaterwissenschaft, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Karl-Glöckner-Straße 21 A, 35394 Gießen. Vgl. auch: [www.heinergoebbels.com](http://www.heinergoebbels.com)

Manchmal ist es ein Bild, ein Musiker, ein Schauspieler, ein Raum, eine Frage, eine Idee, die mich zur Arbeit anregen. Oft ist es Literatur. Und auf einem kleinen Stapel literarischer Anregungen lagen seit ca. fünfzehn Jahren drei Texte – von T. S. Eliot, Maurice Blanchot und Samuel Beckett, die ich mir einzeln, und ohne mir ihres inneren Zusammenhangs bewusst zu sein, immer wieder vorgenommen habe. Erst ein Kommissionsauftrag des Hilliard Ensembles, den ich im Rahmen meines Aufenthalts im Grunewald realisieren wollte, brachte die Texte plötzlich zusammen. So musste ich glücklicherweise nicht wie andere Fellows mit 40 Kisten anreisen, sondern kam nur mit drei schmalen Büchern. Aus diesen schließlich wurde ein Stück in drei Bildern. Wer aber ein Musiktheaterstück über das Scheitern schreiben will, denn darum geht es in diesen Texten, der muss mit allem rechnen. Und wenn man sich schon für den Titel „I Went to the House But Did Not

Enter“ entschieden hat, darf man sich auch nicht wundern, wenn die Sache nicht so richtig vorangeht. So zögerlich war denn auch die Arbeit daran.

Die Intensität in den Aufführungen des Hilliard Ensembles, dessen Stimmen an mittelalterlicher Musik geschult sind, beruht auf einer wundersam zurückhaltenden Präsenz, die sich darin sehr von der Eitelkeit unterscheidet, mit der sich oft ein dramatischer Gesangsstil an der Rampe der Opernbühne orientiert. Bei aller solistischen Kompetenz der vier Sänger wissen sie stets darum, dass ihre Unverwechselbarkeit in einer magischen ‚gemeinsamen‘ Stimme liegt. Und diese Faszination für die vokale Eindringlichkeit des Ensembles war schließlich mein Motor – sowohl für die Textauswahl, für die kompositorischen Entscheidungen als auch für das inszenatorische Konzept.

Gerade weil die Sänger ihre Konzerte in den letzten 30 Jahren vor allem in Kirchen gegeben haben und noch keinerlei szenische Erfahrung hatten – also auch keine ‚falsche‘ –, wollte ich mit ihnen und nur mit ihnen als Darsteller arbeiten. Bei der Suche nach Alternativen zu den konventionellen Präsenzkonzerten des Theaters und der Oper spielt für mich eine Art von ‚Abwesenheit‘ eine wachsende Bedeutung, und die fand in der Zurückhaltung der Sänger ihre wunderbare Entsprechung, da die kleine Geste die Aufmerksamkeit eher auf sich zieht als ein großes theatrales Getue. Mit dem Versuch, wenig zu zeigen, das Zentrum der Bühne leer zu lassen, auf einen Schauspieler manchmal gar zu verzichten und zuletzt nur noch zu inszenieren, was vom Betrachter überhaupt erst einmal entdeckt werden muss, war ja auch „Stifters Dinge“ entstanden, eine performative Installation, die ich ganz ohne Performer, nur mit Maschinen, alten Klavieren, Wasser, Regen, Nebel und (Trocken-)Eis entwickelt habe und die gleich zu Beginn meines Wiko-Aufenthalts in Berlin ihre Deutschlandpremiere hatte.

Die in verschiedenen Epochen des 20. Jahrhunderts geschriebenen Texte von Eliot (1911/1917), Blanchot (1948/1973) und Beckett (1984) haben bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit der Textsorten (Gedicht? Erzählung? Litanei?) doch eines gemeinsam: sie verleihen einem fragmentierten, anonymen ‚Ich‘ viele Stimmen und Facetten, bei denen sich aber der Leser nicht mehr auf fest umrissene Figuren und Rollen verlassen kann. Ihre Sprache – so unterschiedlich sie auch ist – verspricht keine Sicherheit. Und allen Texten ist das Misstrauen gegenüber linearen Erzählformen gemeinsam, auch wenn die Texte voller Geschichten sind. Diese Erzählungen geben ihren oft paradoxen Sinn nur preis, wenn wir sie als Zuhörer vervollständigen. So ist „I Went to the House But Did Not Enter“ vielleicht eine Reise geworden, die von den unheroischen Protagonisten – „lauter Niemand“, wie Kafka

sie nennt – gar nicht angetreten wird. Und sie spielt in drei Bildern, drei Zeiten, drei Räumen, die ortlos sind – also überall und nirgends.

Zunächst im ersten Bild „The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock“ – eines der bekanntesten Gedichte des jungen T. S. Eliot. Schon im Titel deutet sich die glücklose Unangemessenheit des Unterfangens an: wer wirklich ein Liebeslied schreiben möchte, sollte vielleicht nicht so formell auf den korrekt buchstabierten Initialen bestehen. Und obwohl dieser Lovesong mit den besten Vorsätzen beginnt – „Let us go then, You and I“ – scheint es nicht danach, als würde Prufrock sein Zimmer je verlassen. Von solchen Widersprüchen leben auch die anderen Texte dieses Abends:

„Erzählen Sie uns genau, was passiert ist!“ Wer aber spricht im zweiten Bild, in Maurice Blanchots Erzählung „Der Wahnsinn des Tages“? Ein Polizist, ein Patient, ein Arzt, die Krankenschwestern, das Gesetz? Wenn das alles ein Geständnis ist oder ein Verhör, wer ist dann schuldig? Und wer hat eigentlich wem ein Glas ins Gesicht geworfen? Eine Erzählung? Nein, nie wieder.

Schließlich ist es im dritten Teil der Sog „Aufs Schlimmste zu“ („Worstward Ho“), mit dem Samuel Beckett die Worte und Zeichen radikal in Frage stellt. Und das könnte tatsächlich schlecht ausgehen, wäre da nicht das „fail better“, das ‚bessere Scheitern‘ Becketts mit seiner knappen, verdichteten hochmusikalischen Sprache – die Utopie der ästhetischen Form.

Das Zaudern und Scheitern, das im Titel der Arbeit angedeutet ist und im Zentrum der dort versammelten Texte steht, machte auch vor meinem Arbeitsprozess nicht halt – auch wenn ich jetzt, kurz nach der Uraufführung in Edinburgh, glaube sagen zu dürfen: mit glücklichem Ausgang. So musste zum Beispiel ein Abendkolloquium, das als Einblick in die Arbeit geplant war, durch die Krankheit eines Sängers ausfallen, und ich hoffe, ich kann dieses Versäumnis mit diesem Bericht (und drei anderen Werkeinführungen am Wissenschaftskolleg) etwas wettmachen.

Auch das Komponieren, das ich zum erstenmal seit den 80er Jahren wieder am Klavier und nicht am Computer in Angriff nahm, ging alles andere als leicht von der ‚Hand‘. Erst mal war viel los in diesem Jahr. Neben eigenen Konzerten, Vorträgen, Festivals, viel zu vielen Interviews auch die Proben an der Arbeit zu meinem Orchesterzyklus „Surrogate Cities“ (mit den Berliner Philharmonikern, Leitung Sir Simon Rattle), der im Februar von Mathilde Monnier in der Arena Treptow in einer dezentralen Raumaufteilung vielstimmig (mit 120 Berliner Kindern, Jugendlichen und Erwachsenen 50+) choreografiert wurde. Zuletzt realisierte ich im Juni „Genko-an 12353“ – eine nach einem japanischen Tem-

pel in Kioto benannte Sound-Installation im 16. Stock eines Hauses in der Gropiusstadt für das Projekt „X-Wohnungen“ des Hebbel am Ufer.

Dann blockierte mich ein Rechte-Problem für das Gedicht von T. S. Eliot. Doch wer den Schaden hat, braucht sich am Wiko um gute Ratschläge nicht zu sorgen. So halfen mir viele Fellows bei der Suche nach einem Eliot-Ersatz und ich machte bald anregende Bekanntschaft mit Yeats und Browning. Herr Nettelbeck riet mir subversiverweise, beim Gedicht zu bleiben und nur die Konsonanten wegzulassen. Zum Glück kam es anders.

T. S. Eliot hatte nämlich testamentarisch verfügt: „I will not allow any of my poems to be set to music unless they seem to me to be lyrics in the proper sense of being suitable for singing.“ Und es gelang mir schließlich doch noch, den Eliot Estate davon zu überzeugen, dass vielleicht gerade diese Ausnahme für ein Gedicht, das der Autor selbst „Love Song“ übertitelt hat, zutreffen könnte. Aber ich gebe zu, dass ich für die Begründung seines Verdiktes eine gewisse Sympathie aufbringe: „... the music also is a particular interpretation which is interposed between the reader and the author. I want my readers to get their impressions from the words alone and from nothing else ...“ Auch ich versuche, in meiner eigenen kompositorischen und inszenatorischen Strategie die Imagination der Zuhörer und Zuschauer nicht auf *eine* Interpretation zu verengen, sondern mit meiner Musik und Regie den Blick auf die Texte zu öffnen, die Texte und ihre Syntax ‚aufzuschließen‘, Musik zu machen mit einem Maximum an Offenheit für die möglichen Bedeutungsebenen eines Textes.

Vielleicht kommt auch daher die Vorsicht bei meinen kompositorischen Maßnahmen und der Wunsch, den Rhythmus und die Musikalität der Texte aufzudecken, hörbar zu machen (vor allem bei Eliot und Beckett) und ihnen nicht eine Ästhetik aufzusetzen, die ihnen äußerlich bleibt. Beim kritischen Blick in die zeitgenössische Opernpraxis erscheint doch oft das Verhältnis einer Komposition zum Text beliebig. Wird überhaupt die Frage gestellt, ob ein Text sich zum Singen eignet? Zu selten. Brecht hat Recht, wenn er konstatiert „die moderne Musik verwandelt Texte in Prosa, auch wenn es Verse sind, und lyriert dann diese Prosa. Die Lyrisierung ist zugleich eine Psychologisierung. Der Rhythmus ist aufgelöst (außer bei Strawinsky und Bartók), für das epische Theater ist das unbrauchbar.“ Diese Notiz aus seinem Arbeitsjournal hat sich als erstaunlich haltbar erwiesen.

Ich habe viel mit Stimmen gearbeitet: mit ‚eigenen‘, unverwechselbaren, eigenartigen Stimmen, mit dokumentarischen Aufnahmen, mit den Stimmen von Heiner Müller und Hanns Eisler, mit afrikanischen, japanischen, griechischen, iranischen Stimmen, mit dem Schauspieler Josef Bierbichler und mit Stimmvirtuosen wie David Moss. Aber kaum je mit

akademisch ausgebildeten Stimmen. Deren ästhetisches Ideal besteht ja im Gegenteil darin, einer Stimme genau dieses ‚Eigene‘ zugunsten klassischer Ausdrucksregister zu nehmen. Und diese Stimmen berühren mich selten. Wie könnte eine solche ‚Neutralität‘ – zu ihrem Extrem gebracht – umschlagen in etwas Besonderes, das den Texten gerecht wird?

Und wie z. B. die Falle vermeiden, in die das zeitgenössische Komponieren für Stimmen geraten kann, wenn bei vokalen Experimenten die Differenz von Stimme und Instrument ignoriert wird? Die Stimme ist nämlich kein Instrument, sondern ein an unsere eigentümliche Körperlichkeit gebundene, sehr persönliche Mitteilungsform. Und die Übertragung eines radikal erscheinenden kompositorischen Einfalls aus der Partitur auf die Stimme kann bei Sängern, die sich darum bemühen müssen, schnell in einer Grimasse enden, die gegenüber dem Blick von außen albern, lächerlich oder hysterisch erscheinen mag. Also ging es mir eher um eine auf Textverständlichkeit gerichtete Zurücknahme des kompositorischen Zugriffs.

So ist hoffentlich vielleicht gerade aus der „Unmöglichkeit, im Wiko zu komponieren“, vor der mich Kollegen gewarnt hatten, eine produktive Enthaltbarkeit geworden, die die verwendeten Texte vor allzu aufdringlichen Einfällen in Schutz nimmt. Und für die der anregend schwebende Zustand des vom Alltag weitgehend freigestellten Daseins im Wissenschaftskolleg offenbar sehr zuträglich war. Daraus entstanden ist mein sicher leisestes, fragilstes Stück Musiktheater. Nur manchmal hört man darin etwas Grunewalder Vogelgezwitzcher (dann sieht man auch Peter Jones mit Fernglas) und kann dem leise modulierenden Brummen eines Kühlschranks lauschen, der mir in dem Komponierhäuschen ‚Remise‘ am Rande des Kollegs liebgewordener Orgelpunkt war.

Während mein Aufenthalt hier im Juli abrupt ein Ende fand, bietet „I went to the house but did not enter“ Erzählungen ohne Anfang und Ende, Texte am Rande der Verständlichkeit, Gesang am Rande des Singens, Bilder am Rande der Sichtbarkeit und Worte, die selbst zu „dramatis personae“ werden.

Abbildungen auf den folgenden Seiten: „I Went to the House But Did Not Enter“. Szenisches Konzert in drei Bildern mit dem Hilliard Ensemble von Heiner Goebbels. Licht und Bühne: Klaus Grünberg, Fotos: Mario del Curto (Abb. 1, 3, 4, 5) und Wonge Bergmann (Abb. 2, 6).



*Abb. 1 und 2, 1. Akt: „The Love Song of J. Alfred Puffrock“.*



Abb. 3 und 4, 2. Akt: „Der Wahnsinn des Tages“.





*Abb. 5 und 6, 3. Akt: „Worstward Ho“.*



MORE THAN TWO CULTURES  
MIRIAM HANSEN

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Born and raised in Germany; studied English Literature, American Studies, and History at Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt (Dr. phil. 1975); taught American Literature at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen (1976–77); postdoctoral fellowship of the American Council for Learned Societies at Yale University (1977–79); taught Film and Literature at Yale (1979–82) and Rutgers University (1982–89); since 1989, Professor of English at the University of Chicago; founding chair of the Ph.D. and undergraduate program in Cinema and Media Studies. Publications include *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (1991, 1994); *Ezra Pounds frühe Poetik und Kulturkritik zwischen Aufklärung und Avantgarde* (1979); and, forthcoming from University of California Press, *The Other Frankfurt School: Kracauer, Benjamin, Adorno on Cinema, Mass Culture, and Modernity*. – Address: Department of Cinema and Media Studies, The University of Chicago, 5845 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637, USA. E-Mail: mhansen@uchicago.edu

As an academic exile who has lived and taught in the United States for over three decades, I was occasionally asked whether my year at the Wissenschaftskolleg had felt like a “homecoming”. For some basic parameters of everyday experience – language, flora and fauna, food, especially bread – that was certainly the case. As far as the academic-intellectual context was concerned, it was *not* – and that was not such a bad thing. What makes Wiko unique is that it is, among other things, an extraterritorial, heterotopic space: a space apart from German academia, from Berlin universities and research institutions whose scholars and library holdings are nonetheless within reach, a space defined by the international and multidisciplinary profile of its community of Fellows.

But that heterotopic quality was not a given; it only developed in the course of the year. When we arrived, there were divisions and blind spots of various kinds – not just the infamous opposition between the sciences and the humanities that C. P. Snow once dubbed the “two cultures”. In terms of the disciplines represented, the legal scholars and political scientists in the transnational constitutions group did their best to diversify that opposition; in addition, historians of science, humanities scholars fascinated with neuro-science, and scientists with artistic penchants further chipped away at it. But there were also fault lines of another kind. There was the language problem: should German scholars deliver their talks in German at the risk of being only vaguely understood by non-German speakers even after the most intensive language course offered by Wiko, or should they forego the subtleties and sophistication of speaking in their native tongue to get their arguments across to the greater number, including Fellows from countries outside the Western European-US American sphere? These Fellows, while a diverse group among themselves, constituted a sizable minority, though they hopefully felt less like one by the end of the year; getting to know them and their work was part of what made Wiko an interesting and exciting place.

The other cultural fault line that I perceived as a productive challenge had to do with my work on cinema and theories of modernity and mass culture. To call this fault line a version of the high/popular culture split would probably be too strong. But it is one thing to love movies; it is another to accept commercial cinema as an object of serious scholarship. One site for engaging this disjunction – in pleasurable acts of viewing and casual conversation – was the year-long Fellows’ Film Series that I organized together with Alex Nagel.

The more challenging site was the Tuesday colloquium, not least with regard to my own contribution. The heterogeneous composition of the group forced me to overcome the considerable degree of specialization governing academic cinema studies and present a complex argument in a manner accessible to highly educated non-specialists. Through detailed analysis of a particular film, I wanted to suggest some of the more general issues at stake in considering cinema a vernacular form of modernism, which was one of the two projects I had been working on during my fellowship. The example in this case was *Artists and Models* (1955), a film directed by Frank Tashlin and starring Jerry Lewis. The question was what it means to say that a Hollywood film reflects on the problems and procedures of its own medium, and does so concurrently with Clement Greenberg’s famous theorization of modernism in the visual arts. If for Greenberg the artist’s practical examination of the medium entailed a quest for “purity” and a rejection of the blending of the arts (“Toward a

Newer Laokoon”), *Artists and Models* celebrates the inevitably impure and mixed nature of cinema as a medium and art form through, among other things, its systematic transposition of the principles of cartoon aesthetics into photographic, live-action film and the implied challenge to classical concepts of the cinematic body.

For the most part of my Wiko year, however, I was working on the final revision of a book manuscript on Kracauer, Benjamin, and Adorno that puts them in conversation on questions of cinema, mass culture, and modernity. Seven out of nine chapters are done and have been read by reviewers; chapter eight (on Adorno) is still troubling me, whereas chapter nine does not require more than editorial changes. For this project I benefited from discussions with the art historians, philosophers, literary scholars, and the composer at Wiko; I was also fortunate to resume conversations with film scholar Gertrud Koch at the Freie Universität as well as Albrecht Wellmer, professor emeritus of philosophy, who have been inspiring my work on Critical Theory and cinema for many years. In addition, thanks to the hospitality of Wiko, I was able to spend a week in January working with Michael Jennings (Princeton) on a joint introduction to Benjamin’s *One-Way Street*, which will be published as a spin-off volume by Harvard University Press.

Like my Co-Fellows, I enjoyed the various luxuries and opportunities Wiko had to offer: the incredible library service; the kitchen staff’s high spirits and their attentiveness to my dietary problems; performances by the Artemis and Amaryllis quartets (to say nothing of the amazing program put on for the staff/Fellows farewell party); excursions to Heiner Goebbels’s *Surrogate Cities* and Strauss’s *Elektra*; the presence of creative artists, writers, and temporary visitors like Willibald Sauerländer and Walter Levin; and last, and perhaps most important, the invigorating company of a strong group of women scholars.

To conclude, I want to return to the question of homecoming. The ambivalence that question revived in me is not unrelated to the physical location of Wiko. Grunewald is an idyllic neighborhood, bordering on the venerable forest that gave it its name. To get from here to there you have to pass through the long, narrow underpass of the S-Bahn. It would inspire dread even if you didn’t know its history – its having been the path to Track 17 from which Berlin Jews were deported to concentration and extermination camps in the East. The memorial along that track is moving by its very soberness: a seemingly endless series of plaques with the date, number of deported, and destination of each train. My grandparents left from Prague to Terezín and on to Auschwitz. That is another kind of homecoming to this complicated home that is Germany.



## GROSSE FRAGEN, GROSSE ANTWORTEN THOMAS HAUSCHILD

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Thomas Hauschild, geboren 1955, studierte Ethnologie, Volkskunde und Religionswissenschaft in Hamburg und promovierte 1979 mit einer Studie über den „bösen Blick“. Gastprofessuren und Forschungsprojekte führten ihn nach Süditalien, Südspanien, Südfrankreich und in die USA. 2002 erschien seine Feldmonographie *Magie und Macht in Italien* sowie *Inspecting Germany: Internationale Deutschlandethnographie der Gegenwart* (Hg. mit B. J. Warneken); 2008 erschien *Ritual und Gewalt: Ethnologische Studien an europäischen und mediterranen Gesellschaften*. Er ist Professor für Ethnologie an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenburg sowie Mitherausgeber der *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft*.  
– Adresse: Seminar für Ethnologie, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Reichardtstraße 11, 06114 Halle (Saale).

Nach Abschluss des Fellowjahres 2006/07 bot mir Rektor Giuliani an, für ein weiteres Halbjahr als sein Gast am Wissenschaftskolleg zu bleiben. Die Chance zu dieser zusätzlichen Forschungsperiode bestand, weil sich mein Wechsel von Tübingen nach Halle bereits abzeichnete, von einem der kleinsten in das größte Zentrum der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie. Ein letzter kurzer Einsatz in Tübingen versprach keine wesentlichen Erkenntnisfortschritte und auch keinen Vorteil für die Lehre dort vor Ort, also blieb ich in Berlin.

Nun wohnte ich nicht mehr in der Villa Jaffé, sondern hatte ein Büro im Hauptgebäude, zu dem ich Morgen für Morgen von der mit Britta Heinrich im Klausener Kiez, südlich des Schlosses Charlottenburg, bezogenen Wohnung angeradelt kam. Über den wunderbaren, unvergesslichen Bibliotheksservice des Wiko und über das Internet erschloss ich mir nicht nur „Ritual und Gewalt“ (Thema meines im Mai 2008 erschienenen Buches), sondern

auch ein breites Panorama der Darstellung außereuropäischer Kunst und „fremder Kultur“ in Museen der westlichen Welt. Die Pläne zur Gründung des Humboldtforums in Berlin und die Veranstaltungen des Museumsforums im Wiko hatten mich sensibilisiert für meine eigene Vergangenheit als Museumsethnologe. Ich war zunächst überrascht, wie viel sich verändert hatte seit der Zeit, als ich im damaligen Völkerkundemuseum der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz versucht habe, mit Ausstellungsprojekten, Tagungen und Führungen ethnologisches Wissen zu vermitteln, nur, um das Haus nach Ende des Volontariats erleichtert zu verlassen und zu Feldforschungen im Mittelmeerraum aufzubrechen. Im Dahlemer „Ethnologischen Museum“ und in seinen bundesweiten Partnereinrichtungen wird heute breit mit Formen der Darstellung experimentiert. Weiterhin findet man Ausstellungen, die Ethnographica aus dem lokalen Kontext heraus zu erklären versuchen, während andere Schauen den Sammlungskontext und den oft im weitesten Sinne des Wortes kolonialen Hintergrund der Aneignung diskutieren. Man findet rein objektzentrierte Ausstellungen, die den Sachen der anderen ihre Würde im Kontext der Weltkunst wiedergeben sollen. Ein hohes Ethos der Mitbestimmung von Nachfahren früherer Erzeuger der Ethnographica ist an die Stelle der früher mal fast wahllosen, mal unter rein kulturhistorischen, mal unter rein ästhetischen Blickwinkeln gestalteten Struktur der Ausstellungen getreten. Es gibt heute einen gewissen Dialog mit den Besuchern, obwohl, das fiel mir auf, weiterhin keine systematische Besucherforschung getrieben wird – ein imaginer Besucher wird jedenfalls mit allen möglichen Formen von Spaß, Unterhaltung und Belehrung bei Laune gehalten, vom generationsspezifischen Kaufangebot im Museumshop bis hin zur Spezialführung für Kunstkenner, Kleinkinder oder auch Sehbehinderte. Gefeierte wird auch gern in den heutigen ethnologischen Museen deutscher Bauart, sei es nun Sommerkino mit afrikanischen Filmen oder das Angebot kulturspezifischer Diners mit Lesungen aus entsprechenden Texten. In einem Vierteljahrhundert haben sich die Häuser von düsteren, schwer bespielbaren und in ihrer Optik auf Dinge wie Besucher erstarrten Institutionen in relativ lebendige Einrichtungen gewandelt.

Viele Kuratorenstellen sind heute mit denjenigen besetzt, die ich während meines Studiums als langhaarige wütende junge Männer und folklorisch oder rebellisch gewandete junge Frauen gekannt hatte – junge Menschen, die für die Befreiung der Völker kämpften oder für alternative Modelle der Machtverteilung in „fremden Gesellschaften“ schwärmten. Vorbei die Zeit, als mich die fast ausschließlich aus alten Herren bestehende Führungsmannschaft des Berliner Völkerkundemuseums für meinen naiven Vorschlag beglückwünschte, systematisch moderne afrikanische Kunst und vor allem ihre anpasseri-

sche Dimension, die „airport art“ zu sammeln – man dachte, ich hätte einen besonders raffinierten Scherz machen wollen. In derselben, für mich unvergesslichen Sitzung dieses Kollegiums musste sich ein anderer Volontär zur Atomenergie bekennen, als man nach demjenigen fahndete, der ein Anti-AKW-Flugblatt im Kopierer des Direktorates hatte liegen gelassen. All das ist nun schon über 25 Jahre her!

Doch nach und nach fielen mir bei meinen einsamen Forschungen im Souterrain des Wiko auch neue Defizite und Entwicklungschancen ins Auge. Ich war erstaunt, wie weit sich die in den Universitäts- und Forschungsinstituten betriebene *cultural/social anthropology* internationaler Prägung von der deutschsprachigen Museumsethnologie entfernt hat. In dieser globalisierten Ethnologie deutscher Machart dient materielle Kultur allenfalls noch als Index zur Messung von Prozessen der Globalisierung und Einbindung in kapitalistische Märkte. Dabei sind faszinierende Studien entstanden, wie die von Appadurai oder Miller, aber der Herausforderung, materielle Kulturen im Vergleich zu betrachten, stellt man sich nicht mehr. In einer postkolonialen Attitüde der Verweigerung gegen den Mainstream produziert diese Wissenschaft fast gar nicht mehr für populäre Märkte, also auch nicht für die Museen, es sei denn, es ginge um reflexive Projekte im Zusammenhang mit Urheberschaft, der Publikation indigener Stimmen. Doch hinter dieser postmodernen Fassade einer rein kritischen Wissenschaft macht sich zunehmend Unmut breit, es wird eine neue, rationale Ethnologie gefordert, die vergleicht, große Theorie betreibt und an politischen Debatten mit Sachverstand teilnimmt (in Deutschland geschieht dies besonders im Zusammenhang mit dem Hallenser Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung).

Die Museumsethnologie, so scheint es, hat sich von diesen Entwicklungen der forschenden, wissenschaftlichen Ethnologie abgekoppelt (oder ist von ihnen abgekoppelt worden). Aus der postmodernen Ethnologie hat man vielleicht noch sammlungskritische Ausstellungen oder eine Tendenz zur (meist ästhetisierenden) Wahrnehmung indigener „Stimmen“ abgeleitet. Die längst laufende Wende zurück zu einer evolutionären, welthistorisch argumentierenden und vergleichenden Ethnologie wurde nicht wahrgenommen. So besehen scheint der Trend zur Vereinnahmung der guten Stücke, der ästhetisch besonders ansprechenden Ethnographica in Sammlungen der Weltkunst ebenso unaufhaltsam wie die Tendenz, ethnographische Detailschauen immer weiter finanziell zu beschneiden oder zu schließen. Das einzige Bollwerk, mit dem sich das Universitätsfach wie die Museen gegen die Schließung dieser veralteten „Schaufenster“ einer wissenschaftlichen Ethnologie hätten

wehren können, wird von beiden Gruppen nicht mehr weitergebaut – dieses Bollwerk wäre einzig das öffentliche Interesse, das Publikum.

Es ist dasselbe Publikum, das auf der Suche nach Schönerem, aber auch nach Grundsätzlichem, Wirksamem und letztlich nach Sinn die technikhistorischen Ausstellungen ebenso stürmt wie Events zu bestimmten historischen Epochen und Kunstformen. Dieses Publikum nimmt alles mit, was groß ist, von der vergleichenden Ästhetik, die in Guggenheim-Schauen betrieben wird, bis zu skurrilen oder kritischen Inszenierungen lokaler oder internationaler historischer Größe. Genau hier scheint mir die Chance zu liegen: Akademische und museale Ethnologie sollten wieder enger zusammenarbeiten, große Fragen sollten wieder zusammenkommen mit ästhetischen, kritischen und didaktischen Experimenten. Ein großes Haus, das größte Haus Berlins, das künftige Humboldtforum, sollte nicht nur der Ort für überdimensionierte Spektakel „wunderbarer Kunst aus Afrika“ oder sammlungskritischer Auseinandersetzungen mit kolonialen Schuldkomplexen sein. Ein großes Haus muss große Fragen stellen und darf auch mal große Antworten anbieten. Wo liegen die Grenzen der gesellschaftlichen Formbarkeit von Menschen, zwischen „freiem Markt“ und staatssozialistischen Modellen? Warum setzt sich die Familie als Grundform des menschlichen Handelns immer wieder durch, während die staatlichen Strukturen und nichtstaatlichen Verfassungen menschlichen Handelns sehr zahlreich sind? Welche Rolle spielt Recht in einer Weltkultur, sollte es kulturelle Minderheitenrechte geben, und wie könnte eine Weltordnung Recht durchsetzen? Gibt es eine universale Ästhetik, ist Design wirklich Schicksal und seine Vermarktung unaufhaltbar oder stehen wir bereits vor dem Kollaps einer Ordnung, die glaubte, auf finanzielle Derivate und Modetrends gestützt, die militärische Kontrolle über alle „unsicheren Gebiete“ der Welt ausüben zu können? Wie stehen heute Zentrum und Peripherie zueinander, wo an jeder Peripherie Massenvernichtungswaffen hergestellt werden könnten? Warum gibt es Arm und Reich auf der Welt und warum kollabieren manche Gesellschaften, andere nicht? Bis zur Höhe der einfachen Strukturen von Jared Diamonds Bestsellern haben wir es – gefangen in der Falle des scheinbaren Gegensatzes von Ästhetisierung, Weltkunst, Kritik des Mainstreams und Theoretisierung des Globalen – bis heute nicht gebracht. Museumsethnologen und Universitätsethnologen sollten den Anschluss an die Erfolge der großen Ausstellungsmacherinnen Gisela Völger und Karin von Welck in den 70er und 80er Jahren suchen – hier liegt der Schlüssel für eine anthropologische Ausstellungskultur, die Event, Sinnfrage und das Experiment der Sinne so miteinander verbindet, dass dieses große Haus der kulturellen Relativität und der technisch-ökonomischen Abstände neben dem Jüdischen Museum,



dem Bode-Museum und der Topographie des Terrors bestehen kann und vielleicht auch im internationalen Vergleich etwas Eigenes zu bieten hat. Ob das Humboldtforum ein Desaster wird oder eine wirkliche Konkurrenz zum British Museum, zum Musée du Quai Branly und den anderen „großen Häusern“, es liegt bei uns Museums- und Universitätswissenschaftlern – und bei den Umständen, unter denen man uns arbeiten lassen wird.



IN PRAISE OF THE LIBRARY TEAM  
BOGDAN IANCU

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Born in 1973 in Vaslui, Romania. Dr. iur., Lecturer in Public Law, Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest. Studied law at the “Al. I Cuza” University of Iași, Romania and the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary; researched comparative constitutional and administrative law at the University of Toronto, Yale Law School, and McGill University. Currently Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow, the University of Bremen, Center for European Law and Politics and Humboldt University, Faculty of Law. – Address: Zentrum für Europäische Rechtspolitik, FB Rechtswissenschaft, Universität Bremen, Universitätsallee GW1, 28359 Bremen. E-mail: bogdan.iancu@fsub.ro

When I started to write my report for the yearbook, I realized that I have few memories left of my time at the Wissenschaftskolleg. To be more accurate, the memories I can now summon are kaleidoscopic snippets, not a clear narrative continuum.

There are legitimate reasons for this. The invitation to visit the Institute on a three-month Andrew W. Mellon research fellowship reached me at an auspicious moment, a brief respite from teaching duties, which was to be used judiciously. I was aware that I would be there for a short stretch of time and had much to do, and I was poised from the outset to make the most of it. This requisite instrumentalism naturally took away part of the overall social-academic charm. I can recollect now haphazard shards of my life there, for instance constitutional law discussions with Dieter Grimm, Alexander Somek, and Gunther Teubner, sundry familiar conversations with Kathrin Biegger and Moira Gatens, peripatetic chats with Salman Bashier and Dhruv Raina, a couple of Thursday dinners, and a few Tuesday lectures.

For the most part, however, my stay in Berlin was by necessity a well-mustered daily routine of work in Grunewald, with swift evening *Ringbahn* getaways to swim laps in the pool at Landsberger Allee. Due to this habitual commute, my impressions of the city are also fractured rather eerily between the stately peacefulness of Grunewald (a somewhat faded overall sense of winding lakes and sloping streets lined with old villas, clearer memories of evening walks through the *Hasensprung* to the Grunewald station) and the drab surroundings of the former GDR Olympic swimming complex, an epitome of the prolific Socialist Realist architectural school (depressingly standardized gray buildings made of concrete slabs). With his peculiar mystical wit, Salman quipped that discipline requires sacrifices but going all the way to the Soviet Union for a swim was taking things a tad too far.

The general sense of gratitude for my stay at the Kolleg is intact. It is a privilege to be at the Wissenschaftskolleg and – it is perhaps common with many such privileges – one fully realizes the extent of it only in the postlapsarian state (there is nothing more natural in humans than acquiring the feeling of entitlement to a life of advantage). To wit, while on my first day in Berlin I looked out the window of my room in the Villa Linde and was spellbound by the view overlooking the lake, I soon lost all sense of wonder and learned to acknowledge it as a perfectly normal part of my environment. Only when one returns to the real world of noises and squabbles does one suddenly stop taking the quiet, sheltered, carefree beauty of one's former life in Grunewald for granted.

Among the many comforts awaiting a Fellow, none is as unexpected and intellectually praiseworthy as the Library Services. Their level of competence is in my experience unparalleled and cannot be explained by generalizations (elite academic institution, etc.); it is not uncommon to encounter unhelpful librarians and bizarre borrowing rules and restrictions in good university libraries. To wit, one of the projects I had to complete during my stay at the Kolleg was a chapter for a volume on the conceptualization of freedom of assembly in contemporary constitutionalism. What seemed initially like an in-and-out commentary on a couple of modern constitutional law decisions quickly turned into a much more demanding and gratifying research. Liberal constitutionalism has always entertained an uncertain relationship with free assembly, for a reason that is best showcased by Madison's terse statement in "The Federalist No. 55": "[h]ad every Athenian citizen been a Socrates, every Athenian Assembly would still have been a mob." This tenuous relationship, due to the foundational liberal fear of the masses, of the irrationality of crowds, translates legally into an uneven and unsure path toward recognition of free assembly on the level of fundamental rights protection and, consequently, into a very interesting constitutional genealogy

of the right. I needed a stream of books and articles and quickly realized with unmitigated surprise that I could ask for and expect a steady and prompt supply of an unlimited number thereof. They would be brought to my doorstep, no questions asked. No matter how many, how ostensibly unrelated to my general field of research, and how esoteric the titles I would require, these would surely be on my shelf in the *Weißer Villa* within a few days. One morning I filled in a request form for a transcript of the trial of Lord George Gordon, who had initiated in 1780 a mass petitioning of Parliament against the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and ended up stirring a rebellion, which caused London to burn for days on end. I was without much hope of getting a hold of it too soon but, to my surprise, I received a call from the Library within hours. They had located the document and I could download it from an online database the Wissenschaftskolleg subscribes to. Likewise, requiring references, one December morning I solicited a few volumes of Holdsworth's *History of English Law* and the entire work, all twelve thick volumes of it, was waiting in the library by nightfall. Indeed, I made out a request for three law journal articles in late December, by pure mistake, not realizing that my time in Berlin was getting very short. I later received them by mail in Romania, together with a card signed "Library Team", a team to which I can now extend admiring gratitude.



ARKADIEN? NEO-SANSSOUCI? ODER:  
IN DER SCHULE DES VERSTUMMENS  
URSULA PIA JAUCH

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Geboren in Zürich, Studium der Philosophie, Linguistik und der Älteren Deutschen Literatur an der Universität Zürich. 1988 Promotion („Immanuel Kant zur Geschlechterdifferenz: Aufklärerische Vorurteilkritik und bürgerliche Geschlechtsvormundschaft“). Von 1987 bis 1991 Lehrbeauftragte am Philosophischen Seminar und wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin der Arbeits- und Forschungsstelle für Ethik der Universität Zürich sowie Redaktorin der *Schweizerischen Arbeitsblätter für ethische Forschung*. 1990 Literaturpreis für *Damenphilosophie und Männermoral*, 1992 scholarship am Getty Center for Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles. 1996 Habilitation („Jenseits der Maschine: Philosophie, Ironie und Ästhetik bei Julien Offray de La Mettrie“). Seit 2003 Professorin für Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der kulturhistorischen Fragestellung an der Universität Zürich. Arbeitsgebiete: Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts, Ideengeschichte der Aufklärung, Damenphilosophie und Exzentrik im 18. Jahrhundert; Ästhetik, Kulturanthropologie, Philosophie der Kunst. Neben der akademischen Tätigkeit Arbeit als Publizistin und Autorin (Radio DRS, Schweizer Fernsehen/„Sternstunden Philosophie“, ZDF, ORF). Seit 1989 Freie Mitarbeiterin beim Feuilleton der *Neuen Zürcher Zeitung*. – Adresse: Philosophisches Seminar, Universität Zürich, Zürichbergstrasse 43, 8044 Zürich, Schweiz.

Berlin = Arkadien = Sanssouci: Auch für mich, eine deutschsprachige Dixhuitièmistin mit einem starken Hang zur shandyesken Aberration, gab und gibt es zwingende Logiken. Dass sich in einem spätmodernen Sanssouci wähnt, wer ans Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin geladen ist und folglich über Monate in existenzieller Nähe zum einstigen *think tank* des friederizianischen Borusso-Hedonismus leben darf, schien mir von allem Anfang an evi-

dent. Angekommen, machte ich gleich die Probe aufs Exempel: Von der kurzen Wallotstraße geht's rein in die Koenigsallee, dann rauf auf die AVUS, runter wieder bei der Ausfahrt Potsdam, dann immer brav entlang den in scheußlichem Kulturbraun gehaltenen „Sanssouci“-Schildern bis zu jenem Punkt, wo man direkt in die 1984 wieder erbaute und doch starrsinnig „historisch“ genannte Windmühle reinfahren würde. Aber wir haben bremsen gelernt. Linkerhand endlich die Kolonnaden von Sanssouci.

Unschwer wird ein historisch geschärftes Auge den hageren Voltaire da im Ehrenhof ambulieren sehen, wissend zudem, dass drinnen, vor just 260 Jährchen, eine muntere Truppe von gar nicht so preußisch korrekten *Fellows* ihrem exzentrischen Tun gefrönt haben: Moreau de Maupertuis, Akademiepräsident und zugleich Verfasser der „Venus physique“, einer clandestinen Fortpflanzungsschrift mit erotophilem Durchschuss; der Marquis d'Argens, vielgesuchter Co-Autor einer skandalösen „Thérèse philosophe“ (von den späteren Dixhuitièmisten als Gründungsschrift der wissenschaftlichen Pornosophie rubriziert); Julien Offray de La Mettrie, auch nicht gerade ein Kastratentenor, wenn man an seine „Art de jouir“ denkt; dann der oszillierend schöne Francesco Algarotti, vom empfindsamen Friedrich nicht selten als „beau cygne de Padue“ angeschmachtet; dazu kommen die Herren Catt und Darguet und nicht zu vergessen: der Abbé de Prades, einer der heitersten Häretiker seiner Zeit, ebenso geistreich wie verkracht und ebenfalls während etlicher Monate Gast in Friedrichs freigeistigem Asylantenparadies. Das ist, *mutatis mutandis*, die geistige Situation im Potsdamer Sanssouci des Jahres 1748. Damen freilich waren da nicht zugelassen.

Ansonsten aber gibt es keine großen Unterschiede zum heutigen Neo-Sanssouci drüben, ein paar hundert Jahre später, an der Grunewalder Wallotstraße. Oder doch? Oft habe ich mich während meiner kurzen paar Monate hier gefragt, ob und wie sich der Geist sedimentiert; ob eine gewisse Aura – in diesem Fall diejenige des exzentrischen Potsdamer *esprit libre* von 1748 – sich für immer verflüchtigt, oder ob doch eine kleine Hoffnung besteht, dass eine Atmosphäre wieder wachgeküsst werden könne, wenn man nur genügend insistiert die dürren Figurationen der Spätmoderne ignoriert. In der Tat: Frei – oder wenigstens „freigestellt“ von unseren üblichen Pflichten – waren wir ja, und der *esprit libre* gehört sowieso zu den unhintergehbaren Bedingungen einer jeden forschenden Existenz. Aber ganz spurlos, da sind wir uns einig, sind diese 260 Jahre eben doch nicht am einstigen Denk-Frei-Raum Akademien (was ja fast schon wie Arkadien klingt) vorbeigegangen.

Sind wir nicht zu bedauern? Zu den Alltäglichkeiten der gelehrten Existenz im frühen 21. Jahrhundert gehört die bürokratische Ordnung, in die unser Sein längst und vollkom-

men eingepasst ist; herrlich pflichtgemäß lassen wir uns in ein Büro locken, eine dämliche Maschine taktet unser Denken: E-Mails, Abstracts, Anträge, Institutsreglemente, Kostenstellenlyrik, *credit point*-Vergabe, Gutachten und andere Endzeitprosa. Der bedeutendste Gelehrte ist derjenige mit den meisten Publikation, *big science*, Spitzenforschung, herrliche Exzellenz!

Wer so klagt – und ich klage zugegebenermaßen öfters so –, sollte allerdings Trost finden in jenem neuen wissenschaftskollegialen Sanssouci zu Berlin, dem zwar kein aufgeklärter König, aber doch ein sensitiver Direktor vorsteht. Aufgeklärte Worte sind da auch heute zu hören. Etwa: „Die Zeiten, sie sind nicht so, dass in unsern Hohen Schulen ein gelehrter Kopf sich in Kontinuität und Konzentration seiner forschersichen Aufgabe hingeben kann.“ Ein wunderbarer Satz von Peter Wapnewski, an dem mich vor allem das Verb „hingeben“ erfreut, als ob die Wissenschaft noch vom Eros angetrieben würde und nicht von *Science*, *Citation* und *Index*. Und man gestatte mir noch ein zweites Zitat: „Das Wissenschaftskolleg ist ein Experiment im Verstehen, ein hermeneutisches Exerzitium, das ein ganzes Jahr anhält.“ Allerdings. An diesem Satz von Wolf Lepenies hat mir nachgerade das kleine Wort „Exerzitium“ gefallen. Exerzitium fürwahr, eine innerseelische Angelegenheit, die einer defroquierten Katholikin nicht ganz unbekannt ist. Ein Exerzitium ist ja vor allem eine religiöse Praxis; das Einüben in ein Schweigen, ein inneres Gebet.

Und diese fromme Praxis schien mir hier, im Berlin des Jahres 2008, in einem neuen, allerdings erschreckenden und attristierenden, eher auf Wittgenstein denn auf Loyola zurückgehenden Sinne wieder aktualisiert worden zu sein, etwa: „Wovon man in Englisch nicht sprechen kann, davon ist zu schweigen.“ Wer deutsch sprechen will, der möge doch bitte schweigen. Eigenartig genug: Das Lepenies'sche hermeneutische Exerzitium schien mir – aber ich berichte aus tiefster und also verdächtigster Subjektivität – darauf hinausgelaufen zu sein, dass die einstige Philosophensprache Deutsch hier, im Jahr 2008, in Berlin, in einer Art vorausseilendem Gehorsam zu einer Un-Sprache mutiert ist, für deren „Verwendung“ man sich zu entschuldigen hat, die aus historischen Motiven geächtet ist und die aus „*fairness*“-Gründen zu unterlassen sei (wohingegen ein englischsprachiger *fellow*, der in einem Dienstags-Colloquium das doch zu einem wesentlichen Teil deutschsprachige Auditorium mit einem Satzfragment beglückt, in dem die interessante Redewendung „*your Hitler*“ – also Präsens und Possessivpronomen – vorkommt, sich danach fröhlich an den Mittagstisch setzt und sich von den Damen der Küche mit einem kantianisch nicht abgesegneten Königsberger Klops kulinarisch beglücken und vielleicht gar moralisch stärken lässt). Darüber – über das Verhältnis von Sprache, Ressentiment und Karriere – habe

ich viel, allzu viel nachgedacht, in Sudelbücher geschmiert, geschrieben. Verlorene Zeit? Sudel? *Waste*?

Trost kam einmal mehr von Lichtenberg. Nicht erst im 21. Jahrhundert ist das Deutsche (und sowieso der deutsche Gelehrte) in Bedrängnis gekommen. Wenn der für die Daseinszumutungen des Gelehrtenstandes so überaus sensitive Georg Christoph Lichtenberg in den späten 1770er Jahren mit leichter Verzweiflung notiert: „Was ist denn ein deutscher Gelehrter? Nichts, gelbe, winddürre Seelengehäuse, deren Westen mehr Falten schlagen als anderer Leute ihre Mäntel. Gliedermänner, nach denen man zeichnen und die man herumzerren kann, wie man will“, dann gibt es keinen Grund, diese Lichtenberg'sche Weitsicht nicht bis in den deutschen Gelehrtenalltag am Berliner Wissenschaftskolleg hinauszudehnen. Will heißen: Das „hermeneutische Exerzitium“ am komplett (krüppel)englisch dominierten Wissenschaftskolleg des Jahres 2008 war für mich, die ich nicht anders kann als weiterhin an den philosophischen Lieblichkeiten der deutschen Sprache festzuhalten, zu einer eigentlichen „Schule des Verstummens“ geworden. Dieses Stumm-Werden hat mich in eine seelische Not gebracht, über die ich hier nicht sprechen möchte, die aber – dessen bin ich mir bewusst – gänzlich selbstverschuldet ist, insofern mein fundamental-helvetisches Wesen es nicht zuließ, dass meine geistige Existenz einer gehorsamen Rest-Pidgin-Anglizifizierung unterzogen werde. Lieber schweigen.

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Arbeitsbericht? Ich habe mich, nach meinem Verstummen, wieder ins 18. Jahrhundert zurückgezogen, dessen Spuren und Sedimentierungen auch im Berlin des Jahres 2008 in allen Farben des clandestinen Regenbogens wunderbar sichtbar sind. Die engelsgleichen Dienste der Bibliotheksdamen spendeten mir geistige Nahrung, Trost kam aus freundlichen Gesprächen zwischen Tür, Angel und Abendtisch. Meine clandestine Ideengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts ist weiter gediehen, ein „Sophienkapitel“ ist hinzugekommen sowie eine Plaisanterie über den schönen Grafen Francesco Algarotti, der in den späten 1740er Jahren justament in Sanssouci einen Text verfasste, der heute als „Saggio sopra la necessità di scrivere nella propria lingua“ bekannt ist.

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Ewige Wiederkehr? Dem Wissenschaftskolleg wünsche ich viele weitere fruchtbare Jahre und ein paar (wirklich!) exzentrische Arbeitsgruppen, deren eine sich durchaus den „Bedingungen und Möglichkeiten eines spätmodernen wissenschaftlichen Arkadiens“ widmen darf. Abgehalten werden sollten die Sitzungen als kleine Symposien, unter den Berliner Linden, deren Odeur und Blütenstaub einem manchmal fast die Sinne raubt.



EXPERIENCING BERLIN AND WIKO  
THROUGH A SPECIAL LENS  
ELIZABETH JELIN

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Elizabeth Jelin, born in Buenos Aires, was trained as a sociologist at the University of Buenos Aires and holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Texas at Austin. She is a social researcher for CONICET (National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, Argentina), working at IDES (Institute for Economic and Social Development) in Buenos Aires. Her research interests and publications range from the fields of human rights, the memory of political repression, citizenship, social movements, gender and the family. Much of her efforts are devoted to training young scholars in the craft of research. She coordinated a six-country training and comparative research program on memories of political violence and state repression, and then created and directed a doctoral program in social science (UNGS-IDES, Buenos Aires). Concerned with the unequal academic exchanges between major Western countries and “peripheral” or “Third-World” ones, her international intellectual agenda is geared to changing the global academic hierarchy into a shared intellectual adventure. – Address: IDES, Aráoz 2838, 1425 Buenos Aires, Argentina. E-mail: [elijelin@fibertel.com.ar](mailto:elijelin@fibertel.com.ar)

When paging through previous yearbooks, it becomes very clear that anything and everything interesting one might have to say about their Wiko stay has been preempted by the Fellows who preceded us. The only novelty can lie in the specific way in which each of us combines the multiple layers of experience and feelings lived through during our stay. And this is what I will here try to convey.

Reflecting on a time-bound experience implies looking back at the moment of arrival and the expectations one had at the time. The comparison between expectations and actual

experiences surfaces in a question I am often asked as the time of leaving nears: “What surprised you most during your stay here?” On the various occasions when it was asked, I tried out a variety of answers, going from the most intimate or personal matters to more academic ones. I will now give it another try.

It was in January that I first arrived in Berlin. The reason why already gives a clue to one of my preoccupations during my stay: the southern hemisphere has a different academic calendar from that of the northern hemisphere. October is not a good month to start a new pursuit. It would have implied interrupting academic activities at precisely the busiest time of year (like April in the northern hemisphere). Our activities diminish and we first get a break from teaching during the summer, which commences the end of December. A simple fact, taken for granted by me in my everyday life, evoked surprised reactions in my co-Fellows whenever the matter came up in casual conversation (“Oh! That’s true!”, or “I never thought about that before!”).

Merging with a group that has already known each other for several months and that has already grown accustomed to an ongoing pattern of activity calls for an intensive period of learning and of efforts to try to fit in. I had to learn who my colleagues and the staff were – not as a collective body but as individuals: faces, names and specialized disciplines; places of origin and the institutional settings where they work; and languages in which to communicate. I also had to learn the norms and rituals of Wiko. I had never visited the place before; nor had I ever stayed in Germany longer than a week. That meant having to learn much about daily interactions: from the ways of greeting each other (I come from a part of the world where there is more bodily contact when greeting, hugs and kisses being much more usual than here) to the proper way to address each other (Do Fellows call each other by first names? How does one address the Rector – Herr Rektor? Herr Giuliani? Mr. Giuliani? Luca? – What about addressing the staff?). And it still puzzles me (at Wiko as well as other Berlin venues) as to when exactly a specified time for an activity is to be taken as strict and precise – as is the 11 o’clock Dienstagskolloquium – and when it is to be understood as flexible – as is the 12:30 communal lunch.

The list of large and small features of everyday interaction that were to be learned was endless. After seven months, I still have not learned much. I know I committed countless “mistakes” – if one is to judge them from the vantage point of the norms governing interaction in the specific cultural environment of Berlin and Wiko. Fortunately, there are always a number of Fellows hailing from other places, and the staff is quite used to intercultural dialogue and the inevitable misunderstandings that go along with it.

Without much forethought or previous planning, during the initial period of my stay, I started to apply the tools of ethnographic research to my everyday life. I observed (as inconspicuously as I could) everything; not knowing beforehand what might turn out to be “significant” I spent hours taking notes on everything I observed. The rituals of the Dienstagskolloquium attracted my attention, in particular the 5–10 minute introductions by a fellow Fellow. In them, I found echoes of Marcel Mauss’ notion of *le don* (the gift), an interpretation of the act of giving as bound by rules of reciprocity. *Le don* can never be free, involving as it does a set of obligations that reflect the interdependence of giver and givee, the recipient and the community (in this case, the audience). What is given – in our case, the almost always laudatory or flattering introduction of the Fellow about to speak – also reveals the identity of the giver. His or her power lies in *le don* – and thus the significance of this little performance. Week after week, I started to see links between these introductions and the other major interactive performances in the Dienstagskolloquium, namely the comments and questions. But then I realized that there was considerable continuity and congruence between interaction in the colloquia and the patterns of interaction at lunch and dinnertime. A network analysis would have shown the patterns of power, prestige and reciprocity quite clearly.

All these performances were fascinating to me, and I had to refrain from transforming my observations into a research project in its own right. My understanding of research ethics restrained me from doing it: I cannot do research while simultaneously hiding my intentions from the subjects I am working on. In my fieldwork, I always transform such relationships into a “working with”. I felt I could not impose upon my Wiko colleagues such an outrageous proposal. They were very busy pursuing their personal projects and engaging with the rest of the group in their own ways, and I felt it would be more than an intrusion to request that they become research subjects. Furthermore, awareness of the proposal itself would so deeply alter the interaction patterns of my envisioned subjects that the whole project would become worthless. What was and is clear to me is that what at first appears to be spontaneous and personal interaction is in fact the result of clearly structured and power-driven patterns. Thus, my observations had to remain private ones, leaking out in casual conversation, perhaps at what came to be known by its participants as the “Third-World Table”.

The coming together of those very few Fellows from the “Third World” was not only a matter of a shared sensibility or mutual empathy. It was never a closed group based solely on place of residence; it was a network with loose parameters and porous boundaries, and

key to membership was a certain way of sharing some features of our intellectual work. It is fairly safe to say that most academics from the “centre” carry out their work relatively ignorant of what is happening on the periphery, i. e. are unaware that there are “others” who occupy other positions and that something can be gained by casting an occasional glance their way (and not then seeing them as exotic, or savage or colorful, please!). Those of us who work in the “periphery”, on the other hand, cannot avoid incorporating the centre, the West, and the distribution of world economic, intellectual or any other power into our understanding of our subordinate position. Working from the periphery implies a specific way of framing research questions. Perhaps what is involved is a difference in *Weltanschauung*. Issues of power relations are always present, couched at times in theoretical debates about hegemony, domination, or the position of the subaltern. What is surprising for me is how rare it is to find these issues being treated in the work of my Fellows from the centre.

A second trait is more blurry. Living and working in the periphery implies living in politically unstable and/or changing environments, with relatively weak state and non-state institutions, and where crisis and emergencies are the norm. Under such conditions, the “personal troubles of milieu” and the “public issues of social structure” – to use C. Wright Mills’ terms – are always present in whatever combination. This implies a constant awareness of the public and political dimensions of our work. Intellectual public engagement is part of our task; it cannot be avoided.

I regret not having taken the initiative to organize open discussions among the Fellows about these themes. Both centre-periphery power relations in the production and dissemination of knowledge as well as academic work’s necessary public engagement – these themes informed those few times I asked questions in a colloquium and my conversations with fellow “third-worlders”. Fortunately, they were also the themes of certain conversations and exchanges that I had with select Wiko higher-ups. Such interest in these issues was an unexpected revelation to me. It was encouraging for me to realize how much some of these issues are present in the concerns of certain people at Wiko. Their willingness to listen and their readiness to discuss the global geopolitics of knowledge and the paths leading to change was, no doubt, one of the BIG surprises I encountered during my stay.

Intellectually, I had no specific expectations for my stay at Wiko. I did not come with a certain task in mind – no book to write or finish, no specific archival research to complete. After almost a decade of concentrated efforts devoted to specific institutional tasks and thematically specific academic projects (dealing with issues of the memory of violence and re-

pression, among others), I needed time to reflect on these experiences and take some comparative notes. Berlin was the ideal place for this endeavor. My plan was to have time to think through the interrelationships between the several specific themes I had been studying, and I wanted the freedom to continue my exploration of styles and genres of writing and to convey the results of my research and reflection in alternative ways, especially the various uses of photography. Central to all of this was my concern with the convergence of the personal and the political, of one's own biography and history.

With such an open agenda, I soon found myself exploring life in Berlin, taking comparative notes and, in a sense, immersing myself in an ethnographic adventure. It was not part of my work plan; it was not even a conscious decision. Coincidences and circumstances impelled me in this direction – a direction that was also given impetus by certain Wiko people who would from time to time comment that a sojourn at Wiko finds many Fellows doing something completely different from what they had anticipated before arriving. With this indirect encouragement, and in the knowledge that I was not obligated to write an administrative report explaining the degree to which I did indeed achieve my self-imposed goals, my basic impulse was to go off exploring in various directions. Let me say something more about this.

The reasons for endeavoring to write a set of “Chronicles from (or in) Berlin” were highly personal. After a week or so, I had to send some kind of personal message to diverse people whom I feel very close to, in a variety of countries – family and friends, colleagues and students. I chose to write a collective letter telling them about my initial experiences upon landing in Berlin. The response was so encouraging that I continued the practice, taking up diverse themes, incorporating photographs, at times doing a bit of research to be able to relate certain stories about places and their significance. I wrote about the enigmas I encountered, the silences I sensed in the city, the contrast between the manifest statements about particular things and what I sensed were their hidden meanings. The themes, not surprisingly, had much to do with my previous research themes and my own conceptualizations. I found “layers of memories” in public space, struggles and controversies about the meaning of the past, changing interpretations over time – with their spatial expression in changing buildings and statues, or attempts at erasing and installing new or renewed spatial narratives. What attracted me the most were the silences, the issues that people don't talk about. I must confess I was quite overwhelmed by the open response I often got when I made attempts to penetrate these silences. As if certain people were just waiting for the chance to meet somebody ready to listen to their stories ...

Given my own research and teaching themes, during the last decade I had done quite a lot of reading and knew much about the processes of memorialization in relation to the Nazi past in Berlin. Now, in my ethnographic adventures, I was surprised by the complex and unsettled (in my view at least) relationship between East and West Berlin. How do people talk about it? What are the “correct” and the “incorrect” names and labels to use when talking about *die Wende* (the fall of the Berlin Wall)? How to penetrate layers of silence? My chronicles (I wrote about fifteen of them) shifted from one theme to another, taking up certain questions time and again. The writing is very personal, very subjective, expressing my own feelings and hesitations, my own bewilderment and my own discoveries. With all the responses, feedback and dialogues that ensued, by now the chronicles are closer to a dialogical collective endeavor.

I do not know if there will be any follow-up to this writing. Some colleagues think the pieces deserve publication, as a kind of traveler’s selective view of Berlin. Some think that they would be especially significant for a German public that is perhaps not used to looking at itself through the eyes of others. Personally, I have arrived at a point in my life where I feel no pressing urge to publish. I will have to think about what path to follow, if any.

Beyond the pleasure of the adventure and the exploration of styles and types of writing and conveying messages in photographs, I enjoyed very much the experiment of looking at Berlin – “the centre” – through the eyes of someone from the periphery. Together with the research and writing that went into preparation of my colloquium (published in this same volume), I feel that my stay at Wiko offered the opportunity to free myself from the constraints and controls of the academic habitus, allowing me to be moved about by the serendipitous winds of chance and circumstance. For this – and much more – I am very grateful.



## ZU DEN ERMITTLUNGEN DŽEVAD KARAHASAN

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Dževad Karahasan, 1953 in Duvno/Jugoslawien geboren, Erzähler, Dramatiker und Essayist. Die Belagerung Sarajevos war Thema seines in zehn Sprachen übersetzten *Tagebuchs der Aussiedlung* (1993) und seiner letzten Romane *Schahrijars Ring* (1997) und *Sara und Serafina* (2000). Sein Werk wurde mit zahlreichen Preisen ausgezeichnet. 2003 erhielt er den *Buchpreis zur Europäischen Verständigung*. Außerdem sind erschienen: *Das Buch der Gärten* (2002), *Der nächtliche Rat* (2006) und *Berichte aus der dunklen Welt* (2007). Er lebt in Graz und Sarajevo. – Adresse: Augusta Brauna 1, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosnien-Herzegowina.

Die Liste der Bücher, die ein Schriftsteller durcharbeiten muss, der einen historischen Roman zu schreiben beabsichtigt, mag dem Außenstehenden etwas merkwürdig vorkommen. Da findet man z. B. ein Buch über den Rauch als Mittel zur Seuchenbekämpfung im 12. Jahrhundert, eine ausführliche Abhandlung über die Landwirtschaft in den Bergregionen, etliche Studien über den Zusammenhang zwischen Klima und Tischsitten, eine mehrbändige Geschichte der Theaterkostümographie, mehrere Bücher über die Verarbeitung von Baumwolle und eine spannende Geschichte der Milchproduktion und -verarbeitung in den verschiedensten Gesellschaftsformen – hauptsächlich seltene und schwer zu findende Bücher, die in kleinen Auflagen bei unbekanntem Verlagen erschienen sind.

Philosophische Werke, historische und soziologische Studien, Bücher also, die man erwarten würde und die einfacher aufzutreiben wären, sind auf so einer Liste nur vereinzelt zu finden; denn für die Literatur haben philosophische Ideen oder wissenschaftliche Überlegungen und Erkenntnisse etwa jene Bedeutung, die Hydropathie und Zölibat, Ehebruch und Jansenismus, Cholera und Fischfang haben können – sie dienen als Material zur



Erzeugung einer (literarischen) Form. Insofern ist die Literatur *docta ignorantia* im wahrsten Sinne: Auch wenn Helden eines Romans lauter Platons und Newtons wären, würde der Roman mehr danach fragen, wovor sie sich fürchten, wie sie den Schmerz bewältigen, wie sie sich nach einem sonnigen Nachmittag sehnen, als nach ihren Ideen und wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen. Der Gegenstand der Literatur ist das menschliche Dasein, daher darf sie nicht auf naive Fragen verzichten. Ziel dieser Form ist es, die Anschauungen einzelner Menschen zu artikulieren, ihr Erleben der Welt und des eigenen Daseins zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Diese Zeilen sollen die Entscheidung erklären, die ich Ende Oktober 2007, etwa einen Monat nach meiner Ankunft in Berlin, getroffen habe. Ich hatte vor, mein Jahr im Wiko der Arbeit an dem Roman „Das Zeitalter der großen Freiheit“ zu widmen. Dieser Roman spielt in Sarajevo zu Beginn des Bosnienkrieges 1992–95 und war als dritter Teil einer Trilogie über die Rebarbarisierung unserer Kultur gedacht. Im Mittelpunkt des Romans steht die Vernichtung der Bosnischen Nationalbibliothek als Höhepunkt einer „Freiheitsorgie“: Im Krieg kann man eine beinahe unbegrenzte Freiheit genießen, denn im Krieg darf man tun, was man will. Diese Behauptung kann selbstverständlich nur dort Geltung beanspruchen, wo eine infantile Freiheitsauffassung herrscht, d. h. in einem kulturellen Kontext, in dem Freiheit mit „Ich tue, was ich will“ gleichgesetzt wird. Nach fast fünfmonatiger „Freiheitsorgie“ wurde am 25. August 1992 die Nationalbibliothek niedergebrannt – ein Akt der endgültigen Befreiung, ein Schritt hin zu dem Zustand, in dem uns nicht einmal Erinnerung und Gedächtnis mehr begrenzen und zu irgendetwas verpflichten können.

Ende Oktober 2007 habe ich die Arbeit an dem Buch vorübergehend ausgesetzt, um mich einem uralten Traum wieder zuzuwenden. Schon als Student habe ich ein Buch über Omar Chajjam entworfen, diesen Plan aber sehr bald aufgeben müssen, weil es in Sarajevo damals nicht möglich war, an die notwendige Literatur heranzukommen. So ruhte mein Held Chajjam länger als 30 Jahre – konzipiert, aber nicht verwirklicht, mehr als bloßes Wissen, aber noch weit entfernt von einer literarischen Figur, auf halbem Wege zur Form, im Zustand halber Potentialität. In Berlin wurde diese Halb-Figur (oder nur mein Traum?) wieder wach. Angesichts der Arbeitsmöglichkeiten, die mir das Wiko bot – die Bibliothek und eine Umgebung, in der man in Gesprächen fast all die Fragen thematisieren kann, die auch die Fragen von Chajjam waren – konnte ich der Versuchung nicht widerstehen und widmete mich dem uralten Entwurf.

Die Lektüre und die Erfahrungen dieses einen Jahres haben mich in der Überzeugung bestärkt, dass Omar Chajjam in der Tat ein „Held unserer Tage“ ist. Alleine deshalb hat sich das Jahr am Wissenschaftskolleg gelohnt.



## SOME MEMORIES AND SOME IDEAS LEO KATZ

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Leo Katz is the Frank Carano Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania. He holds a B.A., an M.A. and a J.D. from the University of Chicago. After practicing corporate law for several years, he began his teaching career at the University of Michigan in 1987. Since 1991 he has been a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. His work concentrates on criminal law and legal theory. His special interest is in exploring the logic of the building block concepts of the law, such as consent, coercion, form-versus-substance, and harm. He is the author of *Bad Acts and Guilty Minds* and of *Ill-gotten Gains: Evasion, Black-mail, Fraud and Kindred Puzzles of the Law*. – Address: Law School, University of Pennsylvania, 3400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6204, USA.

### I. Memories

This year in Berlin was for me a kind of homecoming. I left the city in 1970, then thirteen years old, from the Eastern side of the Wall, and have lived in the United States ever since. I had visited Berlin briefly, a few days at a time, both before and after the Wall came down, but this was my first sustained re-encounter. It was remarkable both for what had changed and what hadn't. More really for what hadn't.

I naturally paid a visit to my old neighborhood, Prenzlauer Berg. At the Plattenbau complex on Prenzlauer Allee, I peered at the names of the nine families with whom we had shared our particular “bank” of apartments. Four of the nine names were still the same – this after thirty-seven years. These people had moved in shortly before the Wall went up and now, twenty years after the Wall was down, were still there. Also still there was my

old school, the Karl-Friedrich-Schinkel-Schule, the building at least outwardly in even shabbier, sadder shape than it was then, but with bolder and more colorful graffiti. The building's custodian now, I learned, is our old Phys. Ed. teacher. The barber at the corner of Erich-Weinert-Straße and Prenzlauer Allee was still there as well, presumably under different management. The grocery store at that same corner, once a HO, is now a Kaiser's. And the street name itself has not been changed back from its Communist baptism of Erich Weinert, the communist poet and songwriter.

To be sure, there also were plenty of changes, but that was entirely in keeping with expectations. Helmut Kohl was once ridiculed for his boastful prediction of "blühende Landschaften" for a new East Germany. Well, in my particular Plattenbau that quite literally came true. Once-scrawny lawns have been replaced by lush shrubberies and trees of vaguely South American grandeur. A modestly luxurious Holiday Inn sits kitty-corner. There no longer are any flags or banners telling us that "To Fight On the Side of the Soviet Union Is to Be on the Side of the Victors", or exhorting us with Lenin's memorable slogan "Lernen, lernen und nochmals lernen", or announcing the local liquor store's promise to up its sale of spirits by some set percentage in honor of the latest Party congress. Prenzlauer Berg as a whole has acquired a hipness it never had when I lived there and become a children's paradise with fertility rates unmatched anywhere else in Europe, I have been told.

Alas, trying to get some work done as well, not to mention tending to two young daughters with predictable and unpredictable health problems precluded the kind of scrutinizing walk down memory lane I had vaguely dreamed about when coming to the Wiko.

My plans for the year had been to do two things: complete a book-in-progress and start another long-term project. I did the former, did something on the latter, though less than in my maximalist dreams. By Luca Giuliani's terms this may not have been quite a success: Wiko only truly succeeds, he said at the outset, if it deflects us from our plans, as we encounter new inspiration from fellow Fellows. Inspiration there was plenty at the daily *Mittagsmahl*, and the colloquia and occasional lectures, starting with Horst Bredekamp's ingenious presentation on self-reference and the meaning of art and concluding with Dietrich Niethammer's moving account of his research into the psychology and ethics of telling terminally-ill children about their prognosis.

Wiko's staff is legendary for the lengths to which they go to provide for the Fellows' comfort, to relieve us of the practical anxieties that come with living in a new environment, and to ferret out for us whatever books or papers we may need from far-flung and inaccessible repositories. That legend turned out to be no mere legend.

## II. Ideas

Finally, then, some words about the project I completed while here.

There are ideas that are preposterous on their face and yet one is hard-pressed to say why. My book *Why the Law Is So Perverse* is about such ideas.

Here is an example. Let us imagine a maverick legislator who advances a proposal for reforming our penal system, which he says will cut prison costs by ninety-nine percent. What he would like to introduce, he says, is a system he refers to as “voluntary torture, but with the emphasis on voluntary”. “The point of punishment is pain,” he begins the speech in which he unveils his idea. “Without pain, there is neither deterrence nor retribution.” Then he gets to the point: “If you think about it, prison is just one of many possible pain-delivery systems and unfortunately one of the most expensive. We could accomplish the same thing much more cheaply if instead of making a prisoner’s life moderately painful for a prolonged period of time, which is what prison does, we made it intensely painful for a very short period of time. A lot of pain, but for a short duration – that should give us as much retribution and deterrence as before, but at a fraction of the cost.”

Seeing the expression on your face, he adds: “I know, I know, you’re going to say this is hardly new, and civilized countries have gotten beyond it. But my system is really very different from what we had in the Middle Ages: It is entirely voluntary. No one will be tortured unless he asks to be and unless we are sure that he is of sound mind and knows what he is doing. In other words, everyone will continue to have the option of serving his regular prison term, but whoever doesn’t want to, can opt for the torture alternative instead. And if you are wondering why anyone would opt for torture, my idea is that we make the torture alternative just slightly more attractive than the prison sentence. We will make it not quite long enough and not quite severe enough to be judged by most prisoners the exact equivalent of a long sentence. What we are offering them is a ‘torture discount’, a little like the prepayment discount you get for paying your real estate taxes by a certain date. Although the discount is slight, prisoners will come to view torture much like a very painful medical procedure for curing paralysis – the paralysis of jail. The amount of deterrence and retribution we get out of the new system is virtually the same as before, but it will come so much more cheaply. Torture doesn’t cost much; that’s why they could afford it in the Middle Ages. As you can see, it’s a win-win situation.”

Is there anything wrong with this proposal? If there is, it isn’t easy to say what. The system is voluntary. Society is a lot better off because it costs so little, and the prisoner is

slightly better off because he gets the torture discount. That's why the legislator sees this as a win-win transaction. Despite all of that, we would not dream of adopting it. Nor am I suggesting that we should. But there is something perverse here that requires explanation. We have the possibility of an all-round beneficial reform but are adamantly refusing to avail ourselves of it. Why?

My book seeks to explain why the law is full of perversities of this kind: strange and counterintuitive features that one cannot justify but that one would not want to eliminate either. They all have, as I try to show, a common cause.

The cause turns out not to be, as one might have thought, historical, or political, or psychological, but rather logical in nature. Creating laws that do not suffer from such problems turns out to be logically impossible. Oliver Wendell Holmes famously said that the life of the law is experience, not logic. He was more wrong than right. For sure, the historical experience counts. But some of the most fundamental as well as fundamentally strange features of the law are rooted in logic rather than experience.

What are those fundamentally strange features? Here are a few more examples:

- 1) The law is replete with loopholes. No one seems to like them, but somehow they cannot be made to disappear. Why?
- 2) The law answers almost every question in an either/or fashion: Guilty or not guilty; liable or not liable. Either it's a contract or it's not. But reality is rarely that clear-cut. Why aren't there any in-between verdicts?
- 3) There is a lot of conduct we intensely dislike – ingratitude, for instance – but refuse to make illegal. Why not? There are ingrates who strike us as much worse than, say, a petty thief. We have no compunction about punishing petty thefts. Why not also ingratitude?

What one finds, I try to show in the course of the book, is that all of the problems I just listed, as well as many others I did not, closely resemble problems in another area that are much better understood and that are known to be essentially logical in character. That area is the theory of voting. Voting rules are notorious for exhibiting innumerable logical paradoxes. What I shall be trying to show is that many of the things that vex us about law are presentations of those same paradoxes in a different garb.

I look forward to the day in which a copy of the book will take its place alongside those of other Fellows' in the prominently displayed bookcases at Wallotstraße 19.



REFLECTIONS ON WIKO BERLIN 2007–2008  
PATRICIA KITCHER

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Patricia Kitcher is Mark van Doren Professor of Humanities at Columbia University's Department of Philosophy. She is the author of *Kant's Transcendental Psychology* (1990), *Freud's Dream: A Complete Interdisciplinary Science of Mind* (1992), and numerous scholarly articles. She received her Ph.D. from Princeton in 1974. – Address: Department of Philosophy, Columbia University, 1150 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027, USA.  
E-Mail: [pk206@columbia.edu](mailto:pk206@columbia.edu)

As happens with many Fellows, I didn't do what I expected to at Wiko. Nor did my expectations for Berlin turn out to be accurate. In both cases, the reality turned out to be far better than what I had optimistically envisioned.

My academic plan was to get a very good start on a book on Kant's ethics. I'd worked out a couple of central issues (or so I hope) concerning the first formulation of the categorical imperative and I thought that would provide an adequate basis for further study. Prior to taking up that project, I was going to finish a project I've been working on for about a decade, a study of the cognitive subject of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. In this case, I came with a very thick folder full of chapters and draft chapters. When I began working with this material, I realized that there were some issues that I had not dealt with in sufficient depth. Rather than press ahead, I decided that I'd better step back.

I'd agreed to participate in a conference in Cambridge on the issue of transcendental arguments; I also had my *Dienstagskolloquium* to prepare. Rather than present papers I had already read at several places, I decided to try to work up a paper that captured the central argument of the book in a single paper. The conference proved to be extraordinarily help-

ful, in part because I met a Basel philosopher, Sebastian Rödl, whose thinking had been (completely independently) going in the same direction on Kant. We chatted as much as we could at the conference. (Other papers were also very helpful in focusing my ideas on what I was saying that was different.) Preparing for the Dienstagskolloquium proved to be just as valuable. A young philosopher at the Max Planck Institute, Thomas Sturm, set up a brief workshop so that I could try out the paper on Kant scholars. There I met several philosophers, Falk Wunderlich and Bernhard Thöle, who supplied clear and excellent criticisms. Wunderlich's criticisms led me to some of his important work on 18<sup>th</sup>-century theories of self-consciousness between Wolff and Kant; Thöle offered penetrating criticisms that led me to re-work a number of central points. With what I felt was a more solid argument, I turned to preparing the material for an audience that might not be familiar with the issues. Salman Bashier told me afterwards that it was as if I were teaching a class. This was exactly what I tried to do, present material to the brightest class I would ever face in such a way that the Fellows could participate in a discussion of the issues (which I thought was the point of the Dienstagskolloquium – less performance than serious discussion). I enjoyed the discussion and learned from it, but the discipline of preparing was especially helpful for focusing some central issues.

Having reworked the central argument of the book, I realized that I had to redo almost everything that I had done before. This had the bad effect of making me less able to participate in the enormous range of talks and conferences at Wiko and in Berlin. I decided to take this route, because looking back over materials that I'd worked on over a long period of time convinced me that I needed to take advantage of the opportunity for very concentrated work. I suspect this is not the ideal that Wiko aims for, but the gulf I see between the book I could have produced without coming to Berlin and the 11 completed chapters I take away is so large that I feel it was a very good use of the time.

I have attended a number of Kant sessions – talks and workshops – and these have been invaluable. Thomas Sturm organized a group at the Max Planck Institute that met several times; I also sat in on Rolf-Peter Horstmann's seminar at Humboldt University when I could. Marcus Willaschek organized a workshop on some of my work on Kant's ethics that was helpful, as was a workshop on themes of my book at Constance (organized by Tobias Rosefeldt). The latter gave me the chance for a further and extraordinarily useful exchange with Rödl and Thöle.

To my great surprise, I discovered that one of my fellow Fellows – Candace Vogler – had views on Kant's ethics that were very similar to my own somewhat heretical approach.



We had a number of delightful long lunches working through some issues that are very important in my thinking about the real upshot of Kant's ethical theory. It was even more surprising to discover that Candace's work on Elizabeth Anscombe had direct implications for what I was thinking about on Kant on the self. Along with Ruth Leys, who brought her expertise in the history of emotions to the discussion, Candace and I got together several times to discuss key claims from Anscombe about how to think about the emotions and other mental states.

Perhaps my recent history of chairing departments gives me an odd perspective, but I found the requirement to attend *Dienstagskolloquia* very liberating. In recent years, I've spent too many hours in discussions of faculty issues and too few listening to faculty research discussions. Although somewhat awkward at first, the discussions grew into gentle, but serious, engagements with the issues. By the end, it seemed to me that we were a fellowship of scholars genuinely interested in helping each other as best we could.

That fellowship was very evident in end of the year events, when most Fellows pitched in very willingly in a joint farewell party. Of course, it helped quite a lot that we could draw on Heiner Goebbels' endless talents to put together an end of the year show.

Heiner and Barbara (Rendtorff)'s presence at Wiko certainly added to the special quality of being in Berlin. "Stifters Dinge" at the beginning of the year was a real highlight. I found "Surrogate Cities" a sheer joy to watch (and hear). The exciting Berlin opera scene was a pleasant change from the somewhat staid performances I've been used to in New York. For me, it is hard to imagine a greater musical pleasure than hearing Simon Rattle conducting the wonderful Berlin Philharmonic playing Mahler in that glorious hall. I had been advised that the German classical music scene, especially opera, was unreliable. I did not find it so, but, rather, fresh and exciting.

In advance, I thought a year in Berlin might be too long, and that I might make some progress on a book on Kant's ethics. The year in Berlin was much too short, and the progress (I hope) went in another direction. Today I left behind the thick folder I came with and will bring home my new, almost completed book.



LETTER TO THE SPONSOR  
ANTJIE KROG

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Antjie Krog completed a degree in Afrikaans, Philosophy and English at the University of the Orange Free State and obtained a Master's degree from the University of Pretoria and a teaching diploma from the University of South Africa. She is a poet, writer, journalist and Extraordinary Professor at the University of the Western Cape. She published twelve volumes of poetry in Afrikaans, two poetry volumes in English, and two non-fiction books: *Country of my Skull*, on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and *A Change of Tongue* about the transformation in South Africa after ten years. Krog had been awarded most of the prestigious awards for non-fiction, translation and poetry in both Afrikaans and English, as well as the Award from the Hiroshima Foundation for Peace and Culture for the year 2000, as well as the Open Society Prize from the Central European University (previous winners were Jürgen Habermas and Václav Havel). She also received honorary doctorates from the Tavistock Clinic of the University of East London, UK, the Universities of Stellenbosch, Freestate and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. – Address: Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, 7535 Bellville, South Africa.

Villa Walther  
My last day at Wiko  
24 July 2008

Dear Sponsor:

During my first year as a university student I was obsessed with Ayn Rand's virtue of selfishness. Imagining myself a character in *Atlas Shrugged*, I lived a cold and self-demanding life, despising everything selfless as weak, while waiting for the Ayn Rand helicopter to airlift me to that place where all people lived according to her philosophy. But then, politics came ... and after spending a lifetime trying to learn to be selfless and to understand forgiveness, I was indeed airlifted: to Wiko.

I write this letter, dear sponsor, because I would like to explain two things to you: The first is why it is important to invite scholars from the Third World.

Here at the Wissenschaftskolleg, in the Grunewald, I have experienced an extraordinary sense of well-being. It took me a while to realize that this was not *only* the product of the exceptional, generous support systems provided by Wiko, or the safety of being here, or my self-disciplined solitude, but was actually due to the fact that the Kolleg forms part of a larger coherency – larger than its staff, its Fellows from all disciplines and backgrounds, and especially larger than its location in Berlin's Grunewald.

What I mean is that the name of the street I would walk along on my way to Roseneck, say the Furtwänglerstraße, would one morning form part of a cultural program on rbb, would form part of a newspaper article a month afterwards, would form part of a recent museum exhibition about the choices of musicians during the Second World War, would form part of a university course on conducting styles, would form part of German history taught and written about, would be available as a biography in a book or CD or DVD at Dussmann's, would be part of a documentary on late-night television, or appear as a street address on somebody's business card, or slip into a conversation about the bus stops of the M29.

This kind of coherence also means that shop windows on the Kurfürstendamm and in the Kurfürstenstraße would display clothes and shoes for workers in hospitals, on roads, at construction sites, in factories and at clean-up sites. The following week they would display dresses from the Prussian period for Christmas, then soccer gear in the German national colours, then fabrics decorated with figures from Greek mythology. And so many coherencies interlink to form a structure in which one can fully function.

In South Africa we live in incoherency. It looks like this: the area I live in has a name only some people can pronounce (be it Oranjezicht or Qunu), its meaning lost to most of us. Many provinces, regions, towns and streets had other names before their current ones, so one will find some people still using the previous name, others the one before that, some use the correct pronunciation, others a new Anglicized version of the correct pronunciation. Apart from Mandela and Verwoerd, we do not know the people as statues on their pedestals, or the people honoured or vilified by naming and renaming. In our history some had been against and others for some of us. No part of our history is without its exclusion and destruction of some part of the population.

Every South African, on a daily basis, skips from one solid knowable stone to another that is barely within reach. If one misses, then one treads and wades within an unknown morass until reaching something recognizable to stand upon for a while and catch one's breath.

Workers' clothes would never be displayed in our shop windows, because work had been racified and therefore despised. Nobody wants to be a worker. The clothes on display are for the bosses. Everybody wants to be a boss.

On our national holidays (Heritage Day, Reconciliation Day, Youth Day) we realize we have nothing in common – not what we read, not what we speak, not what we write, not what we sing or eat, not whom we honour. Nothing binds us. Our daily third-world lives are broken into hundreds of different shards of unrooted incoherent experiences. (Visiting Djakarta with a group of Dutch and Flemish writers, one of them remarked how they found it difficult to navigate through the streets while checking for all manner of undesireabilities, unequal surfaces, unexpected holes, open sewers, pedestrians, bicycles, etc., and how I seemed to walk the streets with a different sensibility – knowing the geography beforehand and full speed ahead.)

This is of course nothing new for black people. They have lived just such fragmented lives ever since the whites arrived. But for Afrikaners it is new. We created our coherent world through the system of apartheid and now we are all tumbled into a country that most do not recognize.

Why do I tell you this, dear sponsor? Following the media, listening to the debates, one realizes that the influx of people from other cultures and religions into Germany is starting to influence that very coherence I have experienced these past nine months at Wiko. Clearly, big decisions lie ahead on how to manage and operate an increasingly fragmented and diverse society; even on how to submit to somebody else's coherency in order not to accept

that the only possible fields of communality are shopping, American soap operas, video games and movies.

The second thing I want to tell you about, is my colloquium, because I believe that the Dienstagskolloquium is an integral part of Wiko.

The colloquium allows the Fellow to “address” an unimaginably diverse and intelligent group – top-fit in terms of critical thinking. To have one’s own thinking surveyed and challenged by them is a privilege that most academics do not have. Most of us like to teach, and because we are enthusiastic about our subjects the Fellow on stage usually has a conspicuous glow of self-expectation, and it is amazing to see how ordinarily quiet or shy Fellows blossom into riveting border-shifting lecturers.

The first hurdle is the theme. It is not easy to distill, from a lifetime of work and several books of research, something that is not only interesting but explicable to those Fellows outside one’s own field, while at the same time showcasing what precisely it is that makes you “worthy” of being here in the first place.

The second hurdle is to ask somebody to introduce you. For months one agonizes: on whom dare I impose myself? On the other hand, those who asked me, immensely enriched my life.

The third hurdle is the writing of the piece. Because of the audience, because of the kind of internal debate that has developed during previous colloquiums, one’s paper needs to be tailor-made.

Experiencing daily the coherence of Berlin, I realized that all my research and writing was actually an attempt to come to terms with incoherence; that it was an effort to work out the possibilities of living coherently with incoherence. For the colloquium I combined two examples of incoherence that were rooted in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: the testimony of Mrs Konile and misperceptions as to what was underpinning the peaceful workings of the TRC.

I awoke that Tuesday morning, 24 June, very peacefully. The grammar in my paper had been checked and in general everything was as good, sharp and focused as I could get it. As I was drinking coffee I heard a big noise outside and saw something very rare: a swan with enormous effort lifting itself out of the water by its upsurging wings and running with a flatfooted noise on the water surface until it achieved lift-off. At that moment my husband phoned from South Africa. When he’d arrived home the previous night an enormous owl was sitting on the roof – turning its head right around to look at him. Are you

okay, is your mother okay, are we all safe? We both laughed carefully, as third-world people do when death-superstitions enter the space.

I was early for my presentation and stood alone in the *Großer Kolloquiumsraum* – a wonderful space, where the light streams in from the surrounding trees, all year round, whether the trees are autumned, snowed or greened. This room had provided me with much pleasure during the year – from unbelievably beautiful chamber music to lectures where I learned something I hadn't known or simply hadn't thought about before.

A cleaning woman suddenly entered with a blue cloth and carefully cleaned the tables so that when we sat down, there would be no dust or crumbs. I could only shake my head at such care.

The colloquium is a ritual. The Fellow whose turn it is imperceptibly withdraws some two weeks before, writing, consulting, but as the day comes nearer the energy starts to build. On the day itself the hair is washed and one's clothes carefully selected so as to be sober but not dull. A big decision is then taken – on whether to stand – (taking control) or sit (inviting calm discussion).

My time had come. The Fellows assembled. They greeted one another, chatted, and, as always before a colloquium, there was an air of expectation. Fellows have their certain places where they like to sit. Some staff entered, also the main deacon and his deputy. Water was ready, watches taken off. Elizabeth Jelin introduced me. I began. And as I looked up I saw the faces that I have come to know so well over the months – the concentration, the keenness to be engaged, the indispensable critical crinkle around the eyes; also, of course, the signs of self-preoccupation and slight boredom. When Mrs Konile's familiar face with the headcloth and voice appeared on the screen, my insides churned. There she was. In our midst. The sounds she made into the big white cloth were the sounds of a person un-used to crying; in Mrs Konile's life crying for a killed son verged on luxury.

The hour-long presentation is the setting of the table and the serving of the food. The hour-long Q&A period is the tasting and judging of the food. I noticed that my hands shook slightly when I drank my water. It felt as if a kind of terror came from all sides, all disciplines. I felt that I responded inadequately. I was drowning, but also overcome, suddenly, by a feeling of being deeply responsible, not only for Mrs Konile having an unbearable life, but also for her being here in this room, so inadequately. And I knew, as I had known all my life, that I could not make this good, that nothing could ever make up for her harsh, dirt-poor, grief-heavy racialised life. But suddenly, after a question from Martin Loughlin, something happened, something changed, like an *Atemwende*. I felt something

inside myself was stretching forward towards something, I know not what. It was as if one was pushing beyond the limitations of the real – grabbing, letting go, fumbling, tracing, breathing against, shall one say, a kind of still unknowable truth? One's thoughts, not having words yet, grew fingertips that were feeling, probing towards light that one suddenly had become aware was there, very close by.

This kind of moment was noticeable in most colloquiums and it was here, while trying to find an answer, that Fellows would move towards a sort of truth that was being egged on by the faces in the room.

It was only afterwards that I realized that whatever our fields of expertise, as we sat there, our lives were forever interconnected with that of Mrs Konile. We might forget her name, not be able to recall her face, but she would still be there, sitting upright, thin and resistant, demanding from us: a JUST life – maybe the fundamental challenge to that beautiful light-filled, white, plum and bamboo-coloured room.

Yours Sincerely,  
Fellow Antjie Krog

P.S.: A message awaited me on my return from Berlin: Mrs Konile had died.



## EIN LOB DES MITTAGESSENS GESINE KRÜGER

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Prof. Dr. Gesine Krüger hat seit 2003 den Lehrstuhl für Neuere Geschichte/Geschichte Außereuropas am Historischen Seminar der Universität Zürich inne. Zuvor war sie von 2002–03 Gastprofessorin an der Arbeitsstelle Historische Anthropologie des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte an der Universität Erfurt. Prof. Krüger ist Mitherausgeberin und Geschäftsführerin der Zeitschrift *Historische Anthropologie. Kultur – Gesellschaft – Alltag*. Darüber hinaus ist sie Trägerschaftsmitglied des Graduiertenkollegs „Gedächtnis, Körper und Geschlecht. Interdisziplinäre Studien aus der Perspektive der Gender Studies“ an der Universität Zürich. 2009 erscheint ihre Publikation *Schrift – Macht – Alltag: Lesen und Schreiben im kolonialen Südafrika* im Böhlau-Verlag; 2008 ist *„Ich Tarzan“: Affenmenschen und Menschenaffen zwischen Science and Fiction* (gemeinsam mit Ruth Mayer und Marianne Sommer) erschienen. – Adresse: Historisches Seminar, Universität Zürich, Karl-Schmid-Strasse 4, 8006 Zürich, Schweiz. E-Mail: [g.krueger@access.unizh.ch](mailto:g.krueger@access.unizh.ch)

Während meiner Zeit am Wiko konnte ich unter anderem ein älteres Manuskript für die Drucklegung vorbereiten und dabei ist mir ein Dokument in die Hände gefallen, das mir nun in ganz neuem Licht erscheint. Es handelt sich um die nur wenige Regeln umfassende Hausordnung des 1858 in Kapstadt gegründeten Zonnebloem-Colleges, dessen Zweck die Ausbildung afrikanischer Prinzen und einiger weniger Prinzessinnen war. Die Hausordnung besagte Folgendes: „1) staff as well as pupils were to be resident, 2) all inmates without exception were to join in common worship morning and evening, 3) all without exception were to join in common meals, 4) in admission and treatment no regard was to be paid to race or colour.“



Einhundertfünfzig Jahre später und 10.000 Kilometer weiter nördlich, in einer Institution, die zwar nicht für Prinzen gegründet wurde, ihre *inmates* aber so behandelt, hat sich nur wenig geändert. Zwar nimmt der Staff heutzutage Wohnung in der Stadt und an die Stelle des morgendlichen und abendlichen Gottesdienstes ist ein symbolischer Engel getreten, der über allem wacht – *no regard to race or colour*; doch der feste Glaube an verpflichtende gemeinsame Mahlzeiten hat Zeit und Raum unerschütterlich überdauert. So viel spricht gegen das Mittagessen: es unterbricht jeden Tag die Arbeit, es ist zu spät für ein Frühstück und zu früh für ein richtiges Essen, es besteht aus üppigen drei Gängen und lenkt zuverlässig jede Konzentration in unordentlich mäandernde Bahnen um. Daher spricht eben auch alles für das Mittagessen: es strukturiert den Tag durch eine erzwungene Pause, es ersetzt hastig zwischendurch verspeistes Irgendetwas durch ein gepflegtes Mahl (Tablets wurden immer beiseite gestellt!), und es ermöglicht gesellige Konversation, vielfältige Mischung und wahre Interdisziplinarität. Das Mittagessen ist das Herz des Wiko-Tages, seine Mitte. Schon immer hat man sich ja um die Kochtöpfe versammelt und hier wurden sie zehn Monate lang von kundiger Hand gefüllt und auch wieder geleert, ohne dass man selbst dazu beitragen musste, höchstens Wünsche äußern: spezielle Diät, halbe Portionen, keine Paprika. Alles sorgfältig registriert von den realen Wiko-Engeln.

Die tägliche Entscheidung, sich entweder mit anderen zu verabreden oder abzuwarten, mit wem man sich an einem Tisch wiederfinden wird, spiegelt auch die beiden einzig möglichen und sinnvollen Formen der Interdisziplinarität wider: gezielte und geplante Begrenzung oder entgrenzender Zufall des Augenblicks, wobei Zweiteres meist spannender, aber weniger universitätskompatibel ist. Doch dafür gibt es ja das Wiko und das Mittagessen. Während ich am Schreibtisch zur Frage der materiellen Restitution arbeitete, unterhielt ich mich beim Mittagessen über fragmentierte Körper in der griechischen Mythologie, Theater in Sarajewo, den Zusammenhang von Genetik und Oral History, die Frage, warum „sich erinnern“ zunehmend in der Form „etwas erinnern“ benutzt wird, die Zukunft des Strukturalismus und des Publizierens im Internet sowie die Ursprünge des indischen, japanischen und afrikanischen Nationalismus; ferner über die Lage im Nahen Osten, den Unterschied zwischen Männern und Frauen, Wasserpolitik, Theorien der Differenz, Affen, die Frage, ob sich Gedichte reimen sollten, Nikotinsucht, Lateinamerika, Religion und vieles andere mehr. Ist das eine geglückte Interdisziplinarität? Ich denke schon, auch wenn vielleicht keine antragstauglichen Projekte aus diesem teils amüsanten, teils überaus ernsten „unendlichen Gespräch“ (Hannah Arendt) entstanden sind. Es geht um die Form.

Gedanken, Themen und Perspektiven wurden Mittag für Mittag übereinandergelegt und an manchen Stellen scheint Licht durch dieses Palimpsest, an anderen Stellen hat sich etwas verdichtet. In geradezu altmodischer Weise ging es letztlich um Grundfragen der Existenz, um Fragen, die wir uns Studentinnen und Studenten oft mit großer Dringlichkeit stellen, während wir in Gedanken schon zur nächsten Kommissionssitzung eilen: Wer sind wir, woher kommen wir, was soll das alles und wie können wir es erforschen? Die Muße des Mittagessens erlaubte es, dem immer wieder und in unterschiedlicher Kombination der Beteiligten nachzugehen – dringlich, ernsthaft, akademisch, albern und ironisch. Und als vielleicht paradoxer Effekt hat sich für mich über all diesen Gesprächen, deren thematischer Horizont von Algen über Portraitfotografie bis hin zu Vogelgezwitscher reichte, eine lang vermisste Ruhe und Konzentration wieder eingestellt. Selten habe ich mich in zehn Monaten so viel und vielfältig unterhalten und gleichzeitig so viel und fokussiert geschrieben.



SMITTEN BY BERLIN  
BERNARD M. LEVINSON

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Bernard M. Levinson holds the Berman Chair of Jewish Studies and Hebrew Bible at the University of Minnesota. His research interests include biblical and Near Eastern law, and the relation of the Bible to later western intellectual history. Born on June 13, 1952 (South Porcupine, Ontario, Canada). B.A. in English and Humanities, York University, 1974; M.A. in Religious Studies, McMaster University, 1978; Ph.D., Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, 1991. Assistant Professor, Indiana University (1990–1997). Visiting appointment, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mainz (1992–1993). Associate Professor, University of Minnesota (1998–2008); promotion to full Professor anticipated (2008–). Member, Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, Princeton (1997–1998). Publications include *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford University Press, 1997); *L'Herméneutique de l'innovation: Canon et exégèse dans l'Israël biblique* (Lessius, 2005); *"The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Mohr Siebeck, 2008); and *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge – University Press, 2008). – Address: Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies, University of Minnesota, 245 Nicholson Hall; 216 Pillsbury Drive S.E.; Minneapolis, MN 55455-0229. E-mail: levinson@umn.edu

I didn't want to leave. Still miss the place. I didn't even want to submit this report, which meant having to take stock of the year and declare it now, finally, *zu Ende*. Indeed, I am relieved that Angelika Leuchter, the patient editor of the *Jahrbuch*, has not yet commissioned a hit squad or sent a contingent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to wrench it from my reticent hands. I loved the year that I spent in Grunewald at the *Wissenschafts-*

*kolleg*. That is not to say that it was all easy. My research is in the area of academic religious studies, and I specialize in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East. There were times that I felt like an alien in a strange land attempting to explain my interest in the literature, religion, and law of ancient Mesopotamia and Israel, let alone why they mattered in terms of current academic questions and concerns. Perhaps this pushed me even further to try to make these connections clearer in my work. But I found the year liberating and transformative. In part, it was simply being away from the daily academic grind of teaching and service, of academic politics, of normal daily life. Primarily, it was the combination of the freedom to do my own work, the support for that work, the individuals who made up the community that was our *Jahrgang* (both Fellows and staff), and the way that conversations with colleagues stimulated my writing and thinking.

I arrived in Berlin at the end of August, on a Friday of pouring rain, with the hope of accomplishing the following goals:

- To finish two manuscripts that were each in progress: one for Cambridge called *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel*, on the shift from collective to individual punishment; and the second, a selection of my articles to be published in updated form for Mohr Siebeck, called “*The Right Chorale*”: *Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation*;
- The “formal” project for the year, to complete a book for Oxford, to be called, *Revelation and Redaction: The Role of Intellectual Models in Biblical Studies*;
- To improve my German, especially for speaking (I had spent a year in Germany in 1993, arriving with almost no speaking ability, and had become decent at speaking, but had little practice since then);
- To explore Berlin, with its urban diversity and its rich history.

As my mother used to say, however, *Mensch tracht, un Gott lacht* (Yiddish; in German, *der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt*), which is to say, “Man proposes and God disposes.” It was impossible, of course, to do all of this, and in some ways I simply allowed myself to become as immersed as possible in my work. I threw myself first into the intensive German course during September, but found it more difficult for things to click than I had anticipated. At the same time, my gut was pulling me in another direction, that of the speaker in Andrew Marvell’s *carpe diem* poem, “To His Coy Mistress”: “But at my back I always hear / Time’s winged chariot hurrying near.” I basically withdrew from the German course and decided instead to focus my energy on completing the two manuscripts. Still, the issue of my German skills became one of the more consuming concerns for me during the year, one that I

thought about almost on a daily basis. Whenever possible, I spoke German to the German-speaking Fellows, and the ability to have intellectual discussions and friendships with them, in German, was one of the most rewarding components of the year. The same was true with my relationships with the Institute staff, and it became a way to enter more meaningfully into their world and into Berlin. In the end, I never made it to the intended, formal project, and must still write my editor to request an extension. Each of the two projects that I assumed would go quickly grew much larger, in part because of the stimulation I received from my Fellows.

A conversation with Patricia Kitcher, in my intensive German course, led to my asking her to look at something I had already written on Kant. I saw a connection between the notion of individual responsibility that is developed by the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 18), and Kant's conception of human freedom. That conversation led to my restructuring the chapter I was working on and allowed me to give myself permission to explore something I had long been interested in. The original short paragraph became a new five-page section of the volume as I tried to think through not only the similar ideas about moral freedom and choice in both authors but why these connections had not already been recognized within intellectual history: how the gap between the disciplines obscures knowledge. The section that resulted is one of the parts of the book that I am proudest of. Similar things happened when I asked Rüdiger Campe to look at some of my ideas about the connections between Jewish literary history and the function of the canon in creating a notion of German identity prior to the existence of a unified state. In this case, simply being able to see that my ideas made sense to a Germanist at the very point where I was treading new ground and taking risks, allowed me to continue with renewed confidence.

The volume that eventually resulted from this work, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel*, seeks to open a dialogue between academic biblical studies and the broader humanities and argues that the concept of "canon" should properly serve as a meeting point for interdisciplinary scholarship. This theme reflects the vision of the Wissenschaftskolleg itself, and I felt that the volume was embedded there. The Preface marks the location of its genesis in other ways as well, including the memorial to Reich Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau – erected where he was assassinated on June 24, 1922 – which I passed daily, crossing over Koenigsallee to walk up Wallotstraße. The second volume, *"The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Mohr Siebeck), consists of twelve previously published articles that have all been extensively updated and revised, so as to make a sustained statement about the nature of textuality in ancient Israel. Just days before

I left Berlin, a couple copies of each of the two volumes arrived in published form. It was a remarkable conclusion to the year to have them actually in my hands, and leave one of each for the wonderful staff of the Library.

I also worked on a couple of smaller projects during the year. I published a new version of an article examining the impact of National Socialism upon German biblical scholarship in the period from 1933–1945, with a focus on the history of the faculty of theology at the University of Jena. One of the Staff in the Admissions office, Francisco M. Casas, graciously helped me wend my way through the Thuringian bureaucracy in seeking permission to use archival photos from the period. I also made headway on a translation of and commentary upon an early essay by Goethe on the Decalogue, one that brings to light a series of long-lived but highly problematic cultural assumptions about the relation between Judaism and Christianity. In this work, Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus provided stimulating responses and very helpful commentary.

Separate from the writing I was doing, I also worked hard on being able to present an academic paper in German, something that I had never done. Even with a prepared text, I found it challenging to read out loud and to get past my mixed Canadian-American accent. Some of the key technical terms in my field – words like *Sünder*, *Rechtsgeschichte* or *Keilschriftrecht* – seemed all but impossible for me to enunciate, as I tripped repeatedly over clusters of umlauts, sibilants, and pharyngeals. There was an imminent risk of causing lasting trauma either to the ears of my audience or my own throat. I am especially grateful to Sophia Pick who pushed me hard to learn how to project and to stay centered when I present in German. She conducted her coaching with both patience and humor, in a way that went beyond language skills to a larger concept of communication. In the end, I presented a full-length version of my Dienstagskolloquium *auf Deutsch* in both Göttingen and München. I still hope to improve my German, but these presentations to colleagues and students in their own language were an important source of accomplishment for me.

The relationships with both Fellows and staff were very rewarding, intellectually and personally. It began to feel like a community. There were some awkward moments, of course, but it was easy to see the camaraderie emerging: as barriers broke down at lunchtime, as people spoke, lingered, sought one another out, teased, and showed interest in matters of life and work. Care began to emerge and it became visible in the nature of the interactions, and it marked cohesion and connection at many levels. A number of potentially lasting friendships were forged during the year and I hope that they continue. Fellows who also worked in religion became especially important, in particular, Peter Schäfer and Denis

Thouard, and also Salman Bashier. But it was equally rewarding to discuss the problem of equality in biblical religion, or the sophisticated system of imperialism in Neo-Assyria, with Ron Rogowski, as a political scientist concerned with such issues in the modern period. Others Fellows became friends simply because of connecting easily, like Meenakshee Mukherjee or Hans Biesalski. There were too many people who mattered to name them all. Among the staff, Angelika Leuchter was a terrific neighbor to have in the adjacent office, and there were many conversations about real issues. I was also grateful for the way my girlfriend Hanne, who visited several times from Oslo and stayed for an extended period in the summer, was welcomed and made to feel at home.

The close-knit nature of the community at the *Wissenschaftskolleg*, which involved Fellows and their families, and which included the staff, was very distinctive. In my experience, “Princeton on the Spree” has an advantage over the Institute after which it first modeled itself, where the several Schools and greater numbers of Fellows make it more difficult to create a single integrated community. There were some disappointments. I didn’t take enough time off to explore Berlin properly, to really get to know it as a city. But entire days spent in museums or on tours of neighborhoods, guided by Susanne Muth or by Horst Bredekamp or simply making visits independently, were exhilarating. The greatest disappointment was that the year had to end.



THINGS THAT MATTERED TO ME  
RUTH LEYS

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Born in Inverness, Scotland. B.A., Philosophy, Psychology, and Physiology, Oxford University, 1961; Ph.D., History of Science, Harvard University, 1976. Employment: Henry Wiesenfeld Professor of Humanities and Director, The Humanities Center, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA. Recent books: *Trauma: A Genealogy* (University of Chicago Press, 2000); *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After* (Princeton University Press, 2007). Recent articles: "Image and Trauma." *Science in Context* 19 (2006); "Life, Emotions, Error." In *Concepts of Life*, eds., Jane Bennett and Paola Marrati (Stanford, 2009); "How Did Fear Become a Scientific Entity and What Kind of Entity Is It?" *Representations*, forthcoming. Work in progress: A book-length study of the history of theoretical and experimental approaches to the affects in the US and Europe from the 1960s to the present. – Address: The Humanities Center, The Johns Hopkins University, 3400 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-2690, USA. E-mail: leys@jhu.edu

I came to the Wissenschaftskolleg with my husband, Michael Fried, and daughter Anna, then aged 13, with every expectation of having a happy and productive year. I knew from friends who had already been Fellows that Wiko was a marvelously well-run operation. I had also learned from experience that having a space to live in that feels comfortable and workable is essential when one is away from home. The moment when, on the day of our arrival, bedraggled and weary from the long flight from Baltimore but feeling cheerful and optimistic, we stepped into our flat on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor of the Villa Walther, with its welcoming rooms, its views of the hauntingly lovely, melancholic garden, and its glimpses of the bright



water of the Hubertussee, I knew we were going to have a good year. And we did. Indeed, we had a superb time.

I am accustomed at Johns Hopkins University, my academic home, to living in a lively and intense intellectual atmosphere with many opportunities for the exchange of ideas with people in different disciplines, so from that point of view Wiko represented continuity rather than change – although of course it also represented the chance to make new friendships and encounter new, stimulating colleagues. I am enormously grateful for the friendships and relationships that Wiko made possible. And I am also much in its debt for the opportunity it gave me to start a new research project.

I very much appreciated being part of the Wiko community. What I also appreciated was the chance to get to know Germany. I was born in Scotland to socialist parents who during the early 1930s honeymooned and vacationed in Germany and Austria but refused to return then or afterwards once Hitler came to power. At the time of my arrival at Wiko, I had just published a book on the post-World-War-II vicissitudes of the concepts of survivor guilt and shame, and during the course of my research I had read numerous testimonies and texts about the Holocaust. Although I had visited Berlin on several occasions, and a long time ago had even spent a few days at Wiko, I had never lived more than a few days at a time in this country with its terrible and amazing history. Now I would have the chance to satisfy my curiosity at close range. Never mind that, in spite of the valiant efforts made on my behalf by Eva von Kügelgen and her gifted team of language teachers, during my year at Wiko I never learned to speak German fluently: I could manage the language in my own way, and in any case when necessary, the German people, with their admirable ability in English, could converse with me in my own tongue.

These are things that mattered especially to me during my time as a Fellow at Wiko:

1. The experience of living in Berlin. I loved living in this large city that never feels crowded. Berlin has wonderful amenities: excellent public transportation, great museums, wonderful opera and music, interesting architecture, green spaces, a lively street life, bike paths, cafés, and a river running through it. Surprisingly, perhaps, I felt not just comfortable, but even at home in Berlin. I got pleasure from witnessing the changing surface of the water in the little lakes around us, from walking in the woods and parks, from looking at the varied buildings, from traveling on the buses and trains, and from the sight of bicyclists of all ages – even if, in their headlong rush and aggressive sense of entitlement, some of them came close to knocking me over. I liked feeling safe. No doubt adding to my enjoyment of Berlin was my sense of relief at being away from the follies of George W. Bush's

politics and the stupidities of the American primary process in an election year. But I am not alone in thinking that right now Berlin is one of the most interesting and pleasant of all the great European capitals, indeed the most attractive of them all. I could even tolerate, though not admire, the graffiti.

2. My contacts with scholars. I especially enjoyed the opportunities Wiko gave me to meet scholars with interests close to my own. Early in the year I attended a workshop at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science on the uses of photography in science, a topic of particular interest to me since at that very moment I was writing on the use of still photographs in the scientific study of the emotions. A little later Raine Daston invited me to present my just-published book, *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After* (Princeton, 2007), to a group at the same Institute. I appreciated the chance to do this and the excellent discussion with the audience and my commentators, Raine, Andreas Mayer, Henning Schmidgen, and Fernando Vidal, that ensued. With Henning Schmidgen in particular I began a new friendship that I hope we will maintain from now on. Subsequently, Andreas Mayer, an old friend, invited me to chair a session of a workshop also at the same Institute on “Animals Under Observation”, which I also found very stimulating. Early on during my stay, I met historian and former Fellow Ute Frevert one evening at Wiko and was invited to present some of my new work to her “History of the Emotions” group at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development. This resulted in another lively discussion and indeed a friendship with Ute that I prize highly. I met many other interesting scholars on other occasions when I was invited to present my work at various places, including the Kennedy Institute at the Free University and the Einstein Forum. I would also like to mention that, thanks to Wiko, Fellows Pat Kitcher, Candace Vogler, and I found each other and decided to get together regularly to discuss the problem of “Intentionality”, a topic of interest to all of us. Although we did not meet as often as we planned or hoped, we had several productive discussions.

3. My conversations with Germans about Germany and its history. Germany’s ongoing dialog with itself and others about the events of the Holocaust impressed me deeply. From the moment Michael and I began participating in the intensive German language course at the start of our stay at Wiko, the topic of Nazism came up regularly. It is hard to imagine what it must be like for Germans young and old to confront daily such a hateful past, but to me there is something exemplary about the way they are doing so. A remarkable conversation with a person I met thanks to Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus epitomizes this for me. I was attending a concert in Wolfenbüttel, about a three-hour drive from Berlin, and just

before the music began a group of us was walking through the attractive, old little town, where Lessing had once lived. The town had survived World War II intact, so I asked my companion, "Where were you born, and what happened to your city during the war?" She replied that she had been born after the end of the war in what had been a small, beautiful little town not far from Wolfenbüttel, a town that had been leveled by the Allied bombing eight weeks before the surrender. There was a pause while I tried to think of what to say. Before coming to Wiko I had become interested in recent discussions of the rights and wrongs of the British and American firebombing of Germany during the war and in the new literature devoted to the question of German victimhood. I had complex and unresolved feelings about the issue of firebombing because of the pathos suffusing some accounts of the sufferings endured by German civilian victims of the bombing. I had been perturbed by the tendency of some authors to imply an equation between Jewish and other victims of the Nazis and the German victims of the Allies. I had even been offended by the discussion of this topic by W. G. Sebald, whose writings I otherwise admired immensely, because of what I felt was a failure of tact in his handling of the question.

So I asked my companion whether her town had had any factories or other structures of military or strategic value to the Allies that might have justified the destruction, and she replied "No." I struggled to respond when she suddenly said: "The Germans-we-started-the-war. We deserved what happened. We *had* to touch bottom before we could crawl back again to join the civilized world." The directness and frankness with which she voiced this sentiment, perhaps a commonplace of German thinking on the topic today, touched me. As a consequence of this exchange and others like it, I find that my own attitude toward the bombing of Germany has subtly changed, and that I am more open to the idea that the Allied destruction of German cities and the killing of so many civilians were not only militarily unnecessary but morally wrong.

A visit I made with Michael to Buchenwald was a disturbing experience that was also marked by another unexpected encounter. I was struck by the fact that the camp lies only a 15-minute bus ride from Weimar, the historic home of the Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and the German Enlightenment. Indeed the road on which we traveled, which had been blocked off by the Nazis in order to build the camp, had been one of Goethe's favorite routes when he made excursions into the countryside outside Weimar. Michael and I spent a somber two hours walking through the remains of Buchenwald and visiting the various exhibits there. The more time I spent in Germany, the less explicable the rise of Nazism with its contempt for human life became for me. When we were waiting at the bus stop

for a ride back to the Weimar train station, we encountered a retired union worker from Frankfurt who was helping lead a tour of fellow retirees to Buchenwald. The group was staying for several days in the hostels built for visitors in order to study the history of the camp in detail. The man opened the conversation by asking us if we had been to Buchenwald before, or Auschwitz, both of which he had visited several times. His willingness to engage the topic with us, the frankness of our brief exchange over the dreadful past as we sat, incongruously as it felt, in the delightful summer sun, again impressed me deeply. I valued each of the many encounters of this kind that I experienced during my year at Wiko, every visit I made to museums and exhibits about Germany's past, and every book on the topic that I read.

4. A day trip through the Mark Brandenburg. I made several trips during my stay in Berlin, including visits to Amsterdam, Bilbao, Baden-Baden, Munich, St. Petersburg, and London. But a high point for me was a car trip I made with Michael and Wiko Fellow Gustav Seibt into the Brandenburg countryside. The aim of our trip, which was proposed and organized by Gustav, was to visit some of the scenes and places mentioned in Theodor Fontane's *Before the Storm* and other novels. Those scenes and places were familiar to Gustav because he is an ardent cyclist who finds the flat, uncrowded little roads of the former East German countryside a joy to ride and because his love of Fontane, which he shares with Michael, had made him an expert on the area.

We started our tour at Frankfurt an der Oder, an East German town on the German-Polish border that had been much damaged by heavy fighting at the end of the war and badly rebuilt and then unattractively modernized. But the city has two things very worth seeing: a museum dedicated to Heinrich von Kleist, who was born there; and a very rare representation of the anti-Christ in some fine 16<sup>th</sup>-century stained glass windows, recently returned to the old St. Marienkirche from which they had been taken by the Russians as a trophy at the end of the war. Gustav had arranged for us to see the Kleist museum, even though it was normally closed on the day we visited, and then, after a good look at the stained glass, we began a marvelous tour of small churches, war memorials, and other hidden sites of historic or artistic interest that Gustav had picked out for us. The small country roads were largely empty, the agricultural countryside was soft and appealing, and now and again we passed a wind farm. Our itinerary took us through small villages and past farms and tiny churches. Among the stops we made were the lovely "Barockkirche Friedersdorf", of the von Marwitz family, a small seventeenth-century church that had been badly damaged in the war and was now restored; a fine Soviet war memorial commemo-

rating the Russian soldiers who had died during the bloody combat with the Germans that ended the war; the tiny village church where one of Gustav's grandfathers had been vicar; and beautifully restored Neuhardenberg, the former estate of the von Hardenberg family, one of whose members, Count Carl Hans von Hardenberg, was implicated in the plot to assassinate Hitler. Neuhardenberg has a handsome *Schloss* with a beautiful garden park, a magnificent Schinkel church – and an excellent restaurant where we enjoyed an early evening meal before heading back to Berlin, due west into the setting sun. The enchanting and instructive and sobering trip was for me a kind of encapsulation of Germany's complex history, and it was a trip moreover that we could never have undertaken without our lucky encounter with Gustav at Wiko and the friendship with him that ensued.



“EARTHLY POWERS: CHERISH TALENTS  
AND PROTECT THOSE WHO NURTURE  
THEM!”

MARTIN LOUGHLIN

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Martin Loughlin was educated at the London School of Economics, the University of Warwick and Harvard Law School. He is Professor of Public Law at the LSE, having previously held chairs at the Universities of Glasgow and Manchester. His publications include *Public Law and Political Theory* (Oxford University Press, 1992), *Legality and Locality: The Role of Law in Central-Local Government Relations* (Oxford University Press, 1996), *Sword and Scales: An Examination of the Relationship between Law and Politics* (Hart Publishing, 2000), and *The Idea of Public Law* (Oxford University Press, 2003). – Address: Law Department, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE, Great Britain.

Working at the Wissenschaftskolleg has been a singular privilege. Never before have so many dedicated and talented people striven so hard to make my intellectual life so easy. Never before have I been challenged to think more widely and more deeply. And – though receiving vital support from Eva von Kügelgen – never before have I subjected myself to such a linguistic challenge! But if to be a Wiko Fellow is to be blessed, then being a member of a focus group is to be twice-blessed: the fellowship offers space and support, but the focus group provides direction.

My own academic project – writing a book on the foundations of public law – is one on which I’ve struggled for some years now. Were it not for the congenial environment created by Wiko, it would probably still be languishing; now it is less than 12 months from completion. It is the culmination of work started in 2000, an intellectual history of public law as *droit politique* from its origins in medieval thought, through its modern formation

and now – if the “posties” (those claiming that we are now living in a post-state, post-sovereign, post-constitutional world) are correct – in the twilight of its existence. Without the guidance and constructive criticism of my fellow members of the focus group convened by Dieter Grimm on *Constitution Beyond the Nation State*, the conclusion that gives any book its sense of purpose would have remained much more blurred.

But the focus group’s support extended beyond this. It also helped to deaden the voices of those awkward interlocutors who must surely have spoken to many who have been transported to our contemporary *Villenkolonie Grunewald*. Rousseau said it first. The voices ask whether, in the process of promoting refined and delicate tastes, the arts and sciences do anything more than spread garlands of flowers over the iron chains that weigh men down. Rousseau’s ironic invocation remains. I have adopted his words as this report’s title; we must each grapple with these questions in our own ways.



THE RED QUEEN AT THE WIKO;  
LONG LIVE THE RED QUEEN!  
CATRIONA J. MACCALLUM

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Catriona MacCallum has a background in both science and academic publishing. She grew up in Scotland and studied Zoology at Edinburgh University, remaining there to do a Ph.D. on the genetics and ecology of speciation. She continued with research in South Africa before returning to a teaching post in Edinburgh. In 1998, she decided she wanted to be more involved in science communication and joined the Elsevier journal *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* as Assistant Editor, becoming the sole Editor in 1999. She resigned to join the Public Library of Science, founded by the scientists Pat Brown, Mike Eisen and Harold Varmus, in July 2003 just before the launch of their first journal *PLoS Biology*. She works as a Senior Editor on this journal and advocates for open-access publishing. – Address: Public Library of Science, 7 Portugal Place, Cambridge, CB5 8AF, Great Britain. [www.plos.org](http://www.plos.org)

“Now! Now!” cried the Queen. “Faster! Faster!” And they went so fast that at last they seemed to skim through the air, hardly touching the ground with their feet, till suddenly, just as Alice was getting quite exhausted, they stopped, and she found herself sitting on the ground, breathless and giddy. The Queen propped her against a tree, and said kindly, “You may rest a little now.”

Alice looked round her in great surprise. “Why, I do believe we’ve been under this tree all the time! Everything’s just as it was!”

“Of course it is,” said the Queen: “what would you have it?”

“Well, in our country,” said Alice, still panting a little, “you’d generally get to somewhere else – if you ran very fast for a long time, as we’ve been doing.”

“A slow sort of country!” said the Queen. “Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!”

(Lewis Carroll. *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*)



There is a famous hypothesis in evolutionary biology based on this scenario between Alice and the Red Queen, which is typically used to explain the coevolutionary “arms race” that occurs between parasites and their hosts (as well as other interactions such as those between predator and prey). The idea of selection for recurring adaptation and counter-adaptation is straightforward; the parasite and host just go round in evolutionary circles – each forever changing but neither gaining the upper hand for any length of time, even if the sophistication of their weapons increases.

That the Red Queen was also operating at the Wiko first became apparent when I realised that the projects I came armed with at the outset continually changed shape, yet barely diminished in size. Of course, this is true of most research and scientists: ideas propagate ideas. Even a published paper, the seemingly finished product of much hard work, is usually just one step forward. But I began to realise that such dynamics were equally true of the extraordinary group of people gathered together in the confined space of the Wiko. The ritual colloquia on Tuesdays provided the formal arena, but each day ideas abutted ideas and a rich diversity of academic subjects, intellectual traditions and personalities clashed or coalesced. In these recurring rounds of cultural comparison and competition, adaptation and counter-adaptation, even those seemingly impervious to change could not remain untouched for long.

Aspects of my new environment delighted and bemused me in equal measure. As a professional science editor, my usual daily routine involves reading and evaluating potentially cutting-edge papers about any and all aspects of ecology and evolution. Although I love the science, my broader interest is in science communication. In this regard, I found discussions after the colloquiums very curious. I am certainly not the first biologist to bring this up (just glance through previous issues of the *Jahrbuch*), but the realisation that the typically short and direct question of a natural scientist could be seen as naïve at best and rude at worst soon dawned on me. I also learnt that the way one argued a point could be more important than the evidence in support of it, and that something explained simply and clearly could be seen as not sufficiently scholarly. As an editor in the life sciences, I also found it curious that in the humanities previous authors or deceased scholars are so often quoted in the present tense, almost as if they were still among us, whereas natural scientists always use the past tense for things past, in the hope, as was Alice’s expectation, that things have moved a bit farther.

At a smaller scale, Red Queen dynamics were also part of our *Schwerpunkt*. I was invited to come to the Wiko to join Randolph Nesse’s group on evolution and medicine. Although

we were all biologists, our backgrounds were very different: physicians, basic researchers (but different sub-disciplines), editors and sometimes a combination of these. Even though some of us had met briefly before coming to Berlin, we did not know each other personally, and new members with a range of interests joined our group throughout the year. Our aim was to explore the intersection of evolution and medicine, to learn from each other and to come up with strategies that would help stimulate an understanding of how evolutionary thinking could provide a framework for treating health and disease.

There are several highly established sub-disciplines for which evolutionary research is directly relevant to medical research and public health, in particular the more molecular-based fields such as human genetics and genomics, infectious disease and ageing, as well as evolutionary psychology and evolutionary anthropology. Our Tuesday discussion meetings roamed this landscape – from the evolutionary origins of disease, to pharmacogenomics, depression, nutrition, cancer and medical education. Within all of these fields, communication among researchers is (reasonably) effective, yet there is surprisingly little interaction between fields and often a distinct lack of medical understanding on the part of evolutionary biologists and vice versa. One project we initiated – an experimental interdisciplinary publication – was aimed at breaking down these barriers. As Bob Perlman pointed out, such barriers potentially extend even to language: evolutionary biologists focus on conflict, competition and variation (as indicated by my opening paragraph), whereas the medical and public health community centres on cooperation and the identity of a normal genotype/phenotype.

Outside the *Schwerpunkt*, I started research for my book about evolution for children and have Paul Schmid-Hempel to thank for giving me the inspiration for some of the chapters. Given my other projects, I didn't get nearly as far with this as I had hoped.

I spent much of the year reading and researching the rapid changes that are occurring in scholarly communication, particularly as it relates to the life sciences and the move towards open-access publishing, of which I am a part. It was especially pleasing to be able to do this at the Wiko, where the Berlin Declaration on Open Access was formulated and where Larry Lessig developed ideas about the Creative Commons (<http://creativecommons.org/>). Open-access publishing is not only about making the literature freely available to read but also about removing permission barriers around that information and treating knowledge as a public good. It is this crucial latter aspect that can stimulate innovation. During my year, I gave several talks in and around Berlin about this and have been invited back for more. I also attended a Max Planck workshop at the Institute for the History of

Science about the relationship of museum collections to scholars and publishing. It was revealing to me how much the humanities are engaged with the same issues of intellectual freedom as we are in the life sciences (e. g. see <http://openhumanitiespress.org/> and <http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de>). Conversations with the forward-thinking Gesine Bottomley, who is initiating the Wiko digital repository, reinforced this, while Permanent Fellow Raghavendra Gadagkar also challenged my preconceived ideas about open-access having a natural home in countries such as India – a discussion we are continuing.

Yet it is not just the environment at the Wiko that challenges you to adapt your thinking. The Wiko has a powerful and enigmatic partner in its host city Berlin. Berlin confronts its history in an almost brutal way: there are constant reminders – at least of National Socialism – from the *Stolpersteine* to *Gleis 17* at our local S-Bahn as well as exhibitions about the GDR period. The contrast with other cities is stark. Contemporary Berlin with its three great opera houses and world-class museums also captivated my partner Peter and me. We walked all over the city, never tiring of the sense of space and efficiency. Other weekends we spent exploring the surrounding towns, villages and countryside. East German countryside is a revelation for biologists, as there are extensive remnants of undisturbed, almost pre-industrial farmland still inhabited by Great Bustards, Common Cranes and White Storks, long since vanished in the West.

And, like Alice at the start of this essay, I also literally ran throughout the year. Working at the Wiko also gives you the Grunewald – a large, ever-changing expanse of mixed deciduous and evergreen forest on the doorstep, replete with boars and woodpeckers. My aim was to exercise my body as well as my brain (which had the welcome side-effect that I could eat more of the wonderful food that the Wiko provided). I also had the encouragement and company of my much more experienced running partners, Bob Perlman and Fe Hentschke. The “forest talk” I had with Fe also opened my eyes to many of the other projects at the Wiko and every Thursday I learned as much from her about trans-regional studies as I did about how to pace myself during the Berlin half-marathon she and Bob persuaded me to enter.

The other constant of my year was the German language. I knew no German at the beginning so took the intensive course (which is a huge help). I wrestled with the grammar, like numerous others before me (read Mark Twain if you are intending to learn), but loved the complexity and subtlety of thought and its logic (and the numerous frustrating exceptions). Eva was enormously patient and encouraging, as were many of the staff, in trying to nurture my understanding and I was pleased with my progress by the end of the year,

although I craved the fluency that would have enabled me to talk some sense with ease. Alas, older brains are not so flexible and I could only envy the Fellows' children, who soaked up the language like a sponge. But I was sorry that the language issue created such a barrier at the Wiko and wished there had been more leadership about this. The Fellows and their spouses came armed with diverse languages – an array of Indian languages, Arabic, Afrikaans, French and Swedish, besides the English that all natural scientists worldwide use daily as their *lingua franca*. That so many were trying to learn German, no matter how badly, should have been a cause of celebration, not division.

Towards the end of the year, Mark Thomas gave a talk on the evolution of culture in which he provided evidence that a crucial factor in the transmission of a particular intellectual or practical skill was likely to be the size of the group. The harder the skill, the larger the group required for it to persist. Those from the developing countries occasionally talked about their “third world” table and how it was difficult to make an impact on the overtly Western tradition of scholarship around them. I also think there were not enough natural scientists to engage constructively with the ideas of the wonderfully creative minds we had around us. But this is not a complaint, just a call for more institutions like the Wiko, where the Red Queen and Alice are invited to stay.



THE YEAR IN RETROSPECT  
MEENAKSHI MUKHERJEE

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Meenakshi Mukherjee grew up in Patna, India and studied at Patna University. She did graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and taught at Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, the University of Hyderabad and the University of Pune. Having retired from Jawaharlal Nehru University, she is now an independent scholar based in Hyderabad. She has been a visiting professor at the University of Chicago, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Texas at Austin, Macquaire University in Sydney and the University of Zagreb in Croatia. Her major publications are *Realism and Reality: The Novel and Society in India* (1985); *The Perishable Empire: Essays on Indian Writing in English* (2000); and *History, Geography and Culture*, edited by Franco Moretti (2006). – Address: 10-A Rukmini Devi Colony Annexe, West Marredpally, Secunderabad 500026, India. E-mail: meenakmuk@gmail.com

When I arrived in Berlin in October, the view from my window in the Villa Jaffé resembled perfectly my laptop's screen-saver. In Hyderabad, I never paid much attention to the autumn scene on my monitor, regarding it only as a picture, remote from my tropical reality. Now in Grunewald, the picture came alive. I could breathe in every shade of burnt orange, russet, ochre and gold that shimmered in the sun, and it was a heady experience.

Soon some other experiences at Wiko also turned out to be heady, specially the magical supply of books, the speed with which titles I had only seen in bibliographies – and despaired of ever being able to read – materialized on the library shelf, sometimes within twenty-four hours of my putting in the request. Since my work was on nineteenth-century India, I had initially wondered if German libraries would have the kind of material I need-

ed. My first surprise was getting articles from *The Bengal Magazine* and *Calcutta Review* dating back to the 1850s, which despite much persistent effort I had failed to locate in India. But after receiving from Hong Kong University – on-line – a prize essay written by a student in Calcutta in 1905 on ‘The Causes and Prevention of Famine’ I stopped being surprised any more!

During the first week of my stay I did not realize the impact this wondrous supply of books would have on my life. Socially that was the most difficult time, where every day at the dining table I had to go through the ritual of explaining who I was and what exactly I was doing here. Probably others too felt it was an ordeal, but outwardly most of them appeared to be perfectly at home. Conversation ranged from constitutional law to clinical depression and evolutionary biology – subjects on which I had nothing to contribute, and often my role was that of a silent listener. But after ten months of stay at Wiko, I am now convinced of the benefits and stimulations of this interdisciplinary interaction. Once the Tuesday colloquiums started, I grew interested in seeing how research questions are formulated differently in various areas of knowledge – especially those to which I had never been exposed. This is not to say that I was always able to follow the nuances of each and every argument, but I did gradually gather the courage at least to ask ignorant questions. I particularly enjoyed the colloquiums on Art History – and there were about six of them this year.

Before coming to Berlin I had already done some research on my project, and on 10<sup>th</sup> October I ceremoniously typed the first page of my proposed book – rashly thinking now it was solely a matter of putting in so many hours of work each day. Ten chapters in ten months seemed a manageable target, specially when I knew I would not have to run a house, drive through the maddening traffic of Hyderabad and fulfil the multiple social and academic obligations that I had at home. Little did I know that my work would assume a life of its own – expanding uncontrollably, footnotes in one book enticing me to read twenty other volumes, and the references found there taking me in other unforeseen directions. The temptation of being able to access any book that had even a remote bearing on my work was irresistible. The admirable library staff cheerfully aided and abetted my adventures, even provided me with a car to go to the Freie Universität when the librarian there refused to part with a particularly decrepit volume. Like Penelope’s shroud – Draupadi’s sari would be a more apt metaphor – my project became potentially inexhaustible.

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But there were other pleasures to be explored – and by that I do not just mean Berlin’s well-known attractions – concerts, operas and museums, which did often enrich my weekends. The high point of my stay was my discovery of two writers with whom I had no prior acquaintance. They were both Fellows at Wiko. The whole world has read Antjie Krog – she has received over a dozen literary awards in various countries, but such are the mysteries of book distribution in the world market that even though postcolonial literature is supposed to be my field, I had not found her books in Indian bookshops. At Wiko I read *Country of My Skull* and *A Change of Tongue* avidly but slowly, savouring her unusual sensibility as much as her highly charged prose that quivers with energy. The African Poetry Evening she presented during our stay revealed her other talents: as translator, poet, performer, event organizer. Getting to know her as a friend was a special bonus of my Wiko year. The other writer is Dževad Karahasan, a quiet introspective person with whom I did not have a chance to talk for the first month or so. During a Thursday dinner when we happened to be sitting next to each other I asked him if I could read his work in English translation. He was noncommittal, but in a few days I found in my Wiko mailbox an unpublished English translation of his book *Sarajevo, Exodus of a City*. I was bowled over by the intensity and searing power of that autobiographical fiction. Since then I have read a section of a longer novel by him – again in unpublished English translation – a philosophical thriller set in medieval times – perhaps the same genre as Umberto Eco’s *The Name of the Rose* or Orhan Pamuk’s *My Name is Red*. These comparisons may be wrong, as I have not read far into the novel – but I continue to wonder why a writer like him has not yet got a publisher in English. Towards the end of my stay at Wiko, I happened to meet another writer – Istvan Voros – from Budapest who was kind enough to share with me some of his tantalizing Tao poems and one enigmatic short story in English translation. I consider myself fortunate that I had these extraordinary literary experiences at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin.

While my research work continued on its own meandering way, I greatly profited from two other activities at Wiko – firstly the lecture series at EUME (Europe in the Middle East – The Middle East in Europe) on “Concepts and Genealogies of Modernity”. Exposure to Western ideas is an integral part of our education in India, but in my profession there is very little direct academic contact with West Asia and North Africa. Listening to scholars from these regions and getting acquainted with some of the current debates in history, identity and ideology from their geographic and cultural perspective was an experience I valued. Friendship with Samah Selim and Randa Abou-bakr – both from Cairo –

whom I met at these EUME meetings (Randa was a Humboldt Fellow) is likely to continue beyond my Wiko year through our shared interest in Comparative Literary Studies. The other activity from which I gained a lot was that of the Fellows Film Club, started at the initiative of Miriam Hansen and Alex Nagel. I cannot thank them enough for arranging to screen some wonderful movies – specially the Berlin series. In the winter months it was an added pleasure to be able to indulge my film appetite without stepping outside the warm Villa Jaffé.

But in February when the Berlinale began I had to brave the weather. In my youth in Delhi I used to stand in queues for many hours to buy tickets for international Film Festivals. In recent years I had to give that up because as I grew older, the queues also got longer. I could not believe that at the Berlin Festival one could see most of the movies one wanted – and for me that meant films from the small countries of the world – without too much jostling in the crowd. I took in as much as I could, basking in between screenings in the familiar film festival ambience in the plaza of the Sony Centre and the festive marquee outside the Zoo Palast.

There were other diversions – those of an academic nature. Like an old war horse responding to the bugle's call, I could not refuse invitations to speak to students in classrooms. This was my post-colonial network kicking into high gear in the Fatherland. After Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus introduced me to Professor Rüdiger Kunow of Potsdam University I interacted with the students of his course on "Cultures in/of Mobility" twice (one of the sessions was at Wiko); also with a large lecture class of Professor Christopher Reinfandt at Tübingen University – there the added attraction being a punting trip on Hölderlin's river, organized by my long-time friend Professor Gerhard Stilz. Professor Stilz also found time to visit me in Berlin to follow up on some collaborative work we are doing, as well as to comment on my unfinished manuscript, which he read with meticulous care. Another lecture I was invited to give was at Humboldt University, in Elahe Haschemi's course on "Postcolonial Intertextuality". My trip to Venice in March was also in connection with Postcolonial Studies, but subsequent lectures at Heidelberg (South Asia Institute) and Paris (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme) were on my current biography project and I gained a lot from the discussions there. I had a very fruitful interactive session at the Zentrum Moderner Orient (Berlin) discussing my current work. I am also grateful for inputs from friends at Wiko who read some of my chapters – specially Moira Gatens and Chris Foley. Bernard Levinson, whose office faced my apartment, was a constant source of help in technical matters and a sounding board for some of my ideas. Salman Bashier helped by asking



some very unusual questions about my work, making me aware that I should not take certain basic assumptions for granted.

As I write this report in the last week of July, three days before my departure, I am surprised to find that, despite the numerous other pleasurable activities that drew me away from my research and despite the unplanned proliferation of my original project, I have somehow been able to fashion the rough first draft of a book. Given my miserable track record regarding deadlines, this should be a matter of some satisfaction, but strangely, rather than feeling elated at what I have achieved, I am beset by a sense of regret at what I did not achieve: namely even an elementary competence in spoken German. Dhruv Raina and I faithfully attended our weekly German class with Eva von Kügelgen and enjoyed each session. We learnt more about German life and literature from her than about how to decline adjectives and conjugate verbs, but not because she neglected to teach us grammar. At our request she took us to see Bertolt Brecht's house and his grave, and she would often recommend plays and films we could see. She was willing to help us with language as well as with culture, but not much linguistic progress is possible unless the students do their share of work. At the end I realize that the only sentence in German I have learnt to say fluently is "Leider habe ich keine Hausaufgaben gemacht."



EIN PARADIES ZUM  
WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN STREUNEN  
SUSANNE MUTH

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Susanne Muth, geboren 1967 in Karlsruhe. Studium der Klassischen Archäologie, Alten Geschichte und Latein in Mainz und Heidelberg. Promotion 1997 in Heidelberg, Habilitation 2004 in München. Seit 2008 Professorin für Klassische Archäologie und Nachwirkungen der Antike an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Forschungsinteressen: Bildwelten der Antike, historische Urbanistik, kulturelle Transformation zwischen römischer Kaiserzeit und Spätantike. Publikationen (Auswahl): *Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum: Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur* (Heidelberg, 1998); *Gewalt im Bild: Das Phänomen der medialen Gewalt im Athen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 2008). – Adresse: Winkelmann-Institut, Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Humboldt-Universität, Unter den Linden 6, 10099 Berlin.  
E-Mail: susanne.muth@culture.hu-berlin.de

Noch 9 Tage. Genauer gesagt: 9 Tage, 4 Stunden und 25 Minuten. Dann muss ich das Wiko wieder verlassen. Auszug aus dem Paradies. Ob eine Rückkehr in den normalen akademischen Alltag gelingen kann? Ob ich durch den Aufenthalt am Wiko nicht für immer verdorben bin? Verwöhnt, durch Berührung mit dem Paradies? O.k., auch Adam und Eva haben nach ihrer Ausweisung weiterleben können. Aber wie ...? Je länger ich den Vergleich bedenke, umso mehr wird mir angst und bange.

Noch 9 Tage, 4 Stunden und 21 Minuten. Am besten gar nicht daran denken. Vergessen, verdrängen, ausblenden. Aber genau das geht nicht mehr. Denn auch das Paradies hat seine Schattenseiten. Anstatt mich langsam und vor allem: schonend auf diesen Abschied einstellen zu können, bin ich gezwungen, mir jetzt schon den bevorstehenden Schritt (hi-

naus, über die Schwelle des Wiko ...) in all seiner Bedeutung bewusst zu verinnerlichen: „Gestatten Sie, dass ich mich mit der Bitte an Sie wende, Ihren Anteil zur Entstehung des Jahrbuches 2007/2008 zu leisten, indem Sie mir noch während (sic!) Ihres Aufenthaltes im Kolleg Ihren Jahresbericht im Umfang von etwa 3 Seiten ...“ Weiter will man das gar nicht lesen. Die Bitte des Rektors ist eindeutig: Gedenken Sie all der wunderbaren Zeit noch einmal intensiv, bevor Sie uns verlassen! – das heißt es im Klartext. Ob sie das hier mit Absicht tun? Damit wir uns des Schmerzes des Abschieds umso bewusster werden? Nein, solche Gemeinheiten sind mit dem Paradies nicht kompatibel.

Noch 9 Tage, 4 Stunden und 12 Minuten. Ich ringe weiterhin mit dem Schicksal. Haderere mit dem Unfassbaren. Anstatt die verbleibende Zeit in ihren vollen Zügen noch einmal genießen zu können, soll ich mich nun zum vorgezogenen Abschied gezwungen sehen – ihn, den ich gerade doch verdrängen möchte. Die letzte kostbare Zeit im Paradies soll ich damit vergeuden, zu bedenken, wie schön es hier war und was ich bald verlieren werde ... Das können sie hier nicht wirklich wollen. Und vor allem: das will ich nicht.

Noch 9 Tage, 2 Stunden und 42 Minuten: Ich kehre an meinen Computer zurück. Der Versuch, mich der Bitte zu verweigern, ist vorerst gescheitert. Die freundliche und doch mahnende Bitte des Rektors lässt sich nicht auf Dauer ignorieren. Bringe ich es also schnell hinter mich: Kurze Erinnerung, kurzer Bericht, basta. Das sagt sich aber leichter, als es tun! Wie soll man sich erinnern, wenn man sich der Erinnerung nicht richtig stellen will? Ich hätte Tagebuch führen sollen – aber das hat einem niemand hier geraten ... Und so kommt es nun doch dahin, was ich vermeiden wollte: Ich tauche ab in die Erinnerung an ein einzigartiges und wunderbares Jahr, voll schwerer Sehnsucht, je mehr ich Opfer meiner Erinnerung werde.

Was hat dieses Jahr mir bedeutet? Welche Rolle hat es in meinem und für mein Leben gespielt? War es das, was ich erwartete, erträumte? Wenn ich ehrlich bin (und mich nun endlich der auferlegten Reflexion kooperativ stelle), dann ist es eigentlich einfach, seinen Wert zu begreifen. „Einzigartig“ – so, und nur so lässt sich dieses Jahr am Wiko umschreiben. Einzigartig in jeder Hinsicht, als Chance, als Erfahrung, als Geschenk und als Gewinn. Ein ganz einzigartiges Jahr, das man eben in seinem Leben nur einmal erfahren kann. Nicht dass diese Einsicht an sich überraschend ist: natürlich hatte ich mir schon im Voraus dieses Jahr als ein ganz einzigartiges ausgemalt. Doch sollte seine Einzigartigkeit in Wirklichkeit ganz anders ausfallen, überraschender – und allen Erwartungen letztlich konträr.

Ursprünglich währte ich das Besondere dieses Jahres in der Tatsache, dass man plötzlich sehr viel (und zudem kontinuierliche) Zeit für eigene Forschungsinteressen und -anliegen hätte, befreit von allen drängenden Verpflichtungen des universitären Alltags: keine störenden Ablenkungen, reine Konzentration auf das Wesentliche (bzw. das, was einem Archäologen wesentlich erscheinen mag). Dazu würden die Begegnungen und Diskussionen mit den fellow-Fellows kommen, die Vorträge und Abendkonzerte, als zusätzlicher Gewinn im Paradies wissenschaftlicher Konzentration. So dachte ich. Jetzt aber, wo ich diesen Bericht schreibe, kann ich auf diese Erwartungen nur lächelnd zurückblicken. Es wäre wohl auch nicht das Paradies, wenn man es in seiner Phantasie schon vorab fassen könnte.

Denn die Prioritäten drehten sich genau um. Der eigentliche Gewinn lag nicht in dem konzentrierten Arbeiten an den eigenen wissenschaftlichen Projekten, so wunderbar allein dies schon war. Vielmehr waren es die vielfältigen Optionen intellektueller Bereicherung jenseits des eigenen Schreibtisches, die meine Neugierde mehr und mehr packten – und mir die eigenen Projekte schnell nicht mehr das Wichtigste sein ließen. Genau betrachtet waren es dabei verschiedene Stufen und verschiedene Arten bereichernder Ablenkungen (oder sollte ich sagen: ablenkender Bereicherungen?), die mir diese Einsicht sukzessive festigten. Am Anfang standen zunächst nur kleine Schritte: Angesichts meines urbanistischen Projektes zum antiken Forum Romanum, anvisiert als eine exemplarische Kulturgeschichte öffentlicher Plätze, ließ ich mich nur allzu leicht von Berlin locken, hier mir die gegenwärtige Situation im Stadtbild sowie seine historische Entwicklung erschließen zu wollen. Das Alibi zum wissenschaftlichen Streunen war dabei noch leicht bei der Hand. Doch schnell wurden die Alibis schwieriger – je weniger die Verlockungen mit meinem wissenschaftlichen Projekt konvergierten. Die nächste Stufe stellte die wunderbare Bibliothek der fellow-Fellows dar, die nachhaltig zum neugierigen Stöbern einlud – und dann zu den Büchern der vorangegangenen Jahrgänge weiterleitete (eine schlichtweg nicht zu widerstehende Verlockung, gerade wenn man sein Zimmer in der Hauptvilla hat und sich daher allzu leicht und heimlich immer wieder mit neuer Lektüre versorgen kann). Mit Beginn der Kolloquia kam dann die dritte Stufe der Verlockungen: Fortan waren es die Vorträge der fellow-Fellows sowie die vielfältigen Diskussionen beim gemeinsamen Essen, die in den Vordergrund meines Interesses traten. Was ich hierdurch alles gelernt und an Perspektiven des Fragens und Denkens mir erschlossen habe, ist ein unermesslicher Schatz – auch wenn ich diesen Gewinn zunächst damit erkaufen musste, dass ich mein eigenes Fach als immer unspannender empfand.

Blicke ich auf mein Jahr am Wiko zurück, so begreife ich es jetzt vor allem als eine reiche Sammlung an aufregenden und faszinierenden Diskussionen, Vorträgen, Abendveranstaltungen, Konzerten, Filmvorführungen etc. – die ich alle mitnehmen und genießen konnte. Die Rückkehr an den eigenen Schreibtisch und mein eigenes Projekt avancierte entsprechend zu einem sekundären Vergnügen, das mir dazu diente, die Zeit des Wartens auf das nächste Ereignis zu überbrücken. Und auch die Suche nach Alibis (primär mir selbst gegenüber, um mein Gewissen mit meiner Lust am Streunen zu versöhnen) wurde, je schwieriger, desto unwichtiger. Und letztlich sogar auch unnötig: Denn je mehr ich mich allen anderen fachfremden Diskussionen und Reflexionen fasziniert zuwandte und mein eigenes Fach in den Hintergrund treten ließ, umso näher kam ich meinem Fach schließlich wieder. Freilich auf Umwegen. Die anfängliche Entfremdung von ihm bewirkte, dass ich – anstatt meine eingefahrenen und verinnerlichten Schienen des Fragens und Denkens weiter zu bedienen – mehr und mehr ins Stocken kam, wenn ich aus meiner fachspezifischen Perspektive diskutierte. Je nachhaltiger diese Erfahrung des Stockens jedoch wurde, desto häufiger erwischte ich mich im Laufe der Zeit, dass ich mir andere Blicke auf mein Fach wählte, andere Fragen suchte und mich an anderen Antworten erfreute. Mein Fach, zu dem ich dadurch letztlich wieder zurückgekehrt bin, ist freilich nicht mehr dasselbe, das ich vor meiner Zeit am Wiko kannte: es ist mir wieder spannender geworden, komplexer, aufregender, wissenschaftlicher. Welche glücklichere Rechtfertigung für zwischenzeitliches Streunen gibt es – als diese Erfahrung?

Wunderbare Erfahrungen geschehen freilich nicht im abstrakten Raum, jenseits der Menschen, die diese Erfahrungen initiieren, begleiten, unterstützen. Und so definiert sich mir der Gewinn dieses Jahres – neben aller Erweiterung meines wissenschaftlichen Interesses – gleichermaßen auch in den vielfältigen Kontakten und Freundschaften, die mir dieses Jahr geschenkt hat. Eine größere Gruppe meiner fellow-Fellows sind mir innerhalb dieser letztlich kurzen Zeit zu Freunden geworden, die ich nie mehr missen möchte. Gleiches gilt für viele Personen des wunderbaren Wiko-Staffs: sie kennen gelernt zu haben und weiterhin immer wieder nun in Berlin treffen zu können, ist ein einzigartiges Geschenk. Geschenke verlangen nach Dank. Auch dieser muss in diesem Rückblick seinen Platz finden – jedenfalls impliziert meine Erinnerung nun ein nachdrückliches Gefühl unendlicher Dankbarkeit: Es war unglaublich (um nicht wieder zu sagen: unvorstellbar, als eigentümliche Facette im Paradies), mit welcher Herzlichkeit, Freundlichkeit, zugleich aber auch Professionalität wir Fellows von Seiten des gesamten Wiko-Staffs umfungen und versorgt wurden, in jeglicher Hinsicht und angesichts aller Fragen und Nöte, die der

Alltag nun einmal mit sich brachte (einschließlich der Bereitschaft zum Dackel-Sitten). Alles in allem war schlichtweg großartig, einzigartig, paradiesisch – eben wikospezifisch. Mehr und mehr wird mir jetzt in all seinen Tiefen bewusst, welch unglaublicher Schatz dieses Jahr war, dank aller gewonnenen Einsichten, Erfahrungen, Kontakte, Freundschaften.

Merkwürdig ... ich habe die Zeit vergessen. Noch 9 Tage ..., noch wie viele Stunden? wie viele Minuten bis zum Auszug? Plötzlich ist mir auch das unwichtig geworden, je mehr ich in die Erinnerung an dieses Jahr am Wiko eintauche und die Zeit mit all ihren Erfahrungen nochmals vorüberziehen lasse. Aber damit nicht genug: Auch ist mir der Moment des Auszugs nun ein anderer geworden. Er hat seinen drohenden Charakter der Zäsur verloren. Auszug aus dem Paradies – ja; aber etwas aus dem Paradies wird mit mir ausziehen: all die Veränderungen, die dieses Jahr für mich und mein Leben gebracht hat. Was das Wiko erwirkt hat, wird also bei mir bleiben. Lässt sich das Paradies ausweiten? Nun gut, die Zukunft wird zeigen, wie viel von diesem Paradiese wirklich hinüber in den universitären Alltag treten kann. Aber auch egal, wie viel es letztlich sein wird: allein diese Einsicht macht mir nun den bevorstehenden Abschied leichter.

Sie hatten also doch einmal wieder Recht. Wieder bewährt sich eines der vielen Konzepte des Wikos, auch wenn man seinen Sinn nicht immer von Anfang an versteht. So ungern ich es angesichts meines anfänglichen Sträubens eingestehe: Es war gut, noch während der Phase des Abschieds über den Gewinn des Wikos nachdenken und diesen Bericht schreiben zu müssen. Der Abschied hat dadurch sein Gesicht gewandelt, ist nun einfacher zu bewältigen, als er es mir noch zu Anfang dieses Berichtes erschien. Dem Wiko sei also auch für diese Einsicht einmal wieder Dank. Das Paradies ist eben perfekt.



DAS ZWISCHENJAHR  
ALEXANDER T. NAGEL

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Alexander Nagel is Professor of Renaissance Art History at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Born in 1964 in New York City, he earned his B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard. He has been on the faculty of the University of Toronto as Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair. His publications include *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (2000) and numerous articles in leading journals of the field. – Address: The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1 E. 78th St., New York, NY 10075, USA. E-mail: an43@nyu.edu

I came with a hunch: that medieval art was a presence, a field of reference, for modern and contemporary art. I was not after allusions to specific medieval artifacts, but instead wanted to understand how pre-modern modes of art-making and ways of thinking became relevant once more in the twentieth century. Why did Brecht see *Verfremdungseffekte* in Brueghel? Why did Eisenstein see the principle of montage in El Greco? Why does the logic of the readymade come so close to that of the relic? Why did the debates about conceptual art share so many points in common with medieval debates over iconoclasm? Now, at the end of the year, it is more than a hunch – I see a whole field. It feels like a project too big for me alone, and I now understand that my contribution will be nothing more than to give a powerful sense of that fact. I am looking at a stack of paper of about 200 pages, pages with complete sentences, more or less in the right order, and I feel that I have completed the arc of work I set out to do, which was to start this project and find its basic range and shape. I have a manuscript.

I came here with a desire: to think new thoughts, to become a student again. The timing could not have been better. Last August I sent off the manuscript of a book I had been researching and writing for ten years. This year I wanted to forget about Renaissance art and the Reformation. I didn't – there was some more work to do (I focused my colloquium on it) and it turned out to be a new direction for the old manuscript! But by the end of the Fall I was fully submerged in a field that was new to me, which is a good way to force oneself to think new thoughts. Moreover, I left my previous job last August. Before the Wiko year I was at the University of Toronto – that was one life. After this year I will be at New York University – another life. This was the *Zwischenjahr*. To be between homes, between positions, in what is at present the most fluid and mobile of European cities: for most of this year it felt like my feet were barely touching the ground.

I think I would have felt *too* unmoored if not for the large surrogate family I developed at Wiko. At first I thought that lunch every day was truly overkill, but around November I realized that with forty Fellows, the odd interesting guest, not to mention the staff, you really need that many lunches to get to know the people here. I remember, around December, looking over the dining room after a Thursday dinner and realizing that I had developed real affection for my co-Fellows. There are intangible things that one receives from the institutional contact with the Fellows; several colloquia, I am sure, affected me in ways that I am not entirely aware of. But I also found that it was good to reserve a table and talk to one Fellow about specific issues in depth. Salman Bashier, Horst Bredekamp, Rüdiger Campe, Michael Fried, Luca Giuliani, Heiner Goebbels, Miriam Hansen, Antjie Krog, Bernie Levinson, Ruth Leys, Fosca Mariani (the wife of Denis Thouard), Alva Noë, Raphael Rosenberg, Peter Schäfer, and Gunther Teubner responded directly and substantially to my work. They told me things that changed what I was writing. I also realized, fairly soon, how important it is to be involved in activities that go beyond the official ones. Extended contact of a fairly casual sort gets you inside the heads of your Fellows! I learned several valuable things as a result of the time spent with Miriam Hansen co-organizing the Fellow Film Series.

I came with the goal of becoming fluent in German by the end of the year. This goal I have failed to attain! I certainly crossed a threshold and can now talk with friends and handle all practical things (bank, doctors, arguing with the BVG people) in German. But I still cannot speak in *paragraphs*. Maybe next time. However, I am proud of one related achievement. Around February, people in public situations started addressing me in German. This was not due to my linguistic skills, as I had yet to open my mouth. I took that



to mean that I had lost the open and somewhat blank facial expression common to my North American tribe and had developed a good *Berliner Schnauze*. I consider this a significant accomplishment.

I came with one clear local commitment: to get to know the city. For the first six weeks I did little else but apply myself to the German *Intensivkurs* (placing myself in the capable hands of Eva von Kügelgen) and ride my bicycle around town, a kind of Berlin-*Intensivkurs*. For the first few days I had my trusty Falkplan with me, but then I realized it was interrupting my experience to have to stop and consult it. So I developed a new strategy: get lost and keep riding until I find my way again. It is a very big city but it is also supremely accessible by bicycle, and so its extent, its texture, and its many seams fairly soon came within grasp. I was happy I did that in my first month here, as it increased my range throughout the year. For personal reasons I got an apartment outside the Wiko area, in Kreuzberg, and that meant that my year was spent continually traversing the city.

I made arrangements to move my residence to a private apartment on, I think, a Tuesday afternoon. By Wednesday morning at 9:00 every staff member I ran into wanted to congratulate me on having found an apartment, wishing me all the best there! At the Thursday dinner I was taken into custody by several Fellows, forced to drink several glasses of wine, and subjected to a grueling interrogation. Here is a partial transcript:

Q: How did you negotiate establishing residence outside of Wiko?

A: I explained to Andrea Bergmann why I needed to live in my own place.

Q: Was it difficult? Were they unhappy?

A: No, people understood my reasons perfectly and were very supportive.

Q: How did you find an apartment?

A: I went on websites and I asked friends. Something eventually turned up.

Q: Where is your apartment?

A: Kreuzberg.

Q: What's life like *on the outside*?

What I did not expect was that the city should become such an important part of my research project. One of the most vital phases in the history of the city – the time of the Weimar Republic – was also a period when modernist experimentation intersected in highly productive ways with thinking about medieval art and architecture. The newly formed Bauhaus put a Gothic Cathedral, symbol of collective production and artisanal integration, on their very first program of 1919. In the 1920s Kurt Schwitters, seeing that the world

needed to be reconstructed in the wake of the war, started making a private *Kathedrale* out of his own home, an ongoing work of installation filled with shrines and relics. In the months of January and February I spent a great deal of time in the Bauhaus Archiv and in the Kunstbibliothek consulting original materials. I had read secondary literature in German, of course, but this was my first experience doing primary research in the language. Reading the socialist critic Adolf Behne's *Die Wiederkehr der Kunst* (1919) about the return of art to the communal modes of the Middle Ages; or "Künstlerische Zeitfragen", the 1921 essay of Wilhelm Worringer, in which the medieval-art historian and guru of the Expressionist generation leaves Expressionism behind; or Worringer's 1924 *Die Anfänge der Tafelmalerei*, which tells the story of the beginnings of the easel picture in the late Middle Ages, a story that offers the perfect mirror image of the much-discussed dismantling of the easel picture in his own day; or Behne's 1925 *Von Kunst zur Gestaltung*, read side-by-side with László Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei, Photographie, Film*, also from 1925; or original copies of Kurt Schwitters' serial Dada publication *Merz* – these were some of the most satisfying moments of my time in Berlin, not least of all because so many of these were Berlin texts and Berlin debates.

My immersion in the earlier great period of the avant-garde in Berlin has brought me back continually to what is happening now. All the conditions for a major development in this city – something like Berlin in the 1920s – are in place right now: a great city undergoing a new era of renovation, pullulating with cultural activities and yet fantastically cheap to live in, it is possibly the last outpost of real bohemia. It has endless galleries, Kunstvereine, and experimental spaces, and the very precedent of a great avant-garde tradition associated with the city: Expressionism, Dada, Bauhaus, Benjamin, Brecht, Otto Dix, etc. The city has a past mythology and a highly vibrant life right now. And then there is the recent world-historical drama: the fall of the Wall, *die Wende*, the sense of possibility, the real experience of sudden archeology and reconstruction, a new world of buildings and spaces being put to new uses. And now the pilgrimage effect, as artists stream to the city from all over the world.

So where is the stuff? Why is there no Berlin "school", no movement, not even an identifiable quality or powerful mood in the art coming out of this city? Why is it so remarkably identity-free? It is clear enough, by now, that the situation here has not turned out to be Paris in 1910, or New York in 1960. This is not Berlin in the 1920s. In recent years we have seen a Düsseldorf school, a Leipzig school, but no one would claim there is a Berlin school. There are no human force-fields like Picasso or Matisse, Johns and Cage, Brecht

and Dix. Yes, there are famous artists who live here – and some who just keep a studio here – but there is no sense that artistic energies are shaping themselves around them.

And yet I see no reason to be disappointed. It may just be that we are past the time of the “artistic center”. The artists who come here are extremely mobile: they work here some months, they sublet their place, they take time elsewhere. Some European artists live half the week here and half the week in Paris or Copenhagen. Berlin is a node, a highly active node, in a newly distributed world of artistic practice. Artists in Berlin are not particularly interested in making something happen *here*. They make things here and take them elsewhere. They are not particularly interested in the mythology of the city. For them Berlin is above all open space, a space where things are possible, where you can move about freely. And that is what it has been for me, in my *Zwischenjahr*.

Finally, some unplanned developments. I was an insomniac before Berlin. Now I'm not. I stopped eating meat in January. And I fell in love at the end of the year. That part of the Berlin experience I am taking home with me.



AN INCUBATOR FOR NEW FIELDS  
RANDOLPH M. NESSE

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Randolph M. Nesse, M.D., is Professor of Psychiatry, Professor of Psychology, and Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, where he directs the Evolution and Human Adaptation Program. He is a Board Certified psychiatrist and Distinguished Fellow of the American Psychiatric Association who sees patients regularly as well as conducting research and teaching graduate school courses. Nesse collaborated with George Williams on several early works in Darwinian Medicine, including the book *Why We Get Sick: The New Science of Darwinian Medicine* (1995). Dr. Nesse's current research focus is on how selection shapes mechanisms that regulate defenses such as pain, fever, anxiety and low mood. Low mood is useful to disengage effort from unreachable goals, and failure to disengage often leads to depression. Closely related is his work on how runaway social selection can shape human capacities for altruism and empathy. Dr. Nesse has devoted himself to encouraging new applications of evolutionary biology in medicine. – Address: University of Michigan, East Hall Room 3018, 530 Church St., Ann Arbor, MI 48104-1043, USA. [www.nesse@umich.edu](http://www.nesse@umich.edu). E-Mail: [nesse@umich.edu](mailto:nesse@umich.edu)

The most distinctive and valuable thing about the Berlin Wissenschaftskolleg seems to me to be not its history, buildings, funding, library, restaurant, or even its truly extraordinary people. What makes Wiko special is its values. I don't know of any other organization, not even other Institutes of Advanced Study, that encourage members to do whatever seems most important. Not what is most profitable or productive, not what is likely to generate public acclaim, but whatever the individual researcher thinks is most important. It is remarkable that Wiko has been able to maintain this commitment to the free pursuit of

knowledge for its own sake. For those in established fields, it is liberating. For those of us developing new fields, it is invaluable.

The field of evolutionary medicine is not just new; it barely exists. This still surprises me. The utility of evolution for medicine seems so obvious that I keep wondering whether the chasm between the fields is only in my imagination. Perhaps I have been looking for bridges while ferries are busily traversing the gap! But our *Schwerpunkt's* discussions soon made it clear that the gap is as wide as the Grand Canyon. We recognized early on that we had a rare opportunity to think carefully about what evolution can offer to medicine AND what medicine can offer to evolutionary biology. Universities offer no niche for scholars addressing such questions. Many of the questions are about history, but they don't interest historians (yet). Some core questions are philosophical, especially those about standards of evidence, but philosophers rarely address them. Pedagogical questions about what doctors need to know about evolution are not on the radar of medical educators. Biologists sometimes study medical problems, but few are concerned with understanding disease in general. And, very few doctors are aware that medicine is making full use of only one half of biology, much less asking why.

The Wissenschaftskolleg made it possible for our *Schwerpunkt* to tackle these questions. Our group included an evolutionary geneticist (Mark Thomas), an evolutionary biologist who edits a major journal (Catriona MacCallum), a pediatrician/physiologist/editor (Robert Perlman), and an expert in the evolution of infectious disease (Carl Bergstrom). As we got going, we found new members who were already associated with Wiko, including a pediatric oncologist (Dietrich Niethammer), a nutrition researcher (Hans Biesalski), an evolutionary biologist who studies insects (Raghavendra Gadagkar), and a leading theoretical biologist (Peter Hammerstein). It proved a rich mix.

How to make the best use of the opportunity? Our work together was on three levels. First, we examined specific research projects to see if we could agree on how to tell the wheat from the chaff. Second, we looked for general principles – foundations for bridges at narrow points across the gap. Finally, we quickly realized that even our most profound conclusions would not have much lasting effect unless communication could be established among the diverse groups applying evolutionary principles to medicine and public health.

Examining specific research was the most pleasurable part of our work. Does malnutrition in the uterus set a fetus off on a lifelong path optimized to a harsh environment? Why can't we find the genes for schizophrenia? Do variations in skin color influence risk of disease via variations in Vitamin D synthesis? We always disagreed, but usually to the right

degree; by the end of each discussion we had made progress. No amount of individual study could substitute for these seminars. I came away with more respect for the difficulty of the task, more confidence that it was only difficult, not impossible, and a conviction that collaborations among people with many different kinds of expertise will be essential for success.

General conclusions were harder to come by. Some were obvious. For instance, we made several lists of what doctors need to know about evolution, and why. Those lists will provide a good foundation for curriculum planning. Other tasks were harder. Figuring out how to test evolutionary hypotheses about why a disease exists at all is the hardest and most important of all. We increasingly realized, as our work went on, that such questions are new in fundamental ways. They require new strategies. Experimental methods are insufficient. This is very difficult for many scientists to grasp. Even some distinguished researchers do not grasp the fundamental difference between explanations of how things work and explanations of how they were shaped by natural selection. Standards of evidence for testing evolutionary explanations are still developing. We made progress, but this question will not have a definitive answer anytime soon.

Some carefully laid plans dissolved in the face of new opportunities. Shortly after arriving in Berlin, I got an invitation to write an article about how evolution could be applied to medicine. I have thought about this for years, but thanks to time to think, and our *Schwerpunkt's* conversations, the framework became clearer. The big division is between applications of established methods (such as population genetics), and asking and answering new questions about why the body isn't better "designed". In collaboration with Steve Stearns, and thanks to being able to work on the article all day every day for weeks on end, we were able to lay out the landscape for the field more clearly than before. The article was published before the halfway point of the year. It is amazing how fast things can happen now. Shortly thereafter, Oxford asked if I would write a chapter with Richard Dawkins – the first on evolution for a major medical textbook. This was not part of the plan, but being at Wiko made it possible to get it done, despite a very short deadline.

The third challenge, how to establish communication among people from diverse disciplines, is as difficult as it is important. This is not a scientific question, but answering it is essential for the science to grow and progress. The field of evolutionary medicine is needed precisely because a huge gap keeps evolutionary knowledge from making its full contribution to medicine and public health. To make a difference, we had to understand why the gap existed in order to propose practical solutions. We felt as if we had discovered that

engineers were not learning physics, that they did not know what they were missing, and that the physicists were not interested in teaching them. It is obvious that physics is essential for engineering, but much work remains to explain why evolutionary biology is essential for medicine. Strategies for creating closer links with evolutionary biology will advance medicine more than any specific research project. Figuring out the best strategies is an ambitious enterprise, the exact kind of interdisciplinary project that Wiko specializes in.

The traditional first step is to organize a workshop. With wonderfully effective help from Wiko meeting planners, we did just that. We followed the same general approach we used for our *Schwerpunkt* meetings – a mix of specific scientific questions interleaved with brainstorming about how to advance the field most quickly. The Workshop was more exciting even than most of us had hoped, in part because members of the previous year's *Schwerpunkt* on evolution and immunology joined us, and in part because Peter Hammerstein and the Institute of Theoretical Biology provided additional funding that allowed us to bring several additional scientists. Every hour brought a new revelation. The evolution of cancer cells, new approaches to genetic epidemiology, new evidence of the body's ability to monitor and respond to scarcity in early life, and how evolutionary theory might allow us to develop "evolution-proof" antibiotics and insecticides. A report of the meeting is available, and Catriona MacCallum created a nearly verbatim record that historians may well eventually examine.

The Workshop group also offered good advice about how to foster communication. There was a consensus that more workshops are essential and that they should be on specific topics. Thanks to strong support from several at the Volkswagen Stiftung, it seems likely these will be possible. We came up with a remarkable list of topics, several of which we anticipate will provide foci for Workshops in conjunction with the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Charité in 2009, titled "The Evolution of Medicine". Does the field need a Society? Opinions were mixed, but scarce resources would be sapped by the required organizational work and inevitable politics. Should we create a paper journal? The best papers will have more impact in established journals where they will be seen by those who don't already know about the field. Besides, paper journals are becoming obsolete. An open-access, web-based journal, in contrast, could be established quickly and inexpensively. Instead of publishing new research, it could bring together information and ideas from scientists, clinicians, and scholars across the diverse reaches of evolutionary medicine.

Shortly after the Workshop, we went to work to make *The Evolution and Medicine Review* a reality. Catriona took on the role of Editor, I became the Executive Editor, and we

began recruiting Senior Correspondents – the world’s best scientists working in areas related to evolution and medicine, starting with members of our *Schwerpunkt*. We also began customizing the software, purchasing server space, designing web pages, setting policies, and carrying out other technical tasks needed to establish a web journal. Sometimes we wished we had had expert help, but telling someone else what we wanted would have been almost as difficult as doing it ourselves.

The journal was launched on July 1, 2008, exactly 150 years after papers by Darwin and Wallace presented the idea of natural selection for the first time. *The Evolution and Medicine Review* is at <http://evmedreview.com>. It is free and open-access without advertising. It offers a new model of how groups can establish efficient friendly communication. We somewhat jokingly call the publishing genre a “WeView”. Members of a group collaborate to review new work and share their views about the important issues in their field. We anticipate that *The Evolution and Medicine Review* will establish formal affiliations with PLoS or other open-access publishers so we can turn the technical work over to others and focus on the scientific content. Already it has had a huge influence. The field now has a home. Instead of a one-off product like a book, we have created something living. With continued nurture, it will grow and adapt to changing environments.

All of us in the *Schwerpunkt* worked also on our individual projects. My main personal project was to figure out why natural selection created a capacity for mood and how this can help us understand depression. I have worked on this for years, but day after day of writing and thinking and talking with other Fellows helped me to finally get my ideas clear. My main conclusion is that the capacity for low mood is useful to stop organisms from putting continuing effort into projects that will not succeed. Compared to other organisms, we humans have grand long-term projects. Particularly in modern societies, we pursue huge goals that require years of effort whose success is uncertain at best. All too often it eventually becomes clear that a job, a marriage, or some other crucial personal effort is failing, but giving up is not an option because there are no real alternatives. This is the perfect depressogenic situation.

Do such situations help to account for very high rates of depression? I want to find out. The theoretical underpinnings are now clear. The next step is to go out and gather data. You would think this had been done long ago. But it has not, for the good reason that different people have different goals, different ways to reach them, and different ways of coping when a goal is unreachable. A mindless questionnaire won’t work, you have to talk with people, at length and in private. But I now know it will be worth it, despite the dif-



faculties. Half of the chapters of my book on the topic are finished. I need to get back to the clinic and talk with dozens of patients before I can finish the rest with confidence. A long paper offers a summary for anyone interested.

Quiet time to think also allowed me to write several pieces about evolution and the emotions. They came to surprising conclusions that I could not quite see before. For instance, psychologists have argued for centuries about basic emotions – how many, how separate, how to define them. But a rigorous evolutionary approach recognizes that emotional states are clusters of coordinated changes in many aspects of an organism that allow it to cope with the challenges in a certain situation that has recurred thousands of times over evolutionary history. Each emotion is derived from similar states in earlier organisms. Thus, they are neither completely separate from each other, nor can they be described as dimensions. They are, instead, partially differentiated states with overlapping characteristics and regulation mechanisms. This conclusion is more than disconcerting to those who have spent decades trying to find some simple clear way to map out the different emotions. Their Holy Grail does not exist. The frustration and low mood arising from its pursuit are appropriate emotions. Phoebe Ellsworth and I summarized this argument in an *American Psychologist* article due out early in 2009.

Finally, the Wissenschaftskolleg was a wonderful place to pursue my long-standing pre-occupation with the evolutionary origins of distinctive human social capacities for altruism and the moral passions. Their origins are the focus of intense and sometimes contentious scientific efforts. Just before arriving at Wiko, I published a paper on how runaway social selection could shape extravagant human traits such as generalized altruism and displays of resources. The explanation is the same as the explanation for the dramatic and expensive tail of a peacock, except the benefits come from being chosen as a friend instead of as a mate. This process shapes the extraordinary concern we humans have about what others think of us, how to please them, and how to avoid offending them. In short, this explains how humans can sometimes be so wonderful in apparent defiance of selfish genes and competing groups. Augmented by the culture of the Wissenschaftskolleg and its commitment to supporting individuals in pursuing whatever is most important, these human capacities allow humans to help each other to accomplish great things.



NOCHMALS FELLOW  
DIETRICH NIETHAMMER

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Geboren 1939 in Leipzig. 1960–66 Studium der Humanmedizin in Tübingen, Wien und München. Staatsexamen 1966 in Tübingen. Promotion 1967. Approbation 1969. 1969–71 Postdoctoral Fellow am Department of Biochemistry, Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation La Jolla, CA, USA. 1972–76 Facharztausbildung zum Kinderarzt, Universität Ulm. 1977 Habilitation. 1978 C3-Professur für pädiatrische Hämatologie und Onkologie und Leiter der Abteilung an der Universitäts-Kinderklinik Tübingen. 1986 Ruf nach Aachen. Ordentlicher Professor für Kinderheilkunde in Tübingen. Seit 2005 pensioniert. Zahlreiche Aktivitäten in der Hochschulpolitik, u. a. 1997–2003 Mitglied des Wissenschaftsrates und Vorsitzender des Ausschusses Medizin. 1975 Durchführung einer der ersten beiden Knochenmarktransplantationen in Deutschland, Weiterentwicklung der Methode bis zur Möglichkeit der Verwendung von Eltern als Spender. – Adresse: Im Rotbad 20/2, 72076 Tübingen.

Als meine Frau und ich im Juli 2006 unser Apartment in der Villa Walther geräumt und alle Abschiede von den neuen Freunden hinter uns gebracht hatten, fuhren wir etwas wehmütig ab. Wir konnten ja nicht ahnen, dass wir eine weitere Zeit im Wiko verbringen dürften. Sonst wäre uns der Abschied sicher nicht so schwer gefallen. Ich hatte damals an der Erörterung über die Planung des Schwerpunktes „Evolutionäre Medizin“ teilgenommen, ein Projekt, das ich sehr interessant fand. Und so kam es wohl, dass ich als Mitglied dieses Schwerpunktes erneut für vier Monate eingeladen wurde.

So reisten wir Anfang April, also mitten im Studienjahr an, und bezogen unsere Wohnung im obersten Stockwerk der alten Villa Walther, was ohne Zweifel für uns Altfellows

bei fehlendem Aufzug als Trainingsprogramm gedacht war. Aber nicht nur Herz und Muskulatur wurden dadurch gestärkt, sondern es führte auch zu einem exzellenten Training des Gedächtnisses, da man vor dem jeweiligen Auf- oder Abstieg sehr gut darüber nachdachte, ob man auch wirklich nichts vergessen hatte, was ja die Wiederholung des Treppenganges notwendig gemacht hätte.

Vor der Ankunft hatte uns durchaus eine gewisse Beklommenheit beschlichen, war doch für uns beide das Eingebundensein in die Gemeinschaft der Fellows des Jahrgangs 2005/06 und ihrer Angehörigen ein für uns so prägendes Erlebnis gewesen, dass wir fürchteten, als Spätkommer diesmal etwas abseits stehen zu müssen. Dass diese Bedenken unbegründet waren, wurde uns allerdings rasch klar. Am Anfang stand die Tatsache, dass mit uns zusammen Rainer Wahl und seine Frau einzogen, der eine vergleichbare Vorgeschichte hatten (auch Rainer war früher schon einmal Fellow gewesen und kam jetzt zu einem juristischen Schwerpunkt), denn zwischen uns entwickelte sich rasch eine große Vertrautheit, die zu vielen gemeinsamen Unternehmungen und schließlich sogar zur Planung einer gemeinsamen Nordlandreise im kommenden Jahr führte. Wir wurden aber auch von den anderen Fellows mit offenen Armen aufgenommen, so dass wir uns rasch als Teil des Jahrganges empfinden konnten. Natürlich wurde uns das erneute Einleben auch durch die vertrauten Mitarbeiter des Kollegs leicht gemacht, von denen wir wie länger abwesende Familienmitglieder herzlich begrüßt wurden.

Der Schwerpunkt Evolutionäre Medizin unter der Leitung des Vaters dieses Gebietes, des amerikanischen Psychiaters Randolph Nesse, war heterogen zusammengesetzt. Ich hatte die Mitglieder schon während einer Tagung Ende Februar kennen gelernt, so dass mir der Einstieg relativ leicht fiel. Die Diskussionen waren stets sehr stimulierend. Wir stimmten sehr darin überein, dass es für Ärzte sinnvoll wäre, wenn sie mehr über die Grundprinzipien der Evolution verstünden, da das Wesen vieler Krankheiten vor diesem Hintergrundwissen sehr viel besser zu verstehen ist. Für mich persönlich sind natürlich die evolutionären Prinzipien der Krebsentstehung sehr interessant, eine Tatsache, der wir in der Vergangenheit eindeutig zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet haben. Dadurch könnten völlig neue Denkansätze zur Optimierung der Therapien entstehen. Faszinierend fand ich aber auch besonders das von Mark Thomas eingebrachte Problem der eindeutig durch die Evolution zu erklärenden Varianz der zellulären Entgiftungsmechanismen, die dazu führt, dass die Wirkung und Nebenwirkung bestimmter Medikamente keineswegs bei allen Menschen gleich sein muss, eine Tatsache, der die Medizin noch viel zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit schenkt und die im Einzelfall verheerende Folgen für die kranken Men-

schen haben kann. Die modernen molekulargenetischen Methoden machen es inzwischen im Prinzip möglich, für jeden Menschen ein eigenes Profil seiner zellulären Entgiftungsmechanismen zu erstellen, das dann bei der medikamentösen Therapie Berücksichtigung finden kann. Auch wenn das im Moment noch Zukunftsmusik ist, so eröffnet dies doch neue Perspektiven für eine sehr viel sicherere Therapie.

Viel diskutiert haben wir dann, wie man die Lehre über die Evolution in das Curriculum der Medizinstudenten einbringen könnte. Auf der einen Seite besteht die Möglichkeit eigener Kurse, Seminare und Vorlesungen über dieses Thema als eigenständigen Teil des Pflichtstoffes. Auf der anderen Seite würden dafür große Hindernisse zu überwinden sein, ist doch das Curriculum des Medizinstudiums schon jetzt in den meisten Ländern zu voll gepackt. Die Alternative – und nach meinem Dafürhalten der besser Weg – wäre, die medizinischen Hochschullehrer mit dem Gedanken vertraut zu machen, in ihre jeweilige fachbezogene Lehre evolutionäre Aspekte einzubauen, da dadurch der direkte Bezug zu den jeweiligen Krankheitsbildern viel besser gewährleistet wäre. Das bedeutet aber natürlich eine erheblich Überzeugungsarbeit.

Ein schöner – unerwarteter – Nebeneffekt des erneuten Aufenthaltes war das Wiedersehen mit Mitfellows von 2005/06, mit denen wir überwiegend auch in der Zwischenzeit noch Kontakt hatten. Ich zähle sie auf, um deutlich zu machen, wie prägend für uns die zehn Monate waren: Robert und Jane Aronowitz, José Casanova, Luca Giuliani, Charlotte Klönk, Rivka Feldhay und Mordechai Kremnitzer, Patrizia Nanz, Oliver Primavesi, Geneviève und Robert Salais und Barbara Stafford. Für ein Konzert, das Hans Zender im Konzerthaus dirigieren sollte, hatten wir Karten. Leider musste er aus Gesundheitsgründen absagen.

Spannend und vergnüglich zur gleichen Zeit war auch die Tatsache, dass wir zum zweiten Mal an der Planung und Durchführung eines Fellowfestes beteiligt waren. Das Programm war eindrucksvoll und so ganz anders als vor zwei Jahren, geplant, eingekauft und gekocht wurde allerdings mit derselben Leidenschaft. Der wunderschöne Kaffeepott mit den Portraits aller Mitarbeiter und Fellows, den alle bekamen, erinnert mich jetzt täglich an diese erneute intensive Zeit am Wiko.

Als „Kurzzeitfellow“ war ich mit dem beruhigenden Gefühl gekommen, dass ich kein Kolloquium halten müsste. Das war jedoch eine Fehleinschätzung. Einige der Mitfellows waren daran interessiert zu hören, woran ich denn vor zwei Jahren gearbeitet hatte. Ich war in meinem Projekt der Frage nachgegangen, warum man so lange fälschlicherweise

der Meinung war, dass Kinder nicht über Tod und Sterben nachdenken. Diese Haltung hatte dazu geführt, dass man mit krebserkrankten Kindern nicht über diese Probleme wie auch nicht über die Krankheit selber sprach, was die Betroffenen völlig isolierte und ihnen jede Möglichkeit nahm, sich mit ihrer Situation offen auseinanderzusetzen oder über ihre Ängste reden zu können. Das Buch ist inzwischen mit dem Titel „Das sprachlose Kind“ erschienen. Ein weiteres Buch, in dem ich anhand von Fallbeschreibungen Probleme der Kinder und ihrer Familien und das mögliche Verhalten von Betreuungspersonen beschreibe, ist noch in Arbeit, war aber der zweite Teil des Wiko-Projektes.

Hatte ich in meinem Jahrgang den Reigen der Kolloquien in Englisch eröffnet, weil ich wollte, dass alle verstanden, was ich zu sagen hatte, so kam mir nun die Aufgabe zu, die Kolloquienreihe dieses Mal abzuschließen. Es hatte in diesem Jahr offensichtlich lebhaftere Diskussionen um die Vortragssprache (Englisch versus Deutsch) gegeben. So beschloss ich, dieses Mal den Vortrag auf Deutsch zu halten, hatte aber Folien auf Englisch vorbereitet. Natürlich verstanden viele Fellows jetzt am Ende der Zeit Deutsch viel besser als zu Beginn. Trotzdem blieb mir das Gefühl, dass nicht immer alles so angekommen war, wie ich es gemeint hatte. Also doch besser alles in Englisch? Ich weiß es nicht. Sicher ist, dass es in der eigenen Sprache in der Regel besser gelingt, komplexe Zusammenhänge richtig darzustellen. So ist es wahrscheinlich richtig, bei dem bisherigen Vorgehen zu bleiben, dass jeder entscheidet, wie er es machen will. Allerdings ist mir – wie schon beim letzte Mal – aufgefallen, dass man besonders die amerikanischen, aber auch englischen Fellows daran erinnern sollte, dass für die anderen Fellows Englisch nicht die Muttersprache ist, weshalb sie sich bemühen dürften, langsam und deutlich zu sprechen, damit diese auch die Chance bekommen, möglichst alles zu verstehen. Das scheint manchem angloamerikanischen Fellow nicht klar zu sein.

Der erneute Aufenthalt war wieder sehr fruchtbar und schön, und meine Begeisterung für das Wiko ist noch weiter gewachsen. Ich hatte geglaubt, dass nun leider endlich Schluss sein müsste. Aber am Tag vor der Abreise bat mich der Rektor, ob ich ihm und Joachim Nettelbeck in Zukunft als Senior Advisor zur Verfügung stehen könnte, was bedeutet, dass ich mich in die Erörterungen über Planungen und Projekte des Kollegs einbringen soll (darf). Wenn ich auch noch nicht recht weiß, wie und ob ich die Erwartungen an mich erfüllen kann, so bleibt doch die beglückende Tatsache bestehen, dass die Verbindung zum Wiko nicht zu Ende ist und wir auch in Zukunft immer wieder eine gewisse Zeit dort verbringen werden.



PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY  
TEJASWINI NIRANJANA

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Tejaswini Niranjana, born in 1958. Studied in Bangalore, Mumbai and Los Angeles. Ph.D. from UCLA, 1988. Taught Cultural Theory, Women's Studies and Social History at the University of Hyderabad before helping to set up the Centre for the Study of Culture and Society in Bangalore, where she is a Senior Fellow. Publications include *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, 1992), the co-edited *Interrogating Modernity: Culture and Colonialism in India* (Kolkata, 1993) and *Mobilizing India: Women, Music and Migration between India and Trinidad* (Durham, 2006). – Address: Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, 827, 29th Main, Poornaprajna Layout, Uttarahalli, Bangalore – 560 061, India. E-mail: [teju@cscs.res.in](mailto:teju@cscs.res.in)

Nowhere have I been so sharply aware of the problem of memory as during and after my short stay at the Wiko in Berlin. In spite of some acquaintance with the German language and German literature, it is only living in the country that prompts a first-time visitor like me to make the effort to grasp local preoccupations or begin to understand their significance. Collective memories as well as their impress upon the present haunt public spaces like the *Bahnhöfe* or the pavements, public institutions like the museums and universities. When a stranger tries to navigate these spaces, she is weighed down by the sheer need to comprehend their pastness by filling in the gaps between the objective historical facts with the lived experience of the city's inhabitants. This may not be a problem specific only to Berlin; it may have more to do with inhabiting a city rather than relating to it as a tourist. For affording me a glimpse of this problem as a temporary resident of this fascinating city, I'm grateful to the Wiko.

Many months after my short stay, cut even shorter by an eventually fatal illness in my family back home, the personal memories of my sojourn in Berlin still retain a compelling quality. And a clarity that can only belong to the winter light of a dying year. The sharp yellows and reds of autumn leaves outside the Villa Walther, a late night on a near-deserted Ring platform in Prenzlauer Berg, the snaking paths of the Grunewald, the lakes covered with thin ice where one tried to skip pebbles and twigs, silent but spectacular snowflakes that enthralled the neighbourhood children, mugs of Glühwein at the Weihnachtsmarkt on the Ku'damm, the glowing Berliner Ensemble logo seen on a rainy night from Friedrichstraße station – moments of exotic respite from staring at the computer screen or from domestic anxieties. For these moments too, the Wiko is to be thanked.

As for my academic work at the Wiko, I did manage to write a draft introduction to my ongoing project on Hindustani music in southern India and to present it to a Thursday colloquium. Since my return home, I have been gloating over my large collection of 19<sup>th</sup>-century publications on Indian music, acquired from the Indological hoard of the libraries in Berlin. The splendid e-resources of the Wiko allowed me a leisurely browse through the available periodical literature and afforded me access to catalogues of material that I will examine in the future. My gratitude for all this goes without saying.

And all that the Wiko as an institution makes possible: the brilliantly-devised library system, the access to all the precious holdings of the German *Bibliotheken*, the collegiality of scholars from disparate academic and ethnic backgrounds, the opportunities to share thoughts and arguments, music and jokes. Not to forget (never to forget) the astonishing Thursday night dinners or the thoughtfully-prepared working lunches. I give thanks for all this and much more that my memories hold.



A LOVE LETTER  
ALVA NOË

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1986 B.A. Columbia University. 1988 B.Phil. Oxford University. 1995 Ph.D. Harvard University. 1995–1996 Research Associate, Center for Cognitive Studies, Tufts University. 1996–2003 Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Santa Cruz. 2003–2006 Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley. 2006-present Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley. Publications: *Action in Perception* (Cambridge, 2004). *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons from the Biology of Consciousness* (New York, 2009) – Address: Department of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-2390, USA. E-mail: noe@berkeley.edu

I look back on my fellowship year at the Wissenschaftskolleg and I find that I am astonished. I am astonished that so much could have happened in such a short time; that flavors could have been so intense, encounters so significant. I marvel at the new beginnings and changes that I at least seem to have detected in myself. These words remind me of Emerson's admonishing observation: "If any of us knew what we were doing, or where we are going, then when we think we best know! We do not know whether we are busy or idle. In times when we thought ourselves indolent, we have afterwards discovered that much was accomplished, much was begun in us." So I reckon with the possibility that I am mistaken. Perhaps the source of my astonishment is a kind of tipsy intoxication, a euphoria of the sort that sets in late in the night, when neckties are loosened and the effects of wine and music and the near warmth of others are felt. Yes, I can't shake the conviction that there was something vaguely transgressive about the life we entered into at the Wissenschaftskolleg, something even dangerous. Like children sent away to boarding school, or



students in their first year away from home at university, or like Hans Castorp removed from his normal world to the magical remoteness of life at the sanatorium, we found ourselves plucked from our normal lives and thrown together; we were afforded, in relation to one another, and to the staff, an unaccustomed, an unsettling, and so, maybe, a risky freedom.

How else to explain the special camaraderie, something I know other Fellows have noticed? In my own case, not since I was a student have I found myself so capable of taking an interest in and learning from the work of others, others with very different aims, backgrounds, ages, and situations. I won't mention names; I won't signal specific intimacies. Some of you – I find myself writing this as a letter to my Co-Fellows and to the staff – will know how you affected me. Others might be surprised to learn how profoundly grateful I am for the chance to have met you, to encounter you each day, to learn about your research, or simply to get a sense of your life. And now I see – is it because I am an American that I am prone to be sentimental? – now I see that this is turning into a love letter. And because I can't let this happen (I can't? Why not? Maybe I need to let it happen), I will shift gears.

At the Wissenschaftskolleg, I wrote one book, conceived of and began work on another, and suffered a mysterious injury that deprived me and still deprives me of the ability to move my left hand. I don't blame the paralysis on Wiko (although I admit that in the novelistic retelling, this connection could not be ignored entirely). But I do credit Wiko for my productive frenzy. Perhaps some credit is also due to the injury itself, a thought I will now consider:

The central theme of the book I completed at the Wissenschaftskolleg – *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons from the Biology of Consciousness* – is the idea that consciousness, human or otherwise, cannot be explained alone in terms of what goes on inside us – in the brain, or anywhere else. We are spread out into the world and are made up of a dynamic interplay. Brain, body, and world all make for the conscious mind; in the book I show, or try to show, that this idea – that you are not your brain – is precisely what is demanded by a rigorously natural scientific, biological approach to our own nature.

The fact that I experienced the loss of the use of my hand as the deformation of my mind strikes me now as poignant confirmation of my thesis. To work one's hands across the keyboard is, or was, for this writer at least, a way of moving through a space of ideas and problems. Thinking isn't something that happens in us, it is something we do. Just as a child counts with his or her fingers, and as we solve arithmetic with a pencil and paper, so we,

or at least some of us, think with our hands. And so to lose the hand was to suffer a cognitive impairment. And now I come to my point: in order to survive at Wiko without my left hand, in order to survive as a writer, I needed to reconfigure my way of thinking, my way of being a philosopher, my whole creative practice. Now, I hope that the hand injury heals, and that my deficit proves to have been only temporary. But the struggle to reshape myself that I undertook as an inmate of the Wissenschaftskolleg has changed me. And perhaps it is just these changes – along with what I think of as the Walpurgisnacht-like suspension of the normal that we enjoyed as Wiko Fellows – that encouraged the unfamiliar openness to the new that so marked my experience of the community of the Wissenschaftskolleg. This spirit of interest and appreciation certainly animates the new project – on pictures, consciousness and art – that I began at the Wissenschaftskolleg, a project I could not have conceived if not for the conversations, lectures, readings, and museum trips that my time at Wiko allowed.

I mentioned being an American, and being sentimental, and now I want to say something more about this. America is a big topic; on the whole it's not one I find interesting. But, since this is a love letter (now I have made peace with this fact), I do want to share an uncomfortable aspect of my visit in Germany, an aspect that has something to do with the sort of American I happen to be. My father grew up under German occupation; he came to America as a young man; he speaks English with a German accent. I vividly remember only two nightmares from childhood; both had to do with my father; in one, I crouched on the floorboards of a Jeep as my mother and I drove down Bleecker Street in New York City in search of my father, fires of warfare blazing all around. Mine was not an ignorant household, and we were not bigots. But Germans and the idea of Germany were a source of deep disquiet. A close friend at school was a German, the daughter of a banker stationed in New York. I can remember her fleeing from our dinner table in tears as my father pronounced on the unchangeable menace of Germans always and forever. And so it is something of a surprise to me, or at least a revelation, that I found conditions of life so very congenial in Berlin. Why should I be surprised to find myself liking the city where my grandfather trained as a doctor? But feelings sublimate; one day my young son August, then six, attacked me for having had him circumcised. Why did you do that?, he demanded. Don't you know the Germans will always be able to tell I am Jewish!

I mentioned I'm not that interested in the topic of America. I'm also not that interested, anymore at least, in the topic of the Germans and the Jews. I was born in 1964 and I no longer have those preoccupations. But it is striking and remarkable that I managed to allow

my son, born as recently as 2001, to feel the weight of that history. For all of us, those born early, and those born late, the chance to come to Germany and learn to feel good there is a special gift, a chance for healing and completion. With our bodies and our memories we remake history together.

I would not wish to end this letter, or this report, or whatever this is, on such a brooding note. Instead, let me mention that I have made it my aim to see if I can find ways to maintain some of the mood and quality of my fellowship experience as I return to my normal life. I expect this will not be an easy task. And maybe this is as it should be. The value of big change is directly proportional to the degree to which such change is exceptional. And there are times for letting loose and dancing the night away. But it is right to go home and make it to work on Monday morning. Wiko fellowships, like the effects of wine, or like youth itself, don't, and shouldn't, last forever. *Oder?*



BRINGING THE WIKO HOME  
ROBERT L. PERLMAN

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After completing my formal education, I worked for two years as an intern and resident in pediatrics at Bellevue Hospital, New York City. In 1965, I went to the National Institutes of Health as an officer in the Public Health Service. In 1971, I joined the Department of Physiology at Harvard Medical School; while at Harvard, I began studying the regulation of hormone and neurotransmitter synthesis and secretion. From 1981 to 1986, I served as Head of the Department of Physiology and Biophysics at the University of Illinois College of Medicine. In 1986, I moved to the University of Chicago, where I was a Professor in the Departments of Pediatrics and Neurobiology, Pharmacology and Physiology, the Committee on Conceptual and Historical Studies of Science, and the College. I retired from the faculty in 2006, and am now Professor Emeritus. Publications: “Why disease persists: An evolutionary nosology.” *Med Health Care Philos.* 8, 3 (2005). With A. Weisfeld. “Disparities and discrimination in health care: An introduction.” *Perspect Biol Med.* 48 (2005). – Address: Department of Pediatrics, The University of Chicago, 5841 S. Maryland Ave., MC 5058, Chicago II, 60637, USA. E-Mail: r-perlman@uchicago.edu

I first heard about the Wiko when Randy Nesse told me he was organizing a *Schwerpunkt* (whatever that was) on evolutionary medicine and asked if I would be interested in applying for a fellowship and being a member of his group. I had recently retired from the active faculty at the University of Chicago – I like to say that I retired from committee meetings and other administrative responsibilities – and was ready for a new adventure, but I was uncomfortable about the prospect of living in Germany. I talked with my colleague Robert Pippin, a former Fellow and a member of the *Beirat*, who spoke glowingly of the Wiko

and encouraged me to apply. My wife was very supportive of my applying, even though she wouldn't be able to stay in Berlin with me and so my going would entail much longer separations than we had had before. I wish I understood the process by which I was selected, so I could thank all of the people who made my stay at the Wiko possible; I still find the Fellow selection process a little mysterious, which in some ways adds to the atmosphere of the place. Luca Giuliani, Joachim Nettelbeck, and Katharina Biegger helped answer my questions and work out the details of my fellowship. But the people who really took care of the practical issues in getting me and my belongings to Berlin were Andrea Bergmann and Friederike Greul. I came to think of Andrea and Friederike as the "preparing-your-stay" twins. I would write to one and receive an answer from the other; they always seemed to know what each other was thinking and doing.

It was easy to become accustomed to the atmosphere of the Wiko – who wouldn't like to be cared for the way Fellows are cared for – but much more difficult to become comfortable living in Berlin. Between *Gleis 17* on one side and the *Stolpersteine* in front of the Villa Jaffé on the other, it was impossible to avoid almost daily confrontations with evidence of the Nazi era and the Holocaust. For a long time, I felt surrounded by ghosts.

When I applied for my fellowship, I began auditing Introductory German at the University of Chicago. I'm glad I did, because it meant I wasn't an abject beginner when I got to Berlin. I continued to study German at the Wiko under Eva von Kügelgen's patient tutelage. Both Eva and Katarzyna Speder were very supportive of my halting attempts to speak German, and would pretend to understand me even when I couldn't understand myself. I came to the Wiko with the hope of being fluent by the end of the year and was both disappointed and comforted by Eva's early admonition that this was an unrealistic goal. Toward the end of my stay, I had one or two glimpses of what it must feel like to be fluent in German: to my great astonishment, a couple of fully formed and more or less grammatically correct German sentences came out of my mouth. I don't know where they came from but what a thrill it was! I felt like Moses; I got to see the Promised Land, even if I wasn't able to enter it.

Randy was a wonderful leader of our *Schwerpunkt*. He was a tireless cheerleader for evolutionary medicine, and he created a climate of good feeling and mutual respect in which we felt free to express our views and to disagree with one another. I often found myself in the minority. Evolutionary medicine is an interdisciplinary field that can thrive only in an environment in which evolutionists and physicians work together and value each other's perspectives and contributions. Unfortunately, there is still a lot of jealousy and hostility

between the two groups. It often fell on me to represent or defend the viewpoint of physicians. I was especially concerned about our use of language, because our language will affect the reception of our ideas and the fate of the field. I had to remind my colleagues that the prestigious medical society in the United Kingdom is the Royal College of Physicians, not the Royal College of Clinicians, Medics, or Docs. I am interested in the cooperative or harmonious interactions that enable smaller units of biological organization to form larger and more complex structures (genes and gene products interact to form cells, cells interact to form organisms, organisms interact to form groups), while the other members of the *Schwerpunkt* tended to focus on competitive interactions between organisms or genomes. I sometimes thought the others were unduly reductionistic, while they seemed to think I was hopelessly naive and fuzzy-thinking and afraid to face the realities of the evolutionary process. But we liked and respected each other and after a while our disagreements felt like family quarrels; I learned a lot from them and hope they learned something from me. I was especially pleased to meet and work with Carl Bergstrom and Mark Thomas, who are a generation younger than I. One of my colleagues at the University of Chicago describes his field as one in which parents eat their children. Fortunately, evolutionary medicine is not like that: as long as we can attract outstanding young scientists like Carl and Mark into evolutionary medicine, the future of the field is bright.

I gave my colloquium early in the autumn, not by choice but because by the time I signed up, all of the later dates were taken. I presented an evolutionary approach to understanding socioeconomic inequalities in health. I argued that socioeconomic inequalities can be understood as inequalities in rates of aging, and that an evolutionary theory of aging could help elucidate these inequalities. This was a subject I hadn't yet done much work on, and I had a few weeks of anxiety as I rushed to prepare a talk I wouldn't be embarrassed by, but it worked out well, because the ensuing discussions were most helpful in clarifying my thinking. Socioeconomic disparities in health remain a major problem in the United States and other developed countries, and have been refractory to conventional medical interventions. If an evolutionary perspective can inspire interventions that reduce these disparities, it will be a major contribution of this new field.

At a reception at the Wiko soon after I arrived, I met Paul Unschuld, a former Fellow who is now director of an institute on Chinese life sciences at the Charité. Paul and I had known of each other but I doubt we would have met if it weren't for this reception and our Wiko connection. Paul and his wife Ulrike were exceptionally kind and generous to me, inviting me to their home and introducing me to a number of physicians and scientists

I would otherwise not have had an opportunity to meet. Getting to know the Unschulds and their friends greatly enriched my experience in Berlin.

I run regularly in Chicago and was looking forward to running in Berlin. The Grunewald was a beautiful place to run – different from, but just as lovely, as my route along Lake Michigan at home. The first couple of times I ran in the Grunewald, I got hopelessly lost and had to rely on the kindness of strangers to get home. Fortunately, people were very helpful. I began to understand why forests play such an important role in Grimm’s Fairy Tales. I did finally get to know a couple of routes that I could run with confidence. But what really made running enjoyable was running with Felicitas (Fe) Hentschke and Catriona MacCallum. (Is Fe the only person at the Wiko with a nickname?) Fe was a tireless and enthusiastic runner who seemed to know all of the paths in the Grunewald. I looked forward to our weekly runs and conversations, and learned much about German politics and culture from her. One morning when I was running with Catriona, we came across some wild boar. They looked a little scary but I comforted myself with the realization that I didn’t have to run faster than the boar – I only had to run faster than Catriona. Despite my interest in cooperative or altruistic behaviors, I do understand the evolutionary importance of competitions between individuals.

2007–2008 was an awkward time for Americans to be in Europe. At times, I wish I had a sign “Don’t blame me – I voted for Gore and Kerry.” Especially during the primary season, there was a lot of discussion among the Fellows and staff about American politics. Fortunately, although almost everyone I talked with was distressed by our government, their distress did not extend to the American people. I was embarrassed by the terribly jejune level of political discourse in the United States. Americans are killing and being killed in Iraq and Afghanistan, people are losing their homes and their jobs, racial inequalities and tensions remain great, and our country is drifting, leaderless, but the issues many people seem most worried about are the legalization of gay marriage and whether Barack Obama wears an American flag pin in his lapel. I kept thinking of the words of Thomas Jefferson, “Indeed I tremble for my country ...” Perhaps it was just as well that I couldn’t follow German political discussions in newspapers or on the radio, so I could maintain the belief, or fantasy, that they were carried out on a higher level.

Perhaps the best way to describe the Wiko is to say that it functions the way we hoped universities would be when we entered the academy – but of course real universities aren’t that way. The administration gave us the feeling that what we were doing was interesting and worthwhile, and that they would like to help us be as productive in pursuing our work

as possible. The administration must work hard to maintain funding, but they take all of that responsibility themselves and don't pass it off on the Fellows. In all the time I was at the Wiko, I never once heard the terms "indirect costs" or "salary recovery". What a pleasure to devote oneself to one's work without worrying about finances! The atmosphere at the Wiko promoted interdisciplinary interactions in a way that universities don't. Of course I know humanists and social scientists at home, but I know them largely because we have served on committees together; I don't go to their seminars and they don't come to mine. (And now that I'm retired from committee meetings, I may never again meet people in other disciplines.) It was exciting to break down the "two cultures" barrier and try our best to engage with what Fellows in other disciplines were thinking and writing about. I learned an incredible amount from the Tuesday colloquia, the lunches that followed the colloquia, and all of the other interactions I had with my colleagues. I was surprised by what seemed to be a little "science phobia" or at least "science anxiety" on the part of some of the humanists, but that seemed to dissipate as the year went on.

I understand that each year's *Jahrgang* has its own special character. I don't have anything to compare it with, but I thought our *Jahrgang* was wonderful. I don't know how much the administration does to create such a well-functioning group, or if they just invite a bunch of interesting people and leave the rest to chance; however the process works, it certainly worked well this year. For me, the cultural diversity among the Fellows was even more valuable than the disciplinary diversity. Dhruv Raina opened my eyes to this cultural diversity and helped me realize how sheltered and insular my life has been. I can't begin to mention all of the people who made this year so precious; all I can say is that I feel bonded to virtually everyone and feel privileged to have been a member of our group.

Having decided to come to the Wiko, I felt that being in Berlin was a rare opportunity to open myself to a people and a culture from which I had felt estranged. Studying German was one part of this process. Learning about German wine (aided by an enjoyable wine-tasting evening that Christine Klöhn arranged) was another. Gesine Bottomley was wonderful about recommending and discussing German literature (in English) and German restaurants with me. And Vera Schulze-Seeger was extraordinarily patient and good-natured in teaching me how to get around Berlin, in getting theater and opera tickets for me, and in answering my endless questions. But the most rewarding experience was talking with, getting to know, and becoming friends with so many, many people. Overcoming some of my own prejudices was one of the most valuable extracurricular benefits of being at the Wiko.



My one regret about my fellowship was that my wife, who is a practicing psychoanalyst, could not stay in Berlin with me. We decided that six months was as long as we would be comfortable with an intercontinental marriage. I was sorry to leave the Wiko at the end of March but consoled myself with the thought that the challenge was to “bring the Wiko home”, to maintain as much as I can of the sense of affirmation, the intellectual stimulation, and the social interactions that the Wiko provided. I only wish I understood the Fellow selection process better, because if McCain becomes President, I’d like to become a Permanent Fellow.

Does the Wiko offer political asylum as well as academic sanctuary?



## DAS ZWEIMONATIGE JAHR ANDREI GABRIEL PLEȘU

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Andrei Gabriel Pleșu wurde 1948 in Bukarest geboren. Er studierte Kunstgeschichte und Philosophie, war Lizenziat für Geschichte und Theorie der Kunst, bevor er als Professor an der Universität Bukarest Kunstgeschichte und Religionsphilosophie lehrte. In der Ceaușescu-Ära politisch verfolgt, gründete er nach der Wende in Bukarest das „New Europe College“ und die Zeitschrift *Dilemma*. Zwischen 1990 und 1991 war er Kulturminister, zwischen 1997 und 1999 Außenminister Rumäniens. Publikationen: *Reflexion und Leidenschaft: Elemente einer Ethik des Intervalls* (1992); *Wer in der Sonne steht, wirft Schatten* (2000); *Eliten – Ost und West* (2000). – Adresse: New Europe College, Stradă Plantelor 21, 023971 Bukarest 2, Rumänien.

Ich bin der lebende Beweis dafür, dass die europäische Integration der Länder Osteuropas noch weit davon entfernt ist, eine vollendete Tatsache zu sein. Ein Forscher aus dem „normalen“ Europa, der ins *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin* (Wiko) kommt, *arbeitet* ganz einfach. Wie zuhause, nur in einem ruhigeren Ambiente, das Möglichkeiten zur erhöhten Konzentration bietet. Ein Forscher aus dem Osten arbeitet nicht im Wiko, er *sammelt Bibliografie*. Denn in Bukarest oder in Sofia kann man niemals sicher sein, Zugang zu jener Literatur zu haben, die man benötigt. Und deshalb – wenn sich die Chance eines Berliner Aufenthalts bietet – bemüht man sich, Vorräte für das „Exil“ der Rückkehr anzulegen: man sucht, man kauft oder fotokopiert.

Das war auch diesmal eine meiner „akademischen“ Hauptaktivitäten in den beiden Arbeitsmonaten, die mir das Wiko Anfang 2008 großzügig ermöglicht hat. Die Bemühung um die Bibliografie hat eine Vielzahl von Nebeneffekten:

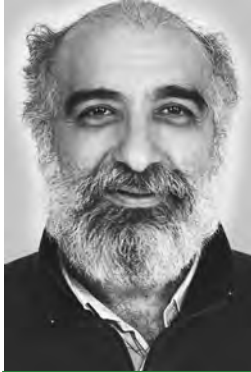
- Man entdeckt erneut und immer wieder, dass die Wiko-Bibliothek und all ihre dienstbaren Geister von einer Effizienz sind, die nah an Utopie grenzt.
- Zwangsläufig lernt man Instrumente zu bedienen, an die man sich unter normalen Bedingungen nie herangewagt hätte, etwa den komplizierten *scanner* im Kellergeschoss der Bibliothek. Ich bin stolz darauf, einer seiner ersten Nutzer gewesen zu sein in Zeiten, da sogar manche Experten in abergläubischer Furcht einen Bogen um ihn machten.
- Während der scanning-Vorgänge läuft man Gefahr, von manch zufällig vorbeikommenden Gelehrten überrascht zu werden, die neugierig sehen wollen, womit man sich beschäftigt. Was mich betrifft, so sah ich mich mit der wohlwollenden, freundschaftlichen Zensur von Professor Willibald Sauerländer konfrontiert, der unter anderem nicht verstand, weshalb ich meine Zeit mit dem verstaubten Romano Guardini vertat. „Er hat einen Kommentar zur Genesis geschrieben und den will ich sehen“, entschuldigte ich mich leicht verlegen. „Das zahlt sich nicht aus. Er ist langweilig und reaktionär“, beharrte der Professor.
- Man steht kurz vor einer Depression. Weil man feststellt, dass viel mehr geschrieben wird, als man je lesen kann, und dass die Chance, der bestehenden Bibliografie etwas auch nur irgendwie Nützliches hinzuzufügen, praktisch null ist. Unter diesen Bedingungen verwandelt sich die Investigation in eine maniakalische Übung, in ein privates Spiel, das von einem kleinen exklusiven Klub als solches akzeptiert wird. Ich habe dieses Thema mit Peter Schäfer erörtert, der einräumte, dass man irgendwann den Mut haben muss, nicht mehr zu lesen, will man nicht gänzlich die Lust aufs Schreiben verlieren.

Doch jenseits des Babels der Bücher bietet das Wiko das Wunder der Begegnungen. Ich hatte fruchtbare und ergiebige Gespräche mit Bernard Levinson über alttestamentarische Themen sowie mit Denis Thouard und Hans Biesalski (der mir als Ernährungsspezialist Genugtuung verschaffte, indem er die Tugenden des reinen Vegetarismus bestritt, mich aber auch missstimmte, da er steif und fest behauptete, dass Leibesübungen gesund seien, was ich weiterhin hartnäckig bestreite ...). Ich hörte einen ausgezeichneten Vortrag von Salman Bashier, nahm an einer von Mojtahed Schabestari angeregten Debatte teil, der sich treuherzig bemühte, Gadammers Hermeneutik auf den Koran anzuwenden, und erfuhr, dass Alva Noë aus Berkeley rumänische Vorfahren hat.

Eine kurze Wiederkehr im Mai bot mir dann die Gelegenheit einer Lesung aus meinem neu erschienenen Buch über die Engel (*Das Schweigen der Engel*. Berlin: Berlin University

Press, 2007) sowie an einem Kolloquium über dasselbe Buch im Literaturhaus Berlin zusammen mit Prof. Otto Kallscheuer und P. Klaus Mertes SJ, dem Rektor des Canisius-Kollegs, teilzunehmen.

*Fazit:* Das kalendarische Jahr besteht für mich nur aus zwei Monaten: jenen, die ich im *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin* verbringe.



## WALKING IN ON A BROKEN LEG DHRUV RAINA

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Professor at the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Born in 1958 in Allahabad, India. Studied Physics at the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai, and the Philosophy of Science at Göteborg University. Publications: *Situating the History of Sciences: Dialogues with Joseph Neeham* (with S. Irfan Habib, 1999). *Images and Contexts: The Historiography of Science and Modernity in India* (2003). *Domesticating Modern Science: Essays on Social History of Science and Culture in Colonial India* (with S. Irfan Habib, 2004). *Social History of Science in Colonial India* (with S. Irfan Habib, 2007). – Address: Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 110 067 New Delhi, India. E-mail: d\_raina@yahoo.com

My sense of excitement and anticipation in spending a year at the Wissenschaftskolleg received a rude shock just before I landed in Berlin. This of course had nothing to do with Berlin per se, but rather with the fact that for several months before my departure I had been unwell and in setting out had my hand in a cast and a bandaged leg – thanks to a thoroughly enjoyable if ruinous game of football. As a result the *aatish-i-chinar* (flaming maples) lost their charm for me and the onset of the Berlin winter appeared more forbidding than it eventually turned out to be. The first three months were spent struggling with an excessive preoccupation with my indifferent health, this further complicated by medical advice that advised me to stay away from exquisite Rieslings and other fine wines as well as the proverbial German beers. It was a struggle not to allow this circumstance to colour all my (sociable) interactions with the new people I was meeting and the novel culture and experience I had so anticipated.

But I did have the presence of mind to put on my analytical hat and make notes on the German health system, as first a taciturn doctor, and then a more jovial and talkative one, exorcised the demons running riot through my body. These notes I often exchanged with the orthopaedist who combined “magnetic resonance imaging” techniques with physiotherapy and sticking needles in my shoulders, neck and legs. The techniques produced results – but only very gradually. And the taciturn internist actually smiled and joked after the fifth visit as my health showed signs of improvement. But my body had never before confronted so much technology. On another front, Christine Klöhn and Katarzyna Speder carefully monitored my Wiko diet till I was able to eat and drink as usual. Through all this Bob Perlman, the skeptical neurophysician, remained a constant interlocutor and the long discussions with him on evolutionary biology issued in a session where I was invited to share my ideas on the notion of “disciplines” with the evolutionary medicine *Schwerpunkt*. I thoroughly enjoyed several discussions with Mark Thomas that had the flavour of the “Two-Cultures Debate”, and his shooting-from-the-hip style required equally rapid response times.

On another front, my education in the area of Arab modernity was initiated through conversations with Fawwaz Traboulsi; these conversations then extended to the seminars organized by EUME and I got down to meeting some of the bright young scholars working on the Middle East. The most enjoyable part was the dinner after the seminar at the Greek restaurant on the Ku’damm, where the discussion continued long and not always on the theme of the seminar just held. The conversations with Marc Aymes, Tamim Al-Barghouti, Georges Khalil, Samah Selim, Mohammed Tabeshat and several others from institutes in Berlin (such as Margrit Pernau, then at the Zentrum Moderner Orient) enlivened the sometimes-splendid isolation of Wiko.

The Arab world remained a constant fixation in the first few months. In early December the art and media theorist Siegfried Zielinski invited me and a colleague from India to participate in a workshop organized at the Universität der Künste Berlin. We were excited because George Saliba was also to come – his arrival and paper more or less setting the tone for the proceedings; and the icing on the cake was the paper by Hans Belting on Ibn-Al-Haytham’s (Al-Hazen) optics and its impact on perspective in the arts. But this for me was also an introduction to students of art history and media philosophy in Berlin, Cologne and elsewhere, who in turn introduced us to some delightful bars from the 1960s – “Zwiebelfisch” remains my favourite.

If I remember correctly, it was in Ionesco's play *Macbett*, between scenes of great dramatic intensity and historical importance, that a butterfly-catcher walks across the stage with his butterfly net. Somehow, amongst all that was happening around and to me, I was able to catch my prized butterflies, and work slowly got done. Books arrived at my desk – some were read, contemplated and digested; others remained unread until almost the very end; others still were unread but photocopied and put aside for later perusal. Amidst all this, in steam-engine fashion, papers and chapters chugged out of my office at something like monthly intervals.

My wife Rajeswari and son Abhinav arrived in the last week of December. As a result, I became more involved with other families in the Villa Walther and my health showed signs of improvement. Even the raging winter (mild by Berlin standards, so I'm told) now lost its bite, and I began to enjoy winters as I normally do. My entrance into the inner life of Berlin slowly commenced. With our poor smattering of German, Rajeswari, Abhinav and I nevertheless marched determinedly through Berlin and much of eastern Germany. In our German class, Meenakshi Mukherjee and I would invariably move the discussion away from German grammar towards German literature and poetry. As a result, our intake of German grammar was meager, but our knowledge of current trends in German literature grew apace. Perhaps Eva was unimpressed. But we are grateful to her, and her lessons strengthened my resolve to not only read but speak the language fluently some day. Rajeswari and I, normally quick learners, and proud of speaking several languages, were humbled in our encounter with demanding German. But we took solace in the fact that Abhinav picked up the language fairly quickly and his patient tutor and schoolteachers insisted that he continues his studies. Perhaps this will be a way of keeping our time spent in Berlin alive in memory.

In addition, young Berlin scholars guided us through the city and became important sources of information about what to read and the latest trends in German politics and culture. Albrecht Bluemel and Gernot Wolfram guided me through a detailed Hobsbawmian kind of social history of the area in and around Hackescher Markt. Jana Tschurunev and Urs Lindner were generous philosophical informants as to the future of critical realism. In like manner, Julian Rohruher and Renate Weiser, over several evenings, led us through various aspects of Bavarian culture and of course the history of reunification. The experience of hearing what the Germany of tomorrow was thinking of today was fascinating. But I must confess that this exploration was not an entirely naive and innocent one,

since I had already been somewhat primed by Wolf Lepenies' wonderful book, *The Seduction of Culture in German History*.

I often sought refuge in the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in order to discuss certain matters that nagged me – and Jürgen Renn, Dagmar Schäfer and Martina Seibert welcomed me with open arms to Max-Planck. The confluence of disciplines and ideas at Wiko sometimes triggered disciplinary anxieties – which drew me back towards my own field. But then again, science studies as well as the history and philosophy of science are in and of themselves interdisciplinary. Some years ago, on my first trip to Berlin, a philosopher had educated me about why science studies were like *Mambo Number Five*: “A little bit of Habermas for tonight, a little bit of Foucault on the side, a little bit of Merton is what I need.” The interaction with colleagues from Max-Planck drew me into new research problems that I had postponed working on until finishing the book I'd originally thought to complete at Wiko. I had met some of the researchers from Max-Planck at workshops organized elsewhere in Europe, but this time it was interesting to encounter them on their home turf – starting with the Dahlem conference on models of the globalization of knowledge. As workshops go, this was among the most intense I had ever attended. For four days we were locked in, as a group, discussing the ins and outs of a certain model of globalization. The evenings were spent dining at a “genuine” Chinese restaurant on Uhlandstraße.

For me, the relationship between the history of science and didactics was exemplified by a lecture I gave in Oldenburg. I was fortunate enough to be invited by the historian of physics Falk Reiss. Reconstruction of certain of the truly classical experiments of physics – Gauss' magnetometer, Lichtenberg's visualization of the electric field or, for me, closer to home, the Raman effect, named after the Indian physicist Raman – these were true eye-openers and provided a concrete instantiation of the foundational role of the history of science in a dynamic science curriculum. More than anything else it revealed the enormous difficulty in “reconstructing” those certain physics experiments that have now been canonized; how much more it told us of the material culture and practices of physics at various historical moments is another issue altogether.

On weekends, we boarded the regional *Züge* – Vera Schulze-Seeger having worked out the complicated train itineraries for us – and visited some of the larger historical towns and cities – and sometimes the smaller sleepy ones. One day over lunch Heiner Goebbels asked me where we had been travelling and I reeled off a list of place-names. He remarked quizzically: “But you should explore western Germany as well.” The seasoned traveller re-



sponding: “We did that on earlier trips.” The two days spent in Weimar were certainly our touristic highlight and inspired me to reread Thomas Mann’s *Lotte in Weimar* and Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther* – after more than a quarter-century.

The Wiko lunches were remarkable. But as lunches go, the Tuesday afternoon lunches were by far the most compelling. I rarely recall a post-colloquium Tuesday lunch marked by indifference. Everyone of the Fellows had something – indeed! – to say about the colloquium and lunch flew by as views appreciative or critical, strongly or gently worded, bounced and ricocheted from table to table like an intellectual pinball machine – never a dull moment. Some of us cobbled together what we called the “The Third-World Table”. The conversation at the dining table, invariably interesting and “constructivist”, lingered about issues that had little to do with the concerns of our other co-Fellows. There were no apparent rules of membership – required was a different way of looking at the world – Argentinians, Australians, Indians, Israelis, Lebanese, Rumanians, South Africans – if I am not mistaken we also had a Czech over on a couple of occasions and sometimes the English even deigned to chip in. I was frequently reminded of the oft-quoted passage from Jean-Paul Sartre’s preface to Frantz Fanon’s *Wretched of the Earth*: “Europeans, you must open this book and enter into it. After a few steps in the darkness you will see strangers gathered around a fire; come close, and listen ... They will see you, perhaps, but they will go on talking among themselves, without even lowering their voices ... Now, at a respectful distance, it is you who will feel furtive, nightbound and perished with cold.”

I slowly headed towards the final chapters of a book on the culture of the history of science and the science of policy-making in 1950s India – a book that I had not come here to write. What about the one I was *supposed* to write? Denis Thouard patiently read through my chapter (in addition to some others) on the French-Jesuit astronomers in India and, with a philologist’s lens, corrected my reading of a Jesuit manuscript from the early eighteenth century. While I plodded through the historical writings of the Scottish mathematicians, the distance necessary to adopt a reasoned historiographical position on the Scottish Enlightenment still eluded me; and while reading I felt that the material needed to slosh around in my head some time more – but the Berlin spring and summer were too distractingly beautiful. As we sat through the opera based on Walter Braunfels’ funereal *Jeanne d’Arc*, Rajeswari and I thought that opera as a musical form was beyond our appreciation. But our musical excursions culminated in *Fidelio*, and our faith in opera was restored. The time had come to bid a sad and reluctant goodbye and return ardently to the life of the

university. Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus would certainly smile on reading this line, reminding me of the *Ars moriendi*.



## CHILDREN, GRUNEWALD, AND GHOSTS RONALD ROGOWSKI

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Ronald Rogowski is Professor and former Chair of Political Science at UCLA and served for two years as UCLA's Interim Vice-Provost of International Studies. He studied Political Science, Mathematics, and Sociology at the University of Nebraska, Princeton, Berlin, and Bonn. He has taught at Princeton, Duke, and Minnesota and has held research appointments at Harvard University and the Center for Advanced Study. His principal books are *Rational Legitimacy* and *Commerce and Coalitions*. He has worked most recently on (a) economic consequences of electoral systems (recent articles in *AJPS*, *JOP*, *BJPS*) and (b) inequality and institutions. He has served as a Vice-President of the American Political Science Association and was elected in 1994 as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is married to Karin Margaret Best, a child psychologist at UCLA's Neuropsychiatric Institute, and they have two daughters, aged nine and eleven. – Address: Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 4289 Bunche Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1472, USA.

I arrived in August 2007 with five projects in mind:

- to enroll our two daughters (then 8 and 10 years old) in German schools and get them completely fluent in German;
- to put the finishing touches on a book (with three co-authors, on economic effects of electoral systems) that had been hanging fire for a couple of years;
- to join my family in (re)discovering Berlin's urban and cultural richness and in exploring more of Europe than I had been able to do as a post-graduate hitchhiker;

- to finish research on, and complete much of the writing of, a book on economic inequality (theory and history); and
- having led a multidisciplinary group at UCLA for several years, to revel in the opportunity to learn from scholars from other disciplines and traditions.

On our first formal evening, Horst Bredekamp – perhaps the most universally learned of the Permanent Fellows – welcomed us with an unsettling but liberating speech, from which I recall especially these lines (perhaps distorted in my memory): “Our only expectation of you this year is to have no expectations. If, by February or March, you are deciding to write a very different book than the one you planned to write, or to pursue some other subject altogether, that is probably a good thing – and the project that you begin will almost certainly be better than the one you have abandoned.”

So what happened to my own ambitious projects?

My daughters indeed became completely, almost frighteningly, fluent in German. They developed their own friendships and overcame their own fears. At the same time, they discovered the truth of the damning Pisa studies and the chaos of the Berlin school system, where classroom teachers tended to change at least monthly, and over one memorable month every two or three days. In one way this was lucky: since the substance of instruction was about two years behind what they would have learned almost anywhere else in the world (literally: fifth graders at the *Grunewald-Grundschule* were still trying to master their multiplication tables, many without success), and since formal instruction at school rarely reached five hours a day (Berlin teachers having apparently one of the world’s toughest unions), they could focus entirely on learning German – with the indispensable help of the excellent private teacher that Wiko subsidized. And within the Villa Walther, they became part of a loving and close international community of kids who wandered freely in and out of each other’s apartments, languages, and refrigerators. I think all of the families with kids will retain special memories of the Family Dinners that Frau Klöhn, Frau Speder, and the rest of the staff organized so superbly: the big Christmas goose dinner will certainly always be part of our family album!

The “hanging fire” book indeed got finished (thanks in great part to one of my co-authors) and submitted to a press. Since one of our main arguments is that proportional methods of election (used, for example, in Germany) empower producers over consumers, stifle competition, and lead to much higher consumer prices, I was able in my concluding chapter to introduce some nice illustrations of particularly anticompetitive policies in present-

day Germany (start with *Apotheken*, energy prices, and the multitude of state-countenanced monopolies, but the list is easy to expand).

Helped by the terrific walking tours that Eva von Kügelgen, Christine von Arnim, and Horst Bredekamp organized, and striking out pretty fearlessly on our own, we sampled corners of Berlin – Mitte, Kreuzberg, Prenzlauer Berg, Regierungsviertel, Hansaviertel, Nikolaiviertel, *Forum Fridericianum* – that I/we previously knew superficially, at best; and, of course, delved extensively into Berlin's and Brandenburg's museums and palaces, including such neglected corners as the Musical Instruments Museum (highly recommended). Some lecturing invitations allowed us, despite the painfully weak dollar, to manage short stays in Trier, Konstanz, Seiffen (recommended to anybody with kids!), Bologna, Florence, Prague, Budapest, and Barcelona. But I think our fondest memory of Berlin will remain chopping down our own Christmas tree in the Grunewald (on the one day in December when that is permitted), hauling it back on the S-Bahn, and decorating it in our Villa Walther apartment (and thanks once again to Herrn Riedel for loaning us the crucial saw!).

Almost as Horst Bredekamp predicted, I ran into a complication in my original research plan – or, better, a stubborn riddle – that proved almost more challenging than the whole larger enterprise. That was figuring out where slavery and serfdom fit into the overall history of changing inequality, which otherwise (I continue to think) has a fairly straightforward economic explanation. So, helped immensely by the amazingly resourceful Wiko librarians (special thanks to Gudrun Rein!), I produced three chapters (of a projected seven) of the book, but also what I hope will be a significant paper on slavery. I wound up presenting pieces of the larger book to seminars in Konstanz, Bologna, Fiesole, Budapest, the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, a seminar that I organized at Wiko, and (of course) to the Wiko Tuesday Colloquium – generally to friendly, or at least tolerant, audiences. More remains to be done, but the path now seems clear to me.

But far more than I could have ever anticipated, the real joy of the Wiko – its intellectual feast and delight – was the inter- (or supra-?) disciplinary Colloquia, seminars, and luncheon conversations. While preparing your own Colloquium talk costs a huge amount of research time (typically three to four weeks), the pleasure and payoff from hearing *others'* talks is more than adequate recompense. While not every Tuesday, Thursday, or evening talk (to use the more eloquent German) *hat mich angesprochen*, the great majority (and often even more the ensuing discussions) opened whole new vistas of knowledge: the role of mirrors in Renaissance self-portraiture, law in ancient Israel and in a globalizing world,

early relations between Christianity and Judaism, the intellectual milieu of George Eliot, why evolution seems to make mistakes, how composers work (and handle audience reactions to their work), why an ancient statue or forum took the shape it did, why the Jesuits misunderstood Indian mathematics, what Goethe and Napoleon made of each other (in several senses) – in short, a dizzying demonstration of the variety and wonder of human knowledge. More than this: the rapid building of a mutually appreciative community of scholars, whose conversation seemed to deepen and grow with each new presentation.

Now (I write in early August, one of the last hangers-on), it seems all to have vanished. After the farewell parties, the last dinner and lunch, the rushed packing of books and belongings, the almost furtive early-morning departures, only the echoes, perhaps even the ghosts, remain. Do we leave lasting traces, do we influence the Fellows and the conversations that come after? Many years ago, when I moved into my study to begin a year at Palo Alto's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, the first thing I saw on my blank and polished desk was a single sheet of paper. It listed, year by year, which Fellow – each of them, it seemed to me, a towering eminence – had occupied what was now “my” study. I found the names so intimidating, the standard they had set so high, that for about a month I could do no useful work; and even later in the year, as I worked at that desk, I often felt as if one or another of them was peering over my shoulder, offering sometimes helpful, more often devastating, criticism. Perhaps the Wiko tradition, its unspoken Law of Oblivion, is more liberating. Our predecessors' ghosts, and our own, can find better haunts.



BAUSTEINE ZU EINER EMPIRISCHEN  
BILDWISSENSCHAFT  
RAPHAEL ROSENBERG

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Raphael Rosenberg ist 1962 in Mailand geboren. Er besuchte eine italienische Grundschule und ein französisches Gymnasium, studierte Kunstgeschichte, Geschichte, Archäologie und Ägyptologie in München und Bonn, promovierte in Basel, war Assistent an der Universität Freiburg und am Collège de France und bekleidet seit 2004 den Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Kunstgeschichte der Universität Heidelberg. Seine Forschungsschwerpunkte kreisen um die Geschichte der Konnotation und Rezeption bildender Kunst – von der italienischen Renaissance (*Beschreibungen und Nachzeichnungen der Skulpturen Michelangelos. Eine Geschichte der Kunstbetrachtung*, München/Berlin, 2000) über die Abstraktion (*Turner – Hugo – Moreau: Entdeckung der Abstraktion*, Frankfurt/München, 2007) bis zur Architektur des Nationalsozialismus. – Adresse: Institut für Europäische Kunstgeschichte, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Seminarstraße 4, 69117 Heidelberg. E-Mail: r.rosenberg@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de

Als ich nach Berlin kam, waren meine Erwartungen so groß, dass es an ein Wunder grenzt, dass sie nicht enttäuscht wurden – einige ehemalige Fellows hatten übereinstimmend und voneinander ganz unabhängig erzählt, hier das glücklichste Jahr ihres Lebens verbracht zu haben. Tatsächlich war es auch in unserem Jahrgang so, dass alle mit großer Wehmut auf das nahende Ende des Aufenthaltes blickten. Woran liegt das? Was sind die Erfolgsingredienzen der Berliner Institution?

Die Lage im ruhigen Grunewald, die wohl größte und monumentalste Villenkolonie der Gründerzeit, am Rande einer so vielfältigen, spannenden und an kulturellen Ereignissen reichen Hauptstadt ist zwar günstig, aber nicht ausschlaggebend. Die Wohnungen und

Büros sind zweckmäßig ausgestattet, ohne jeglichen Luxus. Der berühmte Bibliotheksdienst besorgt mit exzeptioneller Freundlichkeit fast alles, was man lesen möchte, allerdings habe ich in Heidelberg das Glück, genau so vollständig und vielfach schneller versorgt zu werden.

Das alles ist es also nicht. Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass ich an der eigenen Universität zwar alle Bücher schnell erhalten kann, jedoch nur dazu komme, kurz nachzuschlagen. Zum Lesen fehlt die Zeit. Zeit, selbstbestimmte Zeit, ist was ich stets vermisse, ein systembedingtes, chronisches Problem besonders von deutschen Universitäten. Zehn Monate selbstbestimmte Zeit sind die erste Ingredienz des Wiko-Erfolges. Die zweite ist das Diskussionsklima. Jeden Tag ein gemeinsames Essen, ein- bis zweimal in der Woche ein Colloquium mit ausführlicher Diskussion und – was man nicht unterschätzen sollte – das Nebeneinanderwohnen, das Klima einer Wohngemeinschaft, die über Fach-, Alters- und Kulturunterschiede hinweg Gespräche fördert – fast immer auf einem sehr hohen intellektuellen Niveau. Am Jahresanfang findet eine gemeinsame Bootsfahrt auf der Spree statt. Es war mein dritter Tag. Ich lernte einige Fellows und Mitarbeiter kennen und war wie die meisten noch recht distanziert. Erst in den Tagen, Wochen und Monaten nach der Bootsfahrt kam man sich einander näher; so nah, dass das Gefühl entstand, *jetzt* sitzen wir in *einem* Boot. Es war das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl einer Schulklasse – etwas das ich nicht mehr erwartet hatte und mich umso mehr beglückt hat. Interessante Kollegen treffe ich natürlich genau so auch an meiner Heimatuniversität, jedoch nur selten in einer so offenen, interdisziplinären Zusammenstellung, und vor allem fehlt an der Universität die Zeit, über ein freundliches Wort und das „Nötigste“ hinaus miteinander ins Gespräch zu kommen. Das „Nötigste“, das sind Fragen der Universitätsverwaltung, der Reform von Studiengängen und der Versuch, gemeinsame Anträge für große Forschungsprojekte zu entwickeln. Die inhaltliche Auseinandersetzung, die nur dem Interesse an der Sache geschuldete Ausübung von Wissenschaft bleibt dagegen auf der Strecke. Der einjährige Aufenthalt in Berlin fern von der täglichen Bürokratie, die Diskussion mit den anderen Fellows, Mitgliedern der internationalen Gelehrtenrepublik, die in diesem Jahr von Indien nach Nordamerika und von Australien bis zum Libanon reichte, hat mir geholfen, innerlich Abstand von den nachrangigen Querelen der Universitätsverwaltung zu gewinnen. Mich beispielsweise nicht aufzuregen, wenn unser Rektorat die soeben begonnenen neuen Studiengänge (B.A./M.A.), für deren Planung ich in den vergangenen Jahren so viel Energie aufgewendet hatte, bereits nach dem allerersten Jahr Laufzeit wieder abändern will!



Mein zentrales Projekt in Berlin widmete sich dem Verhältnis von Blickbewegung und der Betrachtung von Kunst. Das Thema ist für Kunsthistoriker wichtig, weil es eine große Rolle in der Beschreibung von Kunstwerken spielt. Im Laufe der Erforschung wurde deutlich, dass Beschreibungen von Architektur, Skulptur und Malerei von Anfang an mit der Reflexion von Blickbewegungen einhergehen. Ein Kronzeuge hierfür ist der byzantinische Historiograph Prokop von Caesarea. Seine in der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts verfasste, mehrseitige Schilderung der Hagia Sophia übertrifft bei weitem alle aus der Antike überlieferten Kunstbeschreibungen in der Differenziertheit, mit der er das reale Gebäude und dessen Wirkung auf den Betrachter beschreibt. Es ist ein wichtiger Meilenstein für die Entstehung einer Kunstbeschreibung. In Bezug auf die Kuppel geht Prokop auf die Blickbewegung ein: „Die Bauglieder lassen aber das Auge des Betrachters nicht lange an einer Stelle, sondern jeder Einzelteil zieht den Blick ab, um ihn schnellstens auf sich zu lenken.“ Erst viel später, im 17. Jahrhundert, im Zuge einer steigenden Zahl von Kunstbeschreibungen, die sich als Textgattung etablieren, findet eine häufigere Reflexion der Aktivität des Auges statt. Der Rekurs auf die Blickbewegung dient seit den 1660er Jahren vor allem dazu, die Strukturen von Kunstwerken zu erläutern. Noch bevor der Begriff der „Komposition“ im 18. Jahrhundert üblich wurde, gebrauchte man die Beschreibung fiktiver Bewegungen von Blicken, um die charakteristische Anordnung der zentralen Elemente in Gemälden, aber auch bei Architektur und Skulptur zu erklären. Denis Diderot behauptet 1767 sogar, dass Gemälde entlang einer einzigen Linie komponiert sein sollen, damit das Auge systematisch von Figur zu Figur geführt werde. Die Forderung nach einem „Kompositionspfad“, der das Auge des Betrachters lenken sollte, wird dann über zwei Jahrhunderte hinweg mehrfach wiederholt und in den 1960er Jahren von Kurt Badt zur kunstgeschichtlichen Methode erhoben. Wie groß die Rolle der Augenbewegung in der Kunstgeschichte war, lässt sich daran ermesen, dass um 1900 das Verhalten des Auges gerne als die eigentliche Ursache chronologischer und geografischer Stilunterschiede erklärt wird. Der Übergang von den vielteiligen Gemälden der Frührenaissance, also der italienischen Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts, mit einem „schiefer unentwirrbaren Gewühl“, zur Ruhe der Hochrenaissance im frühen 16. Jahrhundert wird beispielsweise von Heinrich Wölfflin (*Die klassische Kunst*, 1899) mit dem Bedürfnis des Auges nach Entspannung erklärt. Den Unterschied zwischen der italienischen Kunst auf der einen, der nordeuropäischen auf der anderen Seite erklärt Wilhelm Waetzold (*Einführung in die Bildenden Künste*, 1912) damit, dass „das Sehen des Italiens isoliert, das Sehen der Niederländer und Deutschen verbind-

det; das erste ist an die Beweglichkeit des Blicks, das zweite an das ruhig schauende Auge gewöhnt“.

Die Bewegung des Auges ist bis heute ein Thema kunsthistorischer Schriften geblieben. Obgleich es sich vielfach um metaphorische Redewendungen handelt, stehen diese Aussagen von Kunsthistorikern im deutlichen Widerspruch zu den Erkenntnissen der Lebenswissenschaften, zu den Erkenntnissen über die Motorik der Augen, die seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert von Ophthalmologen gewonnen wurden: das Auge kann keine glatten oder gar sanften Bewegungen ausführen, wenn es statische Objekte wahrnimmt. Etwa dreimal in der Sekunde wechseln sich blitzschnelle Bewegungen (sog. Sakkaden) mit Fixationen ab. Anders als bei einem mechanischen Scanner, der zeilenweise Pixel für Pixel aufzeichnet, sind die Sakkaden des menschlichen Auges aber nicht vorprogrammiert: Sie hängen vom betrachteten Gegenstand und vom Betrachter ab, und sie verlaufen weitaus chaotischer, als es Kunsthistoriker intuitiv angenommen haben.

In dem mit einem leistungsfähigen Aufzeichnungsgerät (Eye-Tracker) ausgestatteten Blicklabor, das wir am Heidelberger Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Psychologen Christoph Klein (University of Bangor) aufgebaut haben und dessen Daten ich in Berlin ausgewertet habe, wurden unterschiedliche Versuchspersonen (Laien und Experten) gebeten, hochwertige Faksimiles von Gemälden über mehrere Minuten hinweg zu betrachten. Die aufgezeichneten Blickbewegungen zeigen, dass die These von Diderot und Badt nicht zutrifft: Das Auge kennt weder Anfang noch Ende einer Komposition. Es springt vielfach hin und her, von links nach rechts wie auch von rechts nach links, und tastet das Gemälde auf nicht vorhersehbare Weise ab, wobei die individuellen Unterschiede beträchtlich sind. Allerdings fixieren die Augen immer wieder bestimmte Punkte der Gemälde, und die meisten Versuchspersonen wiederholen bestimmte Sakkaden sehr häufig, z. T. hundertfach im Verlauf mehrerer Minuten. Unabhängig von der Reihenfolge der einzelnen Sakkaden ähneln sich die Bahnen, innerhalb derer Blicksprünge wiederholt werden, intersubjektiv sehr stark. Viele Versuchspersonen wiederholen v. a. jene Achsen besonders häufig, die die Struktur der Gemälde ausmachen und welche die Kunstgeschichte üblicherweise als „Kompositionslinien“ bezeichnet. Die Wiederholung von Sakkaden ist also ein physiologisches Korrelat für die Erkenntnis und ästhetische Erfahrung visueller Strukturen. Dies ist eine wichtige Erkenntnis, die eine Brücke zwischen den seit Jahrhunderten üblichen Beschreibungen der Kunsthistoriker und den neueren Erkenntnissen der Ophthalmologen ermöglicht. Eine Brücke, deren genauer Verlauf und Gestalt allerdings noch zu entdecken sind: Wie hängt die Blickbewegung von der Gestalt des Ge-

mäldes ab und vor allem welche individuelle, bildungsabhängige und kulturelle Faktoren beeinflussen sie? Das sind Fragen, deren Beantwortung noch in den Anfängen liegt. Für die Kunstgeschichte sind sie insofern wichtig, als sie ein besseres Verständnis der Mechanismen von Kunstrezeption ermöglichen. Zwar können wir die Zeitgenossen Michelangelo und Rembrandts nicht in das Blicklabor einladen, die Bestimmung der Bandbreite unterschiedlicher Betrachtungsweisen und der Faktoren, die diese beeinflussen, sind aber ein Schlüssel, mit dem wir auch die historische Betrachtung besser verstehen werden.

Ein Schwerpunkt meiner Arbeit in Berlin bestand in der statistischen Auswertung großer Zahlenmengen, die aus dem Heidelberger Blicklabor geliefert wurden. In Diskussionen über die Parameter, die wir beachten sollten, über Bedingungen und Möglichkeiten ihrer Visualisierung mit einer Schritt für Schritt eigens entwickelten Auswertungssoftware habe ich als Geisteswissenschaftler weite Ausflüge auf unbekanntem Gelände unternommen. Das Wissenschaftskolleg hat mir sowohl die Zeit als auch den richtigen Boden dafür zur Verfügung gestellt. Mein Vortrag im Dienstagskolloquium war der erste, sicher aber nicht der letzte, bei dem ich neben Kunstwerken und historischen Texten auch Balkendiagramme erläutert habe. Die sehr kritischen, aber letztlich wohlwollenden, äußerst interdisziplinär orientierten Fellows waren hierfür das ideale Publikum. Die Diskussionen, die sich nach dem Vortrag ergeben haben und bei gemeinsamen Mahlzeiten über viele Wochen hinweg weitergeführt wurden, haben mir sehr geholfen, Stärken und Probleme zu fokussieren.

Jede zweite Woche traf sich eine Arbeitsgruppe, die unter dem Etikett „Bildwissenschaften“ Fellows und einige ehemalige Fellows – auch als Gäste auf der Durchreise (u. a. Gottfried Boehm und Willibald Sauerländer) – vereinigte. Alle waren an Fragen des Bildes und des Umgangs mit Bildern interessiert, jeder aber mit eigenen Standpunkten, was nicht zuletzt durch die Vielfalt der Fächer bedingt war: europäische (Horst Bredekamp) und japanische Kunstgeschichte (Melanie Trede), Archäologie (Luca Giuliani und Susanne Muth), Literaturwissenschaft (Rüdiger Campe und Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus) und Philosophie (John Krois und Alva Noë). Die Gruppe hatte einen informellen Status. Es gab keine Voraussetzung zur Teilnahme, kein Ziel, das erreicht werden sollte. Jeder konnte Themen vorschlagen und durch Kurzvorträge eine Diskussion in Gang setzen. Für mich war es die Gelegenheit, zwei übergreifende Fragestellungen zu entwickeln, die auseinanderliegende Arbeiten der vergangenen Jahre verbinden. Einerseits die „Geschichte des Sehens“, ein Schlagwort der Kunstgeschichte um 1900, das ich auf der Grundlage der Ergebnisse meiner Dissertation zur Geschichte der Betrachtung der Skulpturen Michelange-

los, der Habilitation über Abstraktion vor 1900 und der aktuellen empirischen Studien zur Kunstrezeption kritisch beleuchten möchte. Andererseits der *Symbolbegriff*, der meines Erachtens den Aufschwung des Faches Kunstgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts ermöglicht hat, aber bis heute einen Fluch für die Disziplin darstellt. Zwei Themen, die mich gerade durch die anregenden Diskussionen in dieser Gruppe voraussichtlich noch lange beschäftigen werden.



## KORAN UND HERMENEUTIK M. MOJTAHED SCHABESTARI

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Geboren 1936 in Shabastar (Ostaserbaidshan), begann Schabestari mit 14 Jahren seine theologische Ausbildung in Qom. Neben seinem Studium schrieb er Artikel für *Maktabe Eslami*, die erste islamische Zeitschrift im Iran. 1969 wurde er von Dr. Beheshti nach Hamburg eingeladen und übernahm nach dessen Rückkehr in den Iran von 1970 bis 1978 die Leitung des Islamischen Zentrums. 1978 kehrte er in den Iran zurück. 1980 wurde er ins Parlament gewählt und erhielt 1985 einen Lehrstuhl für Religionsphilosophie und Islamische Theologie an der Universität Teheran. Heute ist er u. a. als Fachgruppenleiter für islamische Philosophie an der Herausgabe einer „Großen Islamischen Enzyklopädie“ beteiligt. Publikationen (alle bei Tarh-e Nou in Teheran erschienen): *Hermenutik, ketab va sonnat*. 1379/2000 (4. Aufl.) [„Hermeneutik, Koran und Sunna“]. *Iman va Azadi*. 1378/1999 (2. Aufl.) [„Glaube und Freiheit“]. *Naqdi bar qera'at-e rasmi az din*. 1379/2000 [„Kritik der offiziellen Lesart der Religion“]. *Ta'amoli da Qera'te Ensani az Din*. 1383/2004 [„Reflexionen zur menschlichen Lesart der Religion“]. – Adresse: Darruz / Kh. Hedayat, Kh. Jurabchi, Pl. 26, Tab. 1, Teheran, Iran. Fax: +9821-22297663

Im Jahre 2007 habe ich zum zweiten Mal eine Einladung erhalten, als Gast des Wissenschaftskollegs nach Berlin zu kommen. Wegen meiner Empfindlichkeit auf das nord-europäische Klima in den Monaten November und Dezember habe ich die Verwaltung des Kollegs gebeten, den ursprünglich von Oktober 2007 bis Januar 2008 vorgeschlagenen Termin zu verschieben. Schließlich habe ich mich von Januar bis März 2008 am Wissenschaftskolleg aufgehalten.

Dieser dreimonatige Aufenthalt am Kolleg war für mich sehr lohnend. Wegen meines besseren Gesundheitszustands (verglichen mit meinem ersten Aufenthalt im akademischen Jahr 2006/07) konnte ich einen intensiveren Kontakt mit den anderen Fellows am Wissenschaftskolleg aufnehmen. Glücklicherweise waren einige von ihnen gute Kenner der Hermeneutik, dem Forschungsbereich, in dem ich arbeite. Ich konnte mit ihnen vielseitig über religiöse Hermeneutik diskutieren und meine Ansichten über die moderne Hermeneutik des Korans erklären. Aus ihren Fragen konnte ich viel lernen. Herr Dr. Thouard hat mir freundlicherweise einige für mich unbekannte Bücher aus dem Bereich der Hermeneutik aus seiner Privatbibliothek zur Verfügung gestellt, die für die Weiterentwicklung meines Projektes viel Nutzen brachten.

Die vielfältige Dienstbereitschaft der Kollegsbibliothek und die großzügigen Fotokopiermöglichkeiten von Büchern und Artikeln hat mir sehr geholfen und ich konnte vieles kopieren, um es mit nach Teheran zu nehmen. Ich benutze diese Kopien hier ständig für meine wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten. Außerdem hat es mir sehr geholfen, dass sich das Wissenschaftskolleg mit meinem Vorschlag, mir für zwei Wochen einen wissenschaftlichen Assistenten zu Verfügung zu stellen, einverstanden erklärt hat.

Am Ende möchte ich die Gelegenheit nutzen, mich für die vielfältige Unterstützung, die ein konzentriertes wissenschaftliches Arbeiten ermöglichte, herzlich zu bedanken.



BERLIN REVISITED  
PETER SCHÄFER

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Geboren 1943. Studium der Judaistik, Semitistik und Theologie in Bonn, Jerusalem und Freiburg. Promotion zum Dr. phil. 1968 in Freiburg, Habilitation 1973 in Frankfurt a. M. 1974–83 Professor für Judaistik an der Universität Köln, 1983–2008 an der Freien Universität Berlin; seit 1998 Professor of Religion und Ronald O. Perelman Professor of Jewish Studies an der Universität Princeton, seit 2005 Director, Program in Judaic Studies. Gastprofessuren an den Universitäten Jerusalem, Yale, Oxford, am Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York und am Institute for Advanced Study Princeton. Dr. theol. h. c. der Universität Utrecht (1993), Dr. phil. h. c. der Universität Tel Aviv (2007). Letzte Bücher: *Judeophobia: Attitudes Toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (1997, 1998; ital. 1999, franz. 2003); *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* (2002, 2004; deutsch 2008); *Jesus in the Talmud* (2007, deutsch 2007). – Adresse: Department of Religion, Princeton University, 1879 Hall, Princeton, NJ, 08544, USA. E-Mail: pschafer@princeton.edu

Wir dachten, wir kannten Berlin und auch das Wissenschaftskolleg recht gut – nach zwanzig Jahren an der FU und vielen Besuchen im Kolleg zu Vorträgen mit den berühmten Einführungen von Wolf Lepenies und den nicht weniger berühmten Mittag- und Abendessen. Das sollte sich als Irrtum erweisen. Was Berlin betrifft, so hatte sich unsere Kenntnis des Grunewalds auf genau den Weg von Wilmersdorf (unserer Berliner Wohnung) zum Wissenschaftskolleg beschränkt, wie sich schnell herausstellte, eine sehr begrenzte Sichtweise. Die Villenkolonie Grunewald war uns fremd – und sollte uns auch in diesem Jahr fremd bleiben. So sehr wir die wunderschönen Seen und Wälder zu lieben

lernten, so glücklich wir waren, in der Villa Walther eine Wohnung im Altbau mit seinen hohen Decken (und dem direkten Blick vom Schlafzimmerfenster auf die mahnende Losung „Carpe Diem“) erwischt zu haben, wir konnten die vielen Schilder auf den Grunewalder Villen nicht verdrängen, die davon berichten, welche jüdische Familie wann daraus vertrieben wurde.

Was das Kolleg betrifft, so war mein erster Besuch ein traumatisches Erlebnis. Im Januar 1984, nachdem ich gerade an die FU berufen worden war, hatte Peter Wapnewski mich zum Mittagessen eingeladen, weil er den neuen Berliner Judaisten und Nachfolger Jacob Taubes kennenlernen und den Fellows vorstellen wollte. Ich hatte am Tag vorher erfahren, dass mein Kölner Kollege Hermann Greive von einer Studentin erschossen worden war, die als Motiv angab, Judaistik solle und dürfe von Nichtjuden nicht gelehrt werden. Zunächst hatte ich die Einladung absagen wollen, bin dann aber doch gegangen und erinnere mich noch, wie ich halb betäubt in der Schlange zur Essensausgabe stand – zwischen Peter Wapnewski und aufgeregten Fellows, die diese tödliche Blüte deutscher Befindlichkeit zu verstehen und kommentieren suchten.

Danach war ich oft im Kolleg, glücklicherweise unter anderen und besseren Umständen. Und doch war jetzt alles ganz anders, als regulärer Fellow, gewissermaßen als outsider-turned-insider. Ich liebte die Mittagessen, die von manchen Fellows als Zwangsbegegnung und unwillkommene Unterbrechung des Arbeitstages empfunden wurden und werden. Nicht nur weil ich gerne esse und weil sie meinen Tag strukturierten, sondern weil sie mir ungeahnte Einblicke in andere Wissenschaftsbereiche und Themen verschafften. Wenig davon ist vermutlich direkt in meine eigene Arbeit eingegangen, aber manches hat – hoffentlich – meine Denkweise verändert. Dieser Effekt ist von unseren Vorgängern schon oft erwähnt und gelobt worden, aber er kann nicht genug betont werden. Möge das Wiko auch in Zukunft allen Versuchen widerstehen, die Mittagessen abzuschaffen. Ich spreche aus Erfahrung: Aus einer anderen, hier nicht näher zu benennenden Institution, die diesen segensreichen Zwang nicht kennt, bin ich nach einem Jahr frustriert und geistig erschöpft hervorgekommen. Wer kann sich schon ein Jahr lang nur mit sich selbst und seinem Forschungsthema beschäftigen? Da kann das Paradies schnell zur Hölle werden. Natürlich haben auch die Dienstagskolloquien das Ihre zur geistigen Erneuerung beigetragen. Ich habe zwar mehr über, sagen wir, *constitutional law* gehört, als ich jemals dachte, wissen zu wollen – und doch haben diese und viele andere Vorträge mich in ungeahnter Weise bereichert. Und zwar gerade Vorträge, die nichts mit meinem Arbeitsgebiet zu tun haben. Wenn ich nur unter Judaisten hätte sein wollen, wäre ich in eines der einschlägigen



Institutes of Advanced Study gegangen (von denen es durchaus einige gibt), aber Judaisten kenne ich mehr als genug.

Meine beiden Hauptforschungsgebiete sind das spätantike Judentum und die jüdische Mystik. Fast beschämt gestehe ich, dass ich *eine* Erwartung des Kollegs nicht erfüllt habe. Zahlreiche Arbeitsberichte der Fellows beschreiben, wie unsere glücklichen Vorgänger unter dem Einfluss des geistigen Austauschs im Kolleg flugs ihre ursprünglichen Pläne aufgaben und etwas ganz Neues und Unerhörtes wagten oder doch wenigstens ihre Pläne entscheidend modifizierten. Mir klingt noch in den Ohren, wie der Rektor zu Beginn des Jahres betonte, dass es gar nichts mache, wenn wir unsere ursprünglichen Vorhaben nicht zustande brächten, ja dass es fast willkommener sei, wenn das Kolleg der Katalysator ganz neuer – und natürlich besserer – Projekte würde. Nun, dazu hat es bei mir nicht gereicht. Ich bin genau wie geplant vorgegangen, habe in den ersten drei Monaten ganz zielstrebig eine umfangreiche Monographie über *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* abgeschlossen, an der ich schon lange arbeitete. Immerhin kann ich sagen, dass der Freiraum des Kollegs (nicht nur die freie Zeit, sondern eben auch die inspirierende Atmosphäre) den ersehnten Abschluss dieser Monographie ungleich zügiger gestaltete, als dies unter den normalen Bedingungen möglich gewesen wäre. Ein Knoten war geplatzt, und ich konnte plötzlich die Einleitung und den Schluss in einem Zug niederschreiben.

Unmittelbar danach habe ich ebenso zielstrebig eine neue Monographie über mein vorgesehene Forschungsthema begonnen: Die Entstehung des Christentums aus dem Judentum bzw. genauer: die Einwirkungen des entstehenden und sich dogmatisch entfaltenden Christentums auf das rabbinische Judentum der Spätantike. Geholfen hat dabei sicher, dass dieses Thema mit der jüdischen Mystik rein gar nichts zu tun hat. Den Anfang machte mein Kolloquiumsvortrag im Januar „Why Did the Baby Messiah Disappear? The Birth of Christianity from the Spirit of Judaism“, gefolgt von einer systematischen Analyse der einschlägigen rabbinischen Quellen (meist Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Rabbinen und *minim*, d. h. allen Arten von Dissidenten und Häretikern) zum Verhältnis von Judentum, römischem Staat, griechisch-römischer Religion, Christentum, Gnosis, etc. Als wichtiges Ergebnis zeichnet sich ab, dass wir aufhören müssen, die Gegner der Rabbinen in statischen und fest umrissenen Gruppen zu suchen (*das* „Christentum“, *das* „Judenchristentum“, *die* „Gnosis“). Vielmehr waren diese Gruppen sehr viel bunter und länger im Fluss, als wir bisher wahrhaben wollten, und haben in dem langwierigen und komplizierten Prozess der Herausbildung ihrer jeweiligen Identitäten in positiver wie in negativer Weise aufeinander eingewirkt. Immerhin habe ich eine andere „Vorgabe“ erfüllt: Es ist mir nicht

gelingen, dieses Manuskript abzuschließen, doch ist es so weit gediehen, dass das Ende absehbar ist.

Ein ganz unerwarteter Höhepunkt meines Kollegjahres fällt etwas aus dem Rahmen der üblichen Aktivitäten im Kolleg. Christoph Marksches und ich hatten verabredet, als wir uns in Bonn bei einer DFG-Sitzung trafen, während meines Aufenthaltes am Kolleg ein gemeinsames Seminar über jüdische und christliche Kosmologie in der Antike zu veranstalten. Wir wollten zusammen mit ausgewählten Studenten, Postdocs und Kollegen einschlägige Texte der Rabbinen und der Kirchenväter jeweils in den Originalsprachen (Hebräisch, Aramäisch, Griechisch, Latein) lesen und diskutieren. Aufgrund der vielfältigen Verpflichtungen eines Präsidenten der Humboldt-Universität gestaltete sich die Terminsuche dann schwieriger als erwartet (und schrumpfte das ursprünglich mehrtägig geplante Seminar auf einen Tag zusammen) – aber was dann am Ende doch dabei herauskam, hat alle unsere Erwartungen übertroffen. Wir haben uns auf der jüdischen Seite auf Texte aus dem Midrasch Bereschit Rabba („Großer Kommentar zur Genesis“), dem babylonischen Talmud und aus dem kosmologischen Traktat Seder Rabba di-Bereschit („Große Schöpfungsordnung“) konzentriert und auf christlicher Seite auf Homilien und Kommentare des Kirchenvaters Origenes zur Genesis. Origenes (gest. 254 n. Chr.) wirkte lange in Caesarea Maritima in Judaea, das gleichzeitig auch ein wichtiges Zentrum rabbinischer Gelehrsamkeit war. Wir wissen, dass er Kontakt mit Rabbinen hatte und sich mit ihnen über theologische Fragen austauschte – während manche der Rabbinen, die uns aus ihren Diskussionen mit „Häretikern“ bekannt sind, gerade auch in Caesarea lebten. Was läge näher, als die Genesiskommentare dieser Rabbinen und des Origenes zusammen zu lesen und zu vergleichen?

Leider findet genau dies so gut wie gar nicht statt. „Judaistik“ und „Alte Kirchengeschichte“ sind nicht nur zwei getrennte „Disziplinen“, die eine sehr unterschiedliche Ausbildung (nicht zuletzt auch in den relevanten Sprachen) verlangen; sie werden zudem in zwei verschiedenen und in der Regel streng voneinander getrennten Fakultäten oder Fachbereichen betrieben, den Geschichts-, Kultur- oder auch Religionswissenschaften auf der einen und der Theologie (gar noch aufgeteilt in Evangelische und Katholische Theologie) auf der anderen Seite. Als die Judaistik erstmals nach dem 2. Weltkrieg – d. h. wohl nicht zufällig nach der weitgehenden Vernichtung des europäischen Judentums – als eigenständiges Fach an deutschen Universitäten installiert werden konnte (der erste Lehrstuhl war der 1964 an der Freien Universität eingerichtete und mit Jacob Taubes besetzte Lehrstuhl), machte es Sinn, dass diese alles daransetzte, sich von den übermächtigen Mut-

terdisziplinen, aus denen sie hervorgegangen war (der Theologie und der Orientalistik), zu emanzipieren. Diese Abnabelung ist aber inzwischen längst vollzogen – mit ihren positiven wie auch negativen Folgen. Die Judaistik ist in Deutschland fest etabliert, und nur wenige würden ihr heute noch ein Daseinsrecht außerhalb der christlichen Theologie bestreiten wollen. Aber es spricht sich auch immer mehr herum, dass die gegenseitige Abgrenzung teuer erkaufte wurde, ganz sicher, was die Antike und das Mittelalter betrifft. Hier sind beide Religionen so eng aufeinander bezogen (im guten wie im schlechten Sinne), dass eine säuberliche Trennung der Disziplinen absurd wird. Wir können die Herausbildung des rabbinischen Judentums in der Spätantike mit seinen sehr eigenen Akzenten schlechterdings nicht begreifen, wenn wir nicht verstehen, wie sich zur gleichen Zeit das Christentum entwickelt und dogmatisch definiert hat. Und wir können auch die dogmatische Selbstfindung des Christentums – etwa im Blick auf die zweite göttliche Person – nicht verstehen, wenn wir keine Idee von den binäritischen Ansätzen im zeitgenössischen Judentum (Weisheit, Logos) haben.

Das Seminar im Wissenschaftskolleg hat unseren Sinn für dieses strukturelle Problem geschärft. Vor allem aber hat es uns großen Spaß gemacht, und wir sind fest entschlossen, es weiterzuführen. Die passende Form zwischen Princeton und Berlin müssen wir noch finden, aber wir haben keinen Zweifel daran, dass uns dies gelingen wird.



## A JURISTIC ENLIGHTENMENT FRITZ W. SCHARPF

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Fritz W. Scharpf is Emeritus Director at the Max Planck Institute for the Studies of Societies, Cologne. Born in 1935. Study of Law and Political Science at the Universities of Tübingen and Freiburg i. Br., and Yale University. 1964 Dr. iur., University of Freiburg. 1964–66, Assistant Professor, Yale Law School. 1968, Professor of Political Science, University of Constance. 1973–84, Director, International Institute of Management, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin. 1987, Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California. 1995, Jean Monnet Professor, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence. 1986–2003, Director, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies. 2003, retirement. Publications: *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (1999). “Legitimationskonzepte jenseits des Nationalstaats.” In *Europawissenschaft*, ed. Gunnar Folke Schuppert, Ingolf Pernice and Ulrich Haltern (2005). – Address: Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, Paulstraße 3, 50676 Köln.

We arrived in mid-January, on a cold and rainy evening. After long waits and detours on the Autobahn we had called to say that we would arrive long after the agreed hour – and were cheerfully assured that, no matter when, someone would be waiting for us at the front office. And that was just the beginning of a unique experience. Never before, not at the Center in Stanford, or at EUI Florence, Sciences-Po in Paris, Nuffield College in Oxford or the IHS in Vienna, have I been enveloped in such a warm, friendly and supportive service environment. And even though in the institutions for which I had been responsible, in Berlin and Cologne, we also tried to make life easy and comfortable for our visitors, we never came near the perfection and cheerful helpfulness of the Wiko staff – from the front

office to housekeeping, computer services, the library to the kitchen, and more. What a tribute to the corporate culture of the institute and to the ability of its leadership to maintain commitment, morale and good spirits among all.

For the three months of my stay, I became part of an ongoing Focus Group convened by Dieter Grimm, former Rector and now a Permanent Fellow of the Wiko. Its assigned theme was “Constitution Beyond the Nation State”, and apart from Petra Dobner, a political scientist like myself, its members – Martin Loughlin, Alexander Somek, Gunther Teubner and, arriving shortly before my departure, Rainer Wahl – were all lawyers. But of course these were very enlightened lawyers with deep interests in history, philosophy and social theory. Even though we almost never agreed in our weekly discussions of selected books and papers, there were no communications problems across disciplinary or national boundaries. We also came to agree without difficulty on what was going on empirically – the growing number of problems transcending national boundaries, the growing extension and intensity of legal or law-like rules adopted in European, transnational or global arenas, and the growing impact of both developments on the governing capacity, political legitimacy and constitutional integrity of democratic nation states. What we didn’t all agree on was the evaluation of these changes in the light of conventional or novel notions of the functions and legitimating principles associated with the concept of “constitution”.

And of course we all had our own selective focus on the complex subject matter that was determined by the particular work in progress we had brought with us. In my own case, that was an interest in the interaction effects between the EU and its member states, and in particular the impact of European judicial legislation on the legitimacy of democratic government at the national level. In this respect, I greatly benefited from the positive and critical feedback in our weekly seminar. What really made a difference, however, was the challenge arising from our discussions to read much more widely in international law, European law, constitutional law and normative political theory than I had ever done since I had left academic law for political science forty years ago. From my perspective of empirical and policy-oriented work, it was truly amazing to return to a literature that was pre-occupied with the internal logic of dogmatic systems, but which at the same time claimed to guide the effective decisions of judicial authorities. While I could again admire the sophistication and precision of deductive reasoning within these metaphysical frameworks, I must also confess being shocked by the lack of interest in the empirical correspondence of conceptual constructs or in the real-world consequences of their transformation into judicial practice. Of course this continuing adherence to the canons of *Begriffsjurisprudenz*

characterized only some of the literature, and most certainly it was not shared by my colleagues in the Focus Group. Nevertheless, for me the encounter with this type of literature was the most enlightening experience of my stay in Berlin: I am now better able than before to appreciate the role of juristic discourses in the shaping of the multilevel European polity.

Beyond the Focus Group, I probably benefited less than I should have from the life of the Wiko. In the five months before our arrival, everybody had already explained to everybody else where they came from and what they were doing, networks had formed, and conversation at the lunch or dinner tables had moved on to more specific common interests that could not be fully shared by the newcomer – whose incentive to integrate was of course also reduced by his own limited time horizon. Of course, there was the Focus Groups, and there were also a few delightful exceptions – among them Norman Birnbaum ... and Ronald Rogowski – with whom it was a pleasure to reconnect. In short, my stay at Wiko was most enjoyable and very productive. Thank you, everybody.



GOETHES LEBEN VON TAG ZU TAG  
*BEKENNTNISSE DES HOCHSTAPLERS G. S.*  
GUSTAV SEIBT

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Gustav Seibt (geb. 1959) ist Literaturkritiker und Journalist. Er studierte Geschichte und Literaturwissenschaft in Konstanz, München, Bielefeld und Rom. Nach mehreren Jahren als Feuilletonredakteur der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* arbeitete er für *Die Zeit* und als Kultur-Redakteur der *Berliner Zeitung*. Er lehrte als Professor in Göttingen und schreibt heute Rezensionen für die *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Veröffentlichungen: *Anonimo romano: Geschichtsschreibung in Rom an der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (1992). *Rom oder Tod: Der Kampf um die italienische Hauptstadt* (2001). *Canaletto im Bahnhofsviertel: Kulturkritik und Gegenwartsbewusstsein* (2005). – Adresse: Süddeutsche Zeitung, Französische Str. 47, 10177 Berlin.

*Nichts ist schwerer zu ertragen  
als eine lange Reihe schöner Tage*

Endlich Stille! Am 2. Oktober 2007 saß ich morgens in der Villa Jaffé am Fenster und hatte die Erstausgabe der „Fragmente aus der neusten Geschichte des Politischen Gleichgewichts in Europa“ auf dem Schoß, handsigniert von ihrem anonymen Verfasser Friedrich von Gentz – der Band stammte, wie ein alter Stempel erkennen ließ, aus der Bibliothek der Herzöge von Mecklenburg-Strelitz, also enger Verwandter der preußischen Königin Luise.

Ein lauter Berliner Sommer mit zwei Bausanierungen in der Nachbarschaft und einem stundenlang auf- und abrennenden Kind, das noch keinen Kita-Platz gefunden hatte, lag hinter mir. Meine Arbeitspläne lagen weit hinter dem Soll, wenn ich im Ernst mit einer

Darstellung von Goethes napoleonischer Erfahrung – so der geheime Arbeitstitel – fertig werden wollte, um mit dem Buch im September 2008 da zu sein: Denn am 2. Oktober jährt sich das Datum der Erfurter Unterredung Napoleons mit Goethe zum 200. Mal. Die herbstlichen Wipfel rauschten leis', und ich lauschte, ob wirklich Stille herrsche. Ja, es war und blieb still – ein paar Küchengeräusche drinnen und gelegentliches Laubpusten draußen ausgenommen –, und nach ein paar Wochen guten Vorankommens verlor sich auch meine Alarmiertheit.

Denn ich kam ohne Anlauf gut voran, woran, wie könnte es anders sein, die Bibliothek den größten Anteil hatte. Mein Paradies ist das einfachste der Welt: Gesundheit, Ruhe, Bücher. Ich war im Paradies, durch einen Umzug von Prenzlauer Berg nach Grunewald. Meine Engel hießen Bottomley und Rein. Die Blätter an den Bäumen wurden gelb, und ich wusste, wenn sie abgefallen waren und wieder sprießen würden, musste ich fertig sein. Beängstigend? Ja, schon etwas. Die Mit-Fellows, auch die kritisch beobachtende Staff, sagten mir bald eine gewisse Zielstrebigkeit nach. Aber ich hatte ja nur diese Chance. Doch mein Held – nein, bestimmt nicht Napoleon – lehrt einen vernünftig arbeiten: nicht hektisch, verkrampft und immer gepresst wie mein Nicht-Held, sondern jeden Tag so viel wie man sein Leben lang schaffen kann, also versetzt mit jenem Anteil von Bummelantentum, das auch angespannter Arbeit etwas Paradiesisches gibt. Arbeit und Bummelantentum – dafür ist die halbmonastische Lebensform des Wissenschaftskollegs der rechte Nährboden. Man verplaudert viel Zeit, aber man bekommt – nicht zuletzt beim Essen – dabei zweierlei: die Ablenkungen und das dankbare Publikum, wie auch mein weiser Held sie sich immer planmäßig organisierte (Mittwoch, nicht Dienstag war in Weimar der Kolloquiumstag, Gesprächskonzerte fanden am Sonntag statt, Dinner jeden zweiten Tag). Der Kopf fixiert sich nicht allzu sehr, und gelegentlich muss man erklären, was man so tut, und zwar für Mitmenschen, denen selbst Goethe und Napoleon oft nur Silhouetten sind.

Bummelnd also kam ich zufriedenstellend voran und amüsierte mich blendend. „Methodisch“ (wir sind in einem Wissenschaftskolleg) bewegte ich mich zwischen den folgenden zwei Maximen: „Literaturkenntnis schützt vor Neuentdeckungen“ (Hermann Heimpel) und „Es kann sein, dass im Thukydides z. B. eine Tatsache ersten Ranges liegt, die erst in hundert Jahren jemand bemerken wird“ (Jacob Burckhardt). Nun wird man die erstangige Tatsache im Thukydides bestimmt nicht entdecken, wenn man sich erst mit vollständiger Literaturkenntnis wappnet, um sich vor Neuentdeckungen zu schützen. Heimpel warnte ja seine Schüler sogar davor, „den Nordpol ein zweites Mal zu entdecken“. Als Historiker aber, so glaube ich, ist man zu solchen Zweitentdeckungen geradezu



verpflichtet, denn nur dann versetzt man sich in den Stand, etwas von dem ungeheuren Abenteuer wiedererstehen zu lassen, das die Entdeckung des Nordpols einmal bedeuten haben muss. Die meisten Geschichtsbücher sind nicht zuletzt deshalb so langweilig, weil ihr Gestus ist: „Nordpol? Den haben wir längst entdeckt!“ Um dann eine neue Vermessungsmethode vorzuschlagen.

Da ich nur die Chance dieser langen, aber gezählten Wochen hatte, kam für mich ohnehin nur der Burckhardtsche Weg zum Nordpol in Frage, das „bisogna saper leggere“, das allein zur erstrangigen Tatsache bei Goethe führen kann – nicht zum Wiederfinden des längst Gewussten, sondern zum Entwurf eines frischen Erfahrungsbildes. Also bummelte ich durch Goethes Leben von Tag zu Tag, durch Briefe, Tagebücher, Begegnungen und Gespräche, und versuchte nachzuarbeiten, was Goethe *in politicis* in den napoleonischen Jahren gehört, gelesen, sich angeeignet und erlebt hatte und welche Schlüsse er daraus möglicherweise zog. Die Heimpelsche Impfung gegen Neuentdeckungen, der – zwangsläufig selektive, übrigens durchaus animierende – Gang durch Kommentare und Sekundärliteratur konnte danach nur der Kontrolle dienen; aber, was heißt „nur“?

Die meiste Zeit verbrachte ich mit den Jahren 1806 bis 1808, der kritischen Phase, die Goethes Napoleon-Bild geprägt hat. Habe ich erstrangige Tatsachen gefunden? Jedenfalls ein paar wichtige kleinere, beispielsweise mehrere ausführliche Sichtbegegnungen zwischen Dichter und Kaiser, die bisher niemandem aufgefallen sind; und auch ein paar größere, beispielsweise zeitgeschichtliche Spuren in „Dichtung und Wahrheit“. Und so weiter. Ich schmeichle mir nicht, zu wissen, was in Goethes Kopf vorging (das unterscheidet den Historiker grundsätzlich vom Germanisten), aber ich habe versucht, ein möglichst reiches Bild von Zeit, Umständen und Formulierungen, ohne falsche Eindeutigkeit, zu geben. Am Ende wurden 250 Textseiten daraus, deren letzte im April geschrieben wurde, als im Grunewald die ersten Knospen grüntem. Täglichkeit als Lebenskunst, das ist es vor allem, was mir Goethe, den man nicht nur bewundern, sondern auch mögen kann, unendlich sympathisch macht, denn er hat damit etwas vorgelebt, was jeder, auch der kleinste Geist, diesem größten nachmachen kann. Als ich am Ende noch einen Abendvortrag halten durfte – tausend Dank, liebe Christine von Arnim –, sprach Luca Giuliani zur Einleitung etwas von Askese und protestantischem Arbeitsgeist, was mich sehr, aber auch ein wenig diebisch freute, weil meine faule Art, fleißig zu sein, wieder mal ihren Dienst getan hatte.

Ich glaube, nur Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus hat begriffen, dass da ein glücklicher Hochstapler unterwegs war, und ihm habe ich für die schönste Hilfe zu danken: Er erlaubte mir in allen Gesprächen so naiv zu sein, wie ich es tatsächlich war, und dabei so zu tun, als sei

diese Naivität etwas Methodisches. Dabei waren lauter ernste Menschen um uns, die mit teilweise unfassbarer Brillanz auftraten; schon die ersten Vorträge – Bernard Levinson, Alexander Nagel, Michael Fried – richteten Maßstäbe auf, die eine weniger spielerische Natur vielleicht entmutigt hätten. Aber wer sich entschlossen hat, ein paar Monate lang mit Goethe vertrauten Umgang zu pflegen, besitzt genügend Dreistigkeit, auch ein halbes Jahr lang das Wissenschaftskolleg durchzustehen, getragen von einem Geist der Freundschaftlichkeit, der in ein paar Fällen zu echter Freundschaft führte. Es sei, wie es wolle, es war doch so schön!



## EINSICHT UND GENESUNG ALEXANDER SOMEK

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Geboren 1961 in Wien, habilitiert für Rechtsphilosophie und Verfassungsrecht, seit 2003 permanent in den USA, wo er am College of Law der University of Iowa die Position des Charles E. Floete Chair in Law innehat. Jüngste Buchveröffentlichungen: *Individualism: An Essay on the Authority of the European Union* (2008); *Rechtliches Wissen* (2006). – Adresse: College of Law, University of Iowa, 428 Boyd Law Building, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-1113, USA. E-Mail: alexander-somek@uiowa.edu

Nach Berlin kam ich, um die zweite und dritte Stufe eines dreistufigen Projekts zu nehmen. Die Gesamtkonzeption hatte ich so nicht vorausgeplant. Sie ergab sich auf dem Weg nach Europa.

Während meines Aufenthalts erschien ein Buch, in welchem ich unter Rekurs auf die Europäische Union eine transnationale Verfassungstheorie entwickle. Darin nehme ich ein Motiv wieder auf, welches die alteuropäische Verfassungstradition seit Platon bestimmt hat. Ich versuche, die Seelenverfassung der Bürgerinnen und Bürger zu rekonstruieren, die mit Kernkompetenzen der Europäischen Gemeinschaft verträglich ist.

Nach den ersten Monaten in Berlin konnte ich ein weiteres Buchmanuskript zur Begutachtung absenden, in welchem ich ebenfalls mit Blick auf die Europäische Union erläutere, welches Sozialmodell einer transnationalen Gesellschaft angemessen ist. Ein solches Modell basiert auf einem Solidaritätsbegriff, der Menschen nicht abverlangt, füreinander einzutreten oder Opfer zu bringen. Transnationale Solidarität zielt ab auf die Steigerung von Verflechtung, die sich dem allseitigen Marktzugang verdankt. Das Instrument dazu ist der

Diskriminierungsschutz. Wegen ihres kompetitiven Charakters ist diese Form von Solidarität mit dem Neoliberalismus verträglich.

Ursprünglich wollte ich mit der letzten Stufe des Projekts bloß die historische Transformation bezeichnen, die das Verfassungsrecht in einer transnationalen Welt durchmacht. Ich wollte die Parabel zeichnen vom Aufstieg verfassungsrechtlicher Legalität im Gefolge der bürgerlichen Revolutionen bis zu deren Überformung und Mediatisierung durch die experimentelle Eigenlogik der Marktintegration. Die Mitarbeit in der Schwerpunktgruppe „Verfassung jenseits des Nationalstaats“ bewirkte eine gewisse Akzentverlagerung. Im Zentrum steht nunmehr das Vorhaben, die transnationale öffentliche Autorität im Hinblick auf Veränderungen der konstitutionellen Normativität zu bestimmen. Die ursprünglich historische Perspektive bleibt gewahrt. Das Thema soll aber nunmehr eine stärker systematisch ausgeprägte Artikulation erfahren.

Die Welt transnationaler Autoritäten anerkennt Souveränität und den Pluralismus der Völker bloß noch als historisch ererbte Problemstellungen. Sie ist eine Welt von Mehrebenensystemen, denen die Aufgabe zufällt, die Marktregulierung und die Verbrechensbekämpfung zu koordinieren. Die Volkssouveränität gilt als nachgerade vulgär. Ihre unerwünschten Manifestationen stehen unter Populismusverdacht oder gelten schlichtweg als dumm. Als Aktivbürger existieren wir nur mehr im Modus der Reminiszenz. Wir kommen vielmehr vor in dieser Welt als Informationsträger für bürokratische Prozesse und als Subjekte des Grundrechtsschutzes. An die Stelle von Souveränität und *status activus* treten Subsidiarität und *status negativus*. Beide teilen den abwehrenden Gestus. Aus einem imaginierten Zentrum kommt etwas herab. Das In-der-Welt-Sein ist ein In-der-Defensive-Sein. Dass Bürger sich zusammentun, um etwas zu bewegen, ist nicht positiv besetzt im transnationalen Erfahrungsraum. Man assoziiert damit im Wesentlichen Akte von Hooligans und Randalen.

In einer souveränitätslosen Welt kennt das Recht keine Quelle. Es wird von Experten gewusst. In gewisser Weise kehrt das Rechtssystem in einen Zustand zurück, in dem es sich vor den bürgerlichen Revolutionen befand (etwa die *Stuart constitution*). Strömungen in der Völkerrechtswissenschaft imaginieren sich ein Rechtssystem, das gleich dem alten Common Law auf einigen fundamentalen Prinzipien beruht, deren Maßgeblichkeit sich von Fall zu Fall dem Kreis der vernünftig und gerecht Denkenden offenbart. Der Fortschritt basiert auf Rechtsweistümern, zu denen sich internationale Tribunale oder öffentliche Ankläger durchringen. Die juristische Argumentation hält sich für empfänglich für allerlei „gute Gründe“. Sie verfährt graduell und experimentell, ohne dass sich Regeln da-

für angeben ließen, was einen Grund „gut“ oder ein Experiment sinnvoll macht. Das Rechtssystem sieht sich nicht mehr durch politische Entscheidungen gespeist. Sich selbst überlassen, verflüssigt es sich ins Diskursive. Damit wird es kooptierbar seitens der problemlösenden Rationalität des Verwaltens. Die Verwaltung denkt langfristig und dünkt sich daher rationaler als ihre Subjekte. Was manche als transnationales Verfassungsrecht ausgeben, erweist sich bei näherer Betrachtung als Triumph des Verwaltens über das Recht.

Nach Berlin verschlug es mich erst im Herbst meines Lebens. Ich hatte keine Jugend in Berlin. Mitunter schwindelte ich darüber. Auf meinen Akzent angesprochen, antwortete ich, dass ich während eines längeren Aufenthalts in Wien mein Berlinerisch eingeübt hätte. Ich sagte es wie zur Warnung, dass es riskant sei, sich aus der Heimat zu entfernen.

Zu rechtfertigen hatte ich wiederholt, weshalb ich nach Iowa übersiedelt sei. Was sei in mich gefahren? Bei meinem europäischen Gehabe! Dass die Wahl des amerikanischen Exils eine Möglichkeit ist, europäische Erfahrungen zu bewältigen, will niemandem mehr eingehen.

Schon nach den ersten Wochen meines Aufenthalts wurde mir klar, dass es sich beim Wiko um eine Art Kuranstalt handelt, deren Gründer es für therapeutisch geboten erachtet haben mussten, die Kurgäste als „Fellows“ anzusprechen. Der Genesungseffekt variiert hinsichtlich seiner Stärke. Während die Ichlastigen nicht ablassen können, eine Vortrags-einladung nach der anderen wahrzunehmen, gelingt es den wahrhaft starken Naturen, ihren Computer vom Netz zu nehmen. Wem das Schicksal günstig ist, der erfährt die Ausdehnung der Entlastung vom Wissenschaftsbetrieb auf das eigene Ich. Die Fellows könnten sich mit Muße vollständig „der Sache“ überlassen, gäbe es nicht Kolloquien und andere Formen der Geselligkeit, die daran erinnern, dass die Demut nicht die Kardinaltugend der gelehrten Welt ist.

Am Wiko durfte ich für mich sein, was ich wohl auch an sich bin: privilegiert. Auch diese Erfahrung befördert die Demut nicht; aber es wäre vermessen zu sagen, sie sei unangenehm gewesen. Noch nie zuvor war man mir mit so viel Höflichkeit und Herzlichkeit begegnet. Während die Erfahrung der ersteren mir bestätigte, wieder in der Alten Welt zu sein, erinnerte mich die letztere daran, dass ich dennoch nicht in der Heimat war.

Meine Wiener Jahre haben in mir den Glauben genährt, das Zentrum des Weltkulturerbes befinde sich an einem unbestimmten Punkt zwischen dem Musikverein und dem Künstlerhaus. Ich habe es, zugegeben, noch nicht einmal bis zum Eurozentrismus gebracht. Dieser mein Glaube ist durch das Berliner Musikleben erschüttert worden. Ich

hebe bloß hervor, dass ich nie zuvor an verschiedenen Orten so viele Bearbeitungen für den legendären Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen hören konnte. Den Höhepunkt bildete wohl der Kaiserwalzer in der Schönbergschen Fassung für Salonorchester. Wie ein Schock fuhr es mir ein, dass die Preußen es nun auch heraus hätten.

Soviel zur Dezentrierung des Weltbildes. Verunsichert musste ich Berlin wieder verlassen. Das schönste Jahr meines Lebens währte nur zehn Monate. Zuletzt führte der Aufenthalt im Gespräch mit einem italienischen Komponisten sogar zu einer tiefen persönlichen Einsicht. Ein Tonsetzer wurde ich deswegen nicht, weil ich in meiner Jugend das Musiks Schreiben als zu bürgerlich ablehnte. Ich wurde stattdessen Jurist.



PEERING INTO THE LIVING PAST  
CHRISTOPHER K. STARR

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Born in 1949 in Canada. Formative years in Canada, Germany and the USA. University degrees from Canada and the USA (Ph.D. Georgia 1981). Extensive field work in South-east Asia and South America. Now at the Trinidad campus of the University of the West Indies. Main scholarly foci the biology and systematics of social insects, more recently the history of biology. – Address: Department of Life Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago.

Many biologists take an interest in social insects. Among these is a peculiar hard core marked by the conviction that this small radical minority of animals is, quite simply, the most interesting feature of the universe. I admit to being one of the true believers. Research on social insects is today a prominent field with all the features of a strong, well-organized scientific discipline. Most of my working life has been spent in tilling this very rich and fertile field of biology.

When I was about fifty – a good age for a substantial professional shift – after many years in insect sociobiology, I turned in earnest to the history of my own discipline. This area of scholarship, replete with interesting problems, has been largely neglected by historians of science. Much of my energies in the last several years have been devoted to re-making myself as a historian, while at the same time mining some of the rich veins that present themselves to view.

The history of insect sociobiology has been largely shaped by one particular circumstance. Of the eleven known species of honey bees, only one is found in the region where Western science originated. Not only was *Apis mellifera* the sole source of concentrated

sweetness available to early Europeans, it was also admired for its beautifully regular nest combs, its very clean abode, and as a model of hard work and good government. These features played a major role in drawing scientific attention to *A. mellifera*, so that today it is the most intensively studied of all invertebrate animals and serves as a base of comparison for thousands of other social-insect species. If *A. mellifera* had not happened to be present in Europe, we can be certain that the study of social insects would have emerged much later and probably in very different form.

Of the many great biologists who have worked on honey bees the most important were the Dutch micro-anatomist Jan Swammerdam (1637–80), the Swiss experimenter François Huber (1750–1831) and the Silesian beekeeper Jan Dzierżon (1811–1906). My main focus during three months at the Wissenschaftskolleg has been to study the work of the latter two.

Huber, with a fine sense of experimental control, investigated the inner workings of the honey-bee colony far more intensively than anyone had done before. He is perhaps best known for analyzing the causes and process of swarming, by which new colonies arise. On the other hand, his beautifully systematic study of how the colony maintains a fresh atmosphere inside the tightly-enclosed hive has attracted very little comment. In this, Huber showed that a) ventilation is controlled by a negative-feedback mechanism, and b) different worker-bees have different capacities for fanning with their wings, thus allowing the colony a graded response to air condition. It was not until many decades later that these topics, as well as the larger concept of colony-level physiology, were back on the scientific agenda.

While Swammerdam and Huber are well known today, Dzierżon is undeservedly obscure outside of German-speaking honey-bee science and Silesian cultural history. Study of his life and work is somewhat complicated by the existence of two largely separate literatures, in German and Polish. Still, he merits much more scholarly attention.

The period of Dzierżon's greatest impact – approximately 1850–65 – coincided with a marked flowering and consolidation of honey-bee studies in Central Europe. It was a time in which local beekeeping unions proliferated, the All-German Beekeeping Congresses were initiated and grew in attendance, and a new journal, the *Bienen-Zeitung*, provided a forum for vigorous discussion. These fostered a broader conception of honey-bee science that went beyond the merely practical to embrace fundamental biological questions, especially those of reproduction. A key trigger in all this was an 1845 paper by Dzierżon in the *Bienen-Zeitung*, in which he sought to make sense of a number of puzzling observations via the radical hypothesis that male honey bees (drones) are derived from unfertilized eggs,



in contrast to the (female) queens and workers. This hypothesis – today generalized to the order Hymenoptera as a whole – gave rise to a controversy at the center of honey-bee biology in its heroic period.

I came to Berlin with a working hypothesis that has since become untenable. According to this, Dzierżon and his followers – chiefly the landed aristocrat August von Berlepsch (1815–77) and the noted zoologists Carl von Siebold (1804–85) and Rudolf Leuckart (1822–98) – formed a movement analogous to the later Psychoanalytic Movement in order to promote their views. There is no question that Dzierżonian theory and practice rapidly became the orthodoxy throughout Central Europe, but I have found no good evidence of an organized movement toward that end. In particular, the extensive archive in the Jan Dzierżon Museum in Kluczbork, Poland, shows no trace of caucusing among the main players. One is left to conclude that Dzierżon's hypothesis gained hegemony and made a true discipline of honey-bee biology simply by overcoming poorer with better science.

The key remaining question in this area is the particular conditions in Central Europe that favoured the rise of honey-bee biology during this period. And why in German-speaking Europe rather than Britain or France? The answer almost certainly lies not in any difference in knowledge about honey bees and their management but in the prevailing social conditions.



ZU HAUSE IN BERLIN  
ÁGNES JUDIT SZILÁGYI

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Historikerin, Lateinamerikanistin, Lusitanistin. Geboren 1966 in Budapest, studierte sie Geschichte und Portugiesisch an der Eötvös Loránd Universität (ELTE) Budapest; Dissertation an der József Attila Universität in Szeged 1999. Mehrere Auslandsaufenthalte für Studien- bzw. Forschungszwecke (Lissabon, São Paulo). Zwischen 1998 und 2005 Unterrichtstätigkeit am Lehrstuhl für portugiesische Sprache und Literatur der ELTE, danach Dozentin an der Pannon Universität in Veszprém, seit Herbst 2008 Dozentin am Historischen Institut der ELTE, Lehrstuhl für Geschichte der Neuzeit und der Gegenwart. In ihrer Forschung widmet sie sich der vergleichenden Untersuchung einzelner Fragen der portugiesischen und brasilianischen Geschichte: beispielsweise dem Vergleich der beiden autoritären Systeme, des Salazar-Regimes und des Vargasschen Neuen Staates, hauptsächlich anhand der Analyse der Kulturpolitik, der Funktion der Propaganda sowie des nationalistischen Programms der Nationenbildung; und neuerdings der Analyse der Beziehung der beiden jungen Republiken – Portugal und Brasilien zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts –, mit einem besonderen Augenmerk auf deren geistiges Leben, die Eigenheiten des portugiesischen bzw. brasilianischen Nationalismus sowie die Formierung des luso-atlantischen Gedankens. – Adresse: Historisches Institut der ELTE, Lehrstuhl für Geschichte der Neuzeit und der Gegenwart, 1088 Budapest, Múzeum körút 6–8, Ungarn.  
E-Mail: [szaj@caesar.elte.hu](mailto:szaj@caesar.elte.hu)

In meiner Kindheit war es natürlich, dass man nur selten und, wenn überhaupt, mit sehr wenig Geld in den Westen reisen konnte. Auch noch 1988, kurz vor der Wende, hatte ein Auslandsstipendium eine sehr große Bedeutung. Besonders wenn man, wie ich, auf diese

Weise vom östlichsten Rand Ungarns zum ersten Mal in den westlichsten Zipfel Europas gelangte. In der internationalen Gesellschaft der Studenten der Sommeruniversität in Lissabon, an der ich 1988 teilnahm, überbrückte ich mein damals noch gebrochenes Portugiesisch teilweise damit, dass ich mich meinen deutschen Mit-Studenten anschloss, mit denen ich Deutsch sprechen konnte. Damals schloss ich viele dauerhafte Freundschaften. Die Ursache für meine Affinität zu den Deutschen ist wahrscheinlich die in Ungarn traditionell starke kulturelle Orientierung an Deutschland, die sowohl den Kalten Krieg als auch die Wende überstand und vielleicht erst in den vergangenen fünfzehn Jahren zu verblassen begann: Wenn man reisen und freie Luft atmen wollte, zog es einen – ähnlich, wie unsere Vorfahren in der Zeit des Bürgertums oder des Vormärz – auch im Ungarn der späten Kádár-Ära meistens nach Wien oder in das geteilte Berlin. Die billige Bahnfahrkarte war natürlich nur bis Ostberlin gültig, aber als Ungarin, und somit als innerhalb des sozialistischen Lagers gewissermaßen Privilegierte, aus der „lustigsten Baracke“\* kommend, durfte ich an der Friedrichstraße mit der S-Bahn in die westliche Hälfte der Stadt hinüberfahren, um dort zum Beispiel Silvester zu feiern.

Dennoch mussten beinahe 20 Jahre vergehen, bis mir in die inzwischen vereinigte Hauptstadt Berlin nicht nur zufällige Einblicke gewährt wurden und ich hier wirkliche Vertrautheit erleben durfte. Der zweijährige Berlin-Zyklus meines Lebens begann im August 2006, als ich in Begleitung meines Mannes und meiner ganzen Familie für ein Jahr nach Charlottenburg zog. Danach folgte ein kurzes Studienjahr in Veszprém. Im Mai 2008 durfte ich Berlin wiedersehen. Ich kam alleine, dennoch fühlte ich mich sofort zu Hause im Grunewald und im Wiko. Vieles war vertraut, weil ich Berlin kannte und weil manches so war wie zu Hause in Budapest auch – die „Stolpersteine“ zum Beispiel, die die einstigen Wohnsitze der verschleppten Juden markieren, die mir Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus am Eingang der Villa Jaffé zeigte, als er mich am ersten Tag durchs Haus führte. Und ich fühlte mich zu Hause, weil man sich an das Wiko-System, das konzentriertes Arbeiten ermöglicht, schnell gewöhnen konnte.

Der deutsche Philosoph Odo Marquard bezeichnete die Universalgeschichte, mein Forschungsgebiet, einmal als „wahrhaft interdisziplinäres Thema“ und prognostizierte für die 1990er Jahre, dass die innere Differenzierung der Lehrstühle dieses Faches, und somit

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\* Der Ausdruck „lustigste Baracke“ wurde noch zu Zeiten des Sozialismus geprägt: So wurde Ungarn in den 80er Jahren genannt, weil die sozialistische Diktatur hier wesentlich gemäßiger war als in anderen Ländern.

auch die Spezialisierung, dahinschwinden werde, weshalb sich die Forscher daran gewöhnen müssten, sich auch außerhalb ihres Forschungsgebiets und auch ohne Spezialisierung zu betätigen. Etwas Ähnliches geschieht im Wiko, wo die Forscher die Grenzen ihres engen Forschungsfelds weit überschreitend gemeinsam denken, sich unterhalten und debattieren. Ich höre den Fellows und anderen aufmerksam zu. Auch ein Interview von Hannah Arendt aus dem Jahre 1964 über Verständnis und Verständigung, das wir im Deutschunterricht von Eva von Kügelgen hören, gehört dazu.

Ich werde mir über meine Grenzen im Klaren, ich erlebe das in die ungarische und portugiesische Sprache eingeschlossene Schicksal einer Geisteswissenschaftlerin. Die Tage vergehen, es sind sehr nützliche Tage. Ich lese viel und schreibe auch etwas. Ich lege mich spät zu Bett und stehe spät auf. Bernard Levinson und ich stellen gemeinsam fest, dass das gemeinsame Mittagessen immer dann stattfindet, wenn wir uns gerade am tiefsten in unsere Arbeit vergraben haben. Aber die Abendessen an den Donnerstagen oder den an den Montagabenden stattfindenden Filmklub von Miriam Hansen und Alex Nagel würde ich mir um keinen Preis entgehen lassen. Schnell vergehen die Wochen im Mai, einsam und frei.

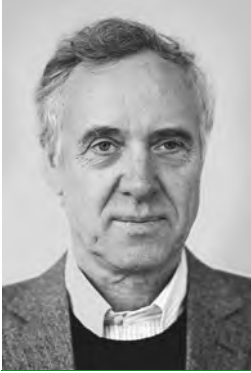
Im Juni kommt meine Familie nach Berlin, das bequeme „Hausschwein“-Dasein hat ein Ende (dass mit diesem Begriff die im Haus wohnenden Forscher bezeichnet werden, lerne ich während des Jahrestreffens der ehemaligen Fellows), und ich ziehe in die Villa Walther um. Meine Kinder finden sich gleich in den ersten Wochen überglücklich im Kreise ihrer alten Berliner Freunde wieder und tauchen in der neuen Schule in Grunewald in die deutsche Sprache ein. Mein Mann stürzt sich als gern gesehener Nicht-Fellow mit der Sorglosigkeit eines Außenstehenden ins Leben des Kollegs, unterhält sich auf Tschechisch mit Milena Bartlová. Und wir fühlen uns alle zu Hause.

Während meines zweijährigen Berlin-Zyklus nehme ich ein neues Forschungsthema in Angriff: Neben den kleineren Redaktions- und Universitätsaufgaben beschäftige ich mich hauptsächlich mit der Analyse der Zeitschrift *Atlântida* (erschieden 1915–20 mit Texten portugiesischer und brasilianischer Autoren, die sich mit der Wiederannäherung der portugiesischen und brasilianischen Kultur beschäftigen) und deren Zeit. Damit bewege ich mich zeitlich zwar in der Zwischenkriegszeit, allgemeiner gilt mein Interesse aber dem Wesen und dem Funktionieren des Nationalismus sowie den Parallelen in der portugiesischen und brasilianischen Geschichte. Eine unentbehrliche Spezialbibliothek für dieses Thema findet sich in Berlin im hervorragenden Ibero-Amerikanischen Institut, wo neben einem großen Teil der Fachliteratur auch sämtliche Nummern der Zeitschrift vorhanden

sind, die ich analysieren möchte. Der außergewöhnliche Bibliotheksdienst, eines der Schlüsselemente des Wiko-Systems, erspart mir sogar den Gang in die Bibliothek – das notwendige Material bekomme ich direkt in mein Büro geliefert. Fleißig sammle ich das Material zusammen und denke dabei oft an meine alte Professorin Éva H. Balázs, die oft im Max-Planck-Institut zu Gast war und ihre Studenten ermunterte, ins Ausland zu gehen, um so viel Erfahrungen und Wissen wie nur möglich zu sammeln – und mit diesem Wissen dann heimzukehren. Ist dieser Standpunkt in einem vereinten Europa, in einer globalisierten Welt noch haltbar? Daran muss ich auch denken, als ich in den Räumen des Kunstgewerbemuseums auf einen Film über die Lebensform der Familie Zinzendorf aufmerksam werde. Wie seltsam! Éva Balázs hatte lange Jahre hindurch Materialien für eine Monographie über Karl Zinzendorf gesammelt, die nie abgeschlossen wurde; die 57 Tagebuchmanuskripte des vom Protestantismus zum Katholizismus übergetretenen und in den Dienst des Wiener Hofes getretenen sächsischen Grafen warten immer noch darauf, aufgearbeitet zu werden.

In Berlin begegnet man natürlich nicht nur der deutschen Kultur und den deutschen Freunden, weil der riesige kulturelle Markt Berlins auch manche Merkwürdigkeiten aus der lusophonen Welt zu bieten hat. Auch wenn ich meinen Fuß nicht aus dem Wiko setze, erfahre ich vieles über Goa – dank Meenakshi Mukherjee, die mir ein hervorragendes Buch von Maria Aurora Couto zum Thema empfiehlt und durch die ich auch Kontakt zur Autorin des Buches bekomme. (Den ersten echten Five o’Clock Tea meines Lebens habe ich ebenfalls ihr zu verdanken – in der Gesellschaft von Commonwealth-Damen, während der Vorbereitung der Abschiedsparty.) Auch mit dem diesjährigen „Poesiefestival Berlin“, dessen zentrales Thema die portugiesische Dichtung ist, habe ich Glück, denn ich kann wohlbekannte brasilianische Autoren (u. a. Arnaldo Antunes, Chico César) hören, auch lerne ich während des Abends „Das Meer von Afrika“ afrikanische Künstler kennen. Lohnend ist der Berlin-Aufenthalt aber auch insofern, dass ich einen guten alten Bekannten, den portugiesischen Dichter Paulo Teixeira, treffen kann.

Der dreimonatige Aufenthalt im Wiko bedeutet für mich vor allem eine Zeit der Vorbereitung: Die Materialsammlung für meine zukünftigen Seminare am neuen Arbeitsplatz an der ELTE; die Vorbereitung für meinen voraussichtlich im Herbst stattfindenden Habilitationsvortrag; und die Zusammenstellung des Konferenzmaterials für die nächste – alle drei Jahre stattfindende – AHILA-Konferenz im holländischen Leiden, in dem ich mein neu begonnenes Forschungsthema vorstellen möchte. Damit endet für mich der zweijährige Berlin-Zyklus im August 2008.



LOB DES DISSENSSES:  
ZUR EHRENRETTUNG EINER  
*NON-PROJECT GROUP*  
GUNTHER TEUBNER

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Geboren 1944, Studium der Rechtswissenschaften und der Rechtssoziologie in Göttingen, Tübingen und Berkeley, Promotion und Habilitation Tübingen, 1977 Professor Universität Bremen, 1981 Europäisches Hochschulinstitut Florenz, 1993 Otto-Kahn-Freund Professor, London School of Economics, 1998 Universität Frankfurt. Forschungsschwerpunkte: Theoretische Rechtssoziologie, Privatrechtstheorie, Vertragsrecht, Rechtsvergleichung. – Adresse: Institut für Wirtschaftsrecht, Senckenberganlage 31, Postfach 111932, 60054 Frankfurt. E-Mail: g.teubner@jur.uni-frankfurt.de

Eine sechsköpfige, international besetzte Gruppe aus Politikwissenschaft, Verfassungs- und Privatrecht, Rechtssoziologie fand sich zusammen, um zum Thema „Verfassung jenseits des Nationalstaates“ – ja was? Sagen wir mit angemessener Unschärfe: gemeinsam zu forschen. Die allseits geteilte Erwartung war ein „Projekt“, in dem ein gemeinsames Resultat in Form von gut durchdachten Vorschlägen zur Verfassung transnationaler Institutionen interdisziplinär erarbeitet werden sollte.

Weder Projekt noch Resultat – das war die ernüchternde Erfahrung. Wo lag das Problem? Die Teilnehmer an den regelmäßigen wöchentlichen Seminarsitzungen waren jedes Mal bestens vorbereitet, die Diskussionen waren intensiv und anspruchsvoll, die Verständigung über die Disziplingrenzen verlief überraschend gut. Aber in der Einschätzung eines transnationalen Konstitutionalismus waren die *constitutionalists* von Anfang an hoffnungslos zerstritten. Und der Streit eskalierte. Was für den einen die Herausforderung war, die Erfahrungen nationalstaatlicher Verfassungen im Lichte der Globalisierung zu generalisieren und auf die Besonderheiten transnationaler Institutionen zu respezifizieren,

war für andere nichts anderes als die Legitimation einer undemokratisch und prinzipiell nicht demokratisierbaren Technokratenpraxis. Nicht legitimierte Experteninstitutionen dürften nicht noch durch ihre Konstitutionalisierung gestärkt werden. Sah die eine Seite im transnationalen Konstitutionalismus die Chance, rechtsstaatliche Verfahren und Menschenrechte im rechtsfreien Raum der Globalität durchzusetzen, so durchschaute die andere Seite sofort den schlecht verhüllten Machtanspruch der Juristenprofession, genauer, der die Kosten des Rechtsstaats in astronomische Höhen treibenden Richterschaft. Hieß das eine Forschungsmotiv, dem neuartigen Phänomen transnationaler Regimes nachzuspüren, sie auf ihr Veränderungspotential abzuklopfen und auf ihrer internen Logik aufbauend institutionelle Vorschläge für transnationale Verfassungen zu entwickeln, so wurde es sofort vom Gegenmotiv konterkariert, dass vor den Schrecken der Globalisierung ausschließlich ein wiedererstarkter Nationalstaat mit seinen Ressourcen an Solidarität und Partizipationschancen retten kann, allerdings nur dann, wenn endlich das Öffentliche des öffentlichen Rechts verstanden ist. Und die Ambivalenz der Menschenrechte brach in den Diskussionen unversöhnlich immer wieder auf.

Dennoch bin ich heilfroh, dass wir keinen Konsens gefunden haben. Zum Glück haben die scharfen Kontroversen verhindert, dass Widersprüche geglättet, Antinomien ausgeräumt, Paradoxien versteckt und eines dieser unsäglichen Konsenspapiere ausgehandelt wurden, das doch nur eine Einigung auf niedrigstem Niveau gewesen wäre. Unter den *constitutionalists* hat der angloamerikanische *adversary style*, der gnadenlos den Gegner auf Prämissen und Konsequenzen befragt, gegenüber der in Deutschland so hochgeschätzten gemeinsamen Wahrheitssuche seine unschätzbaren Vorteile ausgespielt.

Die Streiteskalation hat sachliche Fortschritte gebracht. Davon zeugen die in einem Sammelband veröffentlichten Papiere der Abschlusskonferenz, die nach scharfen Kontroversen zwischen Arbeitsgruppenmitgliedern und externen Experten die zu Ende gedachten Standpunkte zur „Neuen Verfassungsfrage“ markieren. In der Tat, die Einzelpositionen waren am Ende *verhärtet*, zugleich aber auch *gehärtet* im Feuer der Kontroverse. Und das Wichtigste ist: Der Streitstand selbst veränderte sich. Um ein Beispiel aus meinem Vorhaben zu geben: War ich ursprünglich davon ausgegangen, dass für die Verfassungen weltgesellschaftlicher Institutionen die historisch aufgeladenen Konzepte von *pouvoir constituant* und *pouvoir constitué* wegen ihrer Staatszentrierung ersatzlos aufzugeben seien, so versuche ich jetzt unter dem Einfluss staatsrechtlicher Argumente, ihren Sinngehalt für transnationale Regimes unter anderen Bedingungen zu rekonstruieren. Dass ich mir damit das Missfallen der Staatsrechtler, die solche Fragen ausschließlich auf der nationalstaatli-

chen Ebene zu lokalisieren bereit sind, einhandele, ist der Preis des Fortschritts. Aber die „Neue Verfassungsfrage“, die sich den transnationalen Herrschafts- und Rechtssystemen stellt, wird ohnehin nicht von der Wissenschaft, sondern in der politischen Praxis entschieden. Und in deren Konflikten sind in der Wissenschaft erarbeitete advokatorische Extrempositionen weitaus nützlicher als akademische Konsenspapiere.

Nur in einem Punkt besteht Konsens unter den *constitutionalists*: Nach den Kontroversen fühlen sich alle gezwungen, die ursprüngliche Konzeption ihres geplanten Buches umzuwerfen. Gegen den Konsensproduktionsdruck, der heute auf interdisziplinären Gruppenprojekten lastet, sei auch hier die Behauptung gewagt: Die gelungene Synthese komplexer Gedanken findet im Einzelkopf statt. Ob sich die Behauptung bewahrheitet, wird sich in ein, zwei Jahren zeigen, wenn sechs Monographien zum transnationalen Konstitutionalismus geschrieben sind.





FREEDOM AND CONSTRAINT AT THE  
WISSENSCHAFTSKOLLEG ZU BERLIN  
MARK GEORGE THOMAS

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1982–1986, B.Sc. in Biological Science (Genetics) at the School of Biological Sciences, University of Birmingham, UK. 1986–1990, Ph.D., Department of Genetics and Microbiology, University of Liverpool. Title: Copper inducible genes in the flowering plant *Mimulus guttatus*. 1990–1993, Cancer Research Campaign-funded post-doctoral research fellow. The Molecular Medicine Unit, Kings College School of Medicine and Dentistry, London. 1993–1996, Wellcome Foundation-funded post-doctoral research associate, Department of Biological Anthropology, University of Cambridge. 1996–present, Senior Lecturer, Research Department of Genetics, Evolution and Environment, University College London. Publications: J. Burger, M. Kirchner, B. Bramanti, W. Haak, and M. G. Thomas. “Absence of the Lactase-Persistence associated allele in early Neolithic Europeans.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science USA* 104 (2007). M. E. Weale, D. A. Weiss, R. F. Jager, N. Bradman, and M. G. Thomas. “Y chromosome evidence for Anglo-Saxon mass migration.” *Molecular Biology & Evolution* 19, 7 (2002). M. G. Thomas, K. Skorecki, H. Ben-Ami, T. Parfitt, N. Bradman, and D. B. Goldstein. “A genetic date for the origin of Old Testament Priests.” *Nature* 394 (1998). – Address: Department of Biology, University College London, Wolfson House, 4 Stephenson Way, London, NW1 2HE, Great Britain.

Is there such a thing as an academic who wants less freedom? There can't be – right? The Wiko is freedom; an academic “happy hunting ground”, but without the inconvenience of death or Great Plains Native American afterlife beliefs. And there are the buildings, the surroundings, the history, the city, the staff, the catering, the colloquia, Thursday dinners, the freedom (did I mention the freedom?), and, of course, the Fellows. I want more free-

dom; I did before I went to the Wiko and I still do today. But I'm no longer convinced that I fully know how to use it. My time at the Wiko was a failure because I didn't spend more time talking to more Fellows, I didn't ask more questions in the colloquia, and I didn't exercise my freedom enough. Other than that, it was an enjoyable, productive and unforgettable experience.

In my time at the Wiko I mostly worked on 3 things:

*Modelling the effects of demographic processes on the accumulation of culturally inherited skills.* This project was mostly based on simulating key aspects of the transmission of learnt abilities and was aimed at explaining the Upper Palaeolithic Transition, sometimes referred to as beginnings of behavioural modernity. This critical stage in human evolution occurred around 40 to 50 thousand years ago in Europe and Western Asia, but – on current evidence – somewhat later in Southern and Eastern Asia and Australia. However, many of its features make transient appearances some 90 thousand years ago in sub-Saharan Africa, where we see the first art. It is associated with a package of increased cultural and technological complexity, including the appearance of advanced stone tools, bone and antler tools, new hunting technologies, body decoration and ornamentation, musical instruments, long-distance raw material exchange and art. I was interested in the extent to which migrational activity between separate human populations could determine the maintenance or loss of skills and technologies. A key finding is that Palaeolithic technology accumulates better in interconnected regions. Using genetic estimates of population density change over time, I found that the model I developed predicts the early appearance of behavioural modernity in Africa some 90 thousand years ago.

*The co-evolution of lactase persistence and dairying in Europe.* Lactase persistence – the ability to digest the milk sugar lactose as an adult – is common in people of European descent but, with the exception of some Middle Eastern, southern Asian and African pastoralist groups, is rare or absent in other parts of the World. Together with colleagues in Germany, I had previously shown that this genetic trait was rare in early Neolithic Europeans, indicating that it had been the target of very strong natural selection. Using computer simulations and newly developed statistical tools, I was able to infer that this trait, in co-evolution with the culture of dairying, originated around 7500 years ago among the progenitors of the first widespread farming culture of central and northern Europe, the *Linearbandkeramik* culture.

*Working with my other Evolutionary Medicine colleagues (Randy Nesse, Catriona MacCallum, Bob Perlman, Carl Bergstrom, Dietrich Niethammer, Hans Biesalski, Raghavendra*

*Gadagkar and Peter Hammerstein) on developing the field.* Evolutionary Medicine is a very young field that is still finding its identity. There is no doubt among evolutionary biologists that “evolutionary thinking” has the potential to influence medical practice and drive forward research in many directions. In my own area of research, human genetics, “evolutionary thinking” is already having a profound impact in, for example, understanding how genetic variation influences susceptibility to disease. With massive investments in initiatives such as the human genome project and the International HapMap Project, as well as orders-of-magnitude improvements in genotyping technologies over the last few years, there is no doubt in my mind that the impact of “evolutionary thinking” in medical genetics will increase. But there are many more ways that this mode of thinking can impact medicine. Have some medical conditions (neonatal jaundice, morning sickness, depression etc.) actually evolved to protect us against more serious, but mostly “hidden outcomes”? Are modern diseases like diabetes the result of a mismatch between an ancestral diet – to which we have evolved – and a modern, high-calorie diet? These are reasonable hypotheses, but a major problem that we identified is: What are the appropriate standards of evidence to support these hypotheses? Evolutionary mechanisms that are merely consistent with the presence of certain medical conditions are interesting, but this in itself is not sufficient evidence that we know why those medical conditions exist. The real problem is that, as with all cross-disciplinary fields, standards of evidence are shaped to the data available and the questions being asked. It maybe some time before widely accepted standards of evidence appear in Evolutionary Medicine. But that doesn’t change the fact that it is a fascinating and diverse field with potentially breathtaking explanatory powers.

We spent much of our time discussing published studies. Sometimes we trashed them, sometimes we loved them, but mostly we argued our way through them; and always we taught each other new things – one of the great benefits of having such a diverse *Schwerpunkt*. We also organised a very successful workshop on Evolutionary Medicine with the generous help of the Wiko and Peter Hammerstein / The Institute of Theoretical Biology in Berlin. This workshop was a high point and generated lively discussion and the conviction that some really hot science was being done in the field. We also setup *The Evolution and Medicine Review*. When I say “we”, I actually mean Catriona and Randy. I’m always happy to take credit for other peoples work, even if there is no justification for it at all.

There was much talk at the Wiko about the old “Two Cultures” thing. Having flipped through some Wiko “Jahrbuchs”, I can see that this is hot topic. Well it seems to me that two [Cultures] is something of an underestimate. To put it in statistical terms, Mr. Snow’s

categories explain only a fraction of the observed variance in the interests, debating styles, support criteria and sociability of the other Fellows. To me the most obvious dichotomy was in the use of the “see how much I know” (SHMIK) questions following presentations; it was as if some considered direct questions impolite. Other dichotomies (sit – stand, read – speak, quote – no quote) were present and have been explored in great detail by former Fellows, but to my relief there were enough Fellows who couldn’t easily be categorised; may they live long and prosper.

I’m not going to generate an exhaustive list of thanks but I would like to acknowledge two groups of people in particular. Firstly, for being completely unable to find a dull subject for discussion, I’d like to thank the Evolutionary Medicine Focus Group. Secondly, those silver-tongued Cavaliers, the Philosophers. The major driving force for me wanting to learn new things is a fear of feeling stupid, and Philosophers always make me feel stupid. Thanks!



LE TEMPS D'UNE ANNÉE  
DENIS THOUARD

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Directeur de Recherche au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Centre Marc Bloch, Centre franco-allemand de recherches en sciences sociales. Après des études de Philosophie à Paris et Berlin-Ouest Denis Thouard fut chercheur au « Centre de recherche philologique » de Lille, devenu plus tard l'Unité Mixte de Recherche « Savoirs et textes » puis « Savoirs, textes, langage ». En 2001–02 à Heidelberg comme boursier de la fondation Alexander-von-Humboldt. Depuis 2005 à Munich avec le projet « Hermeneutik und Methode » auprès du Sonderforschungsbereich 573 « Pluralisierung und Autorität in der Frühen Neuzeit ». Doctorat sur Kant et Schleiermacher (Paris X Nanterre, 1997), Habilitation sur « Critique et herméneutique » (Paris IV Sorbonne, 2004). Champ de recherche privilégié : les problèmes du langage, de l'herméneutique et de la subjectivité. Publication d'ouvrages sur Kant (2001), Schleiermacher (2007), la « Forme de la philosophie » (2007). A côté d'une collaboration à l'édition critique des écrits de Wilhelm von Humboldt, il prépare un livre sur la diversité des langues, la théorie de la traduction et la politique des langues. – Adresse: Centre Marc Bloch, Centre franco-allemand de recherches en sciences sociales, Schiffbauerdamm 19, 10117 Berlin. E-Mail: [thouard@cmb.hu-berlin.de](mailto:thouard@cmb.hu-berlin.de)

Sur le mur de la villa aux centaures,  
j'ai lu : *carpe diem*.

### Flore et faune

L'odeur en mai des acacias en fleur. Immenses et planant au-dessus de nos têtes à nous en donner le tournis. Puis des tilleuls en juin. Pins rouges au soleil couchant, plantés dans le sable. Bouleaux qui filent à l'est. Chênes pour tenir le sol. Timides crocus, et muguets fuyant les promeneurs.

Grues visitant les lacs. Renard venu marauder. Sangliers fouillant et creusant sous les feuilles. Famille de canards sur les trottoirs printaniers. En semaine, chevreuils en forêt. Marcassins grommelant au bord du chemin, au sortir de la gare. Orvets des lacs. Oiseaux intenables. « Enforestisation » de la ville.

Berlin, grande ville européenne visible sur les cartes, se laisse ici doucement prendre par l'élément vert, et se résume parfois au sable verdoyant sur les eaux.

### Berlin

Le Wiko est-il à Berlin ? Je ne me hâterais pas à le confirmer. D'une part il est largement resté partie prenante de ce West-Berlin, regardant au plus loin vers le Ku'damm. D'autre part il est aussi une structure close et pléthorique, qui enveloppe et absorbe qui s'y trouve dans la protection boisée de sa retraite. Il y passe suffisamment de têtes neuves, et il s'y passe suffisamment d'occasions d'animer les esprits, de bercer les oreilles ou de soigner les corps, qu'il est aussi difficile de s'en échapper. Plus un village qu'un cloître cependant, qui développe ses vies sociales croisées et habite finalement tout un quartier.

### Histoire

Le 10 novembre 1989, je me trouvais vers 10 heures du matin au passage d'Invalidenstraße à accueillir les premiers visiteurs de l'Est. Quelques bouteilles de *Sekt*. Distribution de plans de Berlin-Ouest. Quête du *Begrüßungsgeld*. J'allai à l'Est passer quelques heures, encore selon les réglementations les plus contraignantes (ce fut la dernière fois). C'était le moment historique et ce n'était rien de particulier : il n'était pas encore passé. On parlait de Egon Krenz, pantin furtivement présenté à la fenêtre de l'histoire. On pense en ces moments au lendemain immédiat : que va-t-il s'ensuivre ? L'instant historique n'existe quasiment pas.

Il ouvre simplement de nouveaux problèmes qui occupent les esprits. Quelles modalités, quel rythme pour la réunification ? Ne peut-on pas plutôt attendre ? Ce que provoquait l'abattement d'un mur, c'est la rencontre de deux temporalités, avec ce qu'elle avait de violent. La réunification (qui n'est sans doute pas encore faite) suppose l'invention d'une temporalité tierce, mêlant les vitesses, la sollicitude, la place libre aux audacieux.

### Champignons

Tout d'un coup, il a fallu pour cela ne pas venir pendant quelques années à Berlin, Potsdamer Platz avait poussé. Des cavités s'étaient remplies. Métamorphoses du profil de la ville (encore contrôlable depuis le Kreuzberg ou le Teufelsberg à l'indiscret Tadj Mahal), bouleversement des itinéraires. Confirmation en tous points de la génialité des concepteurs du tracé de la S-Bahn, avant-coureurs d'une ville encore à venir. Berlin après 1989 : « un espacio de experimentación entre arquitectura y urbanismo », comme l'a documenté Christoph Strieder avec l'exposition internationale *Berlin. La ciudad desde 1989* (Berlin, Madrid, 2005).

### Nudités

Entre l'arrivée des voies rapides alimentant le Ku'damm ou la Koenigsallee et le majestueux Halensee, une mince bande de pelouse inclinée tient lieu de plage publique, couverte, au moindre soleil, de corps nus. On admire autant la tolérance que la bizarrerie d'une coutume qui nous vaudrait chez nous six mois de prison et une belle amende. Schleiermacher nous explique cela en 1800 avec cette définition magnifique de la pudeur : « La pudeur, j'en parle au sens large, est le sentiment d'une contrainte de la volonté au sujet de ce qui s'est produit dans l'esprit, que ce soit condamnable dans son essence ou seulement dans sa constitution, car elle ne se rapporte pas seulement au mal, mais aussi à l'imparfait » (*Über die Schamhaftigkeit* : « Scham ist das Gefühl des Unwillens darüber, dass etwas im Gemüt vorgegangen ist, es sei nun dieses Etwas seinem Wesen nach verdamulich oder nur seiner Beschaffenheit nach, denn sie bezieht sich nicht nur auf das Böse, sondern auch auf das Unvollkommene. »).

## Idylle insomniaque

Le renouvellement de la nature feuillue si présente en ce quartier entre en tension avec les marques de l'histoire. Stèle omniprésente de Rathenau : la blessure de son assassinat ouvre sur la Wallotstraße. Quai 17 à la gare de Grunewald où va se perdre le voyageur encore endormi ou distrait, soudain rappelé sobrement aux brûlantes couches archéologiques de la déportation et du meurtre organisé. Sous-sol encore vif. Il est là, le moindre rappel plus puissant que la monumentalisation muséale ou mémoriale. Vide et absences de Berlin. Disparitions. Vide où peut venir se loger un avenir. Inutilité des reconstructions, obligation des inventions.

## Courtoisie

Le plus petit commun dénominateur linguistique rend délicate la composition de tables multilinguistiques dont je rêve pourtant.

## Vingt ans avant

Berlin était une île rebaptisée « Westberlin » par le pays qui l'entourait ; la dénomination officielle de Berlin était à l'Est : Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR. Ce qui posait un problème de reconnaissance et l'imposait à la fois. J'allais bien plus souvent « drüben », attiré par l'exotisme d'un genre un peu spécial que j'y observais. Et fasciné par le temps que l'on pouvait mettre à traverser un seuil. Avide d'aller à Potsdam, Rostock, Prague, en Pologne, plusieurs fois (la Lada d'immatriculation française était un bon passeport).

## Bibliothèques

La Stabi était alors divisée en deux, en partie détruite pendant la guerre, les fonds mis à l'abri en plusieurs lieux dont Marburg et Breslau, dont les retours ont alimenté les deux parties de la bibliothèque, sans que l'on sache jamais avec certitude, depuis le catalogue commun (lui-même en partie détruit) si les livres se trouvaient *ici* ou *là*.

Au Wissenschaftskolleg, les livres viennent d'eux-mêmes (par l'entremise diligente d'un service exceptionnel), d'où qu'ils viennent.



## Poètes

L'ouverture constituée par l'infiltration, au sein de la communauté académique, d'écrivains et poètes, qui ne sont là qu'en vertu de leur façon de mettre en forme le monde qu'ils nous donnent à savourer et comprendre, est certainement l'une des innovations les plus nécessaires de l'expérience wikiennne.

## Mélanges

Le but de l'institution semble être de créer des ponts entre les personnes, d'où qu'elles viennent, entre les savoirs, entre les langues. Le luxe est dans le temps que l'on a. Les passages se font autrement que par les appartenances déjà établies, selon des découpages disciplinaires ou des objets communs. On n'est pas « entre collègues ». C'est une ressource et peut-être le vrai charme offert par l'institution. La curiosité pour d'autres objets ou l'ouverture à d'autres modes de problématisation passe par la rencontre fortuite, l'attrance réciproque des êtres mis par une décision impénétrable dans la même barque le temps d'une année. Avec les préjugés d'objet tombent aussi parfois, par la grâce de cette durée, les préjugés de culture et de langue. Le trait caractéristique relevé dans les premiers temps prend sa place dans un ensemble complexe de traits sociaux, culturels et personnels, que l'on commence à comprendre. Il y a là certainement une utilité profonde, qui ne peut toutefois fonctionner que dans l'ouverture constante de la structure. Car la coexistence d'une société hétérogène n'est une expérience libératrice que tant que cette société internationale ne se fixe pas en un nouveau type homogène. On aurait alors une société savante mondialisée, unifiée dans ses habitudes mentales et ses références intellectuelles, et par là-même coupée du monde qu'elle aurait à charge de penser et de représenter. Il y aurait, modestement sur le plan intellectuel, le risque de voir apparaître ou de contribuer à former une sorte de classe de fonctionnaires mondiaux, comme une vision hégélienne à conjurer. À cet égard, les indications données par Petra Dobner sur la consanguinité dans la constitution des comités internationaux (dans son cas sur les problèmes de l'eau) peuvent apporter une inspiration critique. Comment maintenir l'indispensable hétérogénéité ? C'est le problème que rencontre toute structure en réseau : comment peut-elle sortir d'elle-même ? Comment déborder la contiguïté ? C'est sans doute la question de l'avenir pour le Wiko.

## Rhétoriques savantes (*Dienstagskolloquium*)

On perçoit dans la forme où va le fond. Habiles au défilement des images ou des tableaux, maîtres de la blague de la cinquième minute, intarissables ou trébuchant sur l'escalier des mots, assis ou debout, fixes ou mobiles, lisant ou parlant librement.

### Langues

En arrivant au Wiko, j'ai dû demander assez vite un soutien en langue. Mes souvenirs rouillés et mon usage surtout réceptif n'y suffisaient pas. À Berlin je me suis mis à l'anglais.

### L'anglais et le français

Il y a au moins deux langues qui sont très mal dotées pour devenir de véritables langues de communication mondiale. Le français, qui se réduit à un tout petit nombre de sons, mais s'écrit des façons les plus inattendues, rebelle à la maîtrise par ses locuteurs mêmes. Et l'anglais, qui n'a guère plus de proportion entre le parlé et l'écrit, et dont la juste prononciation reste largement un mystère inaccessible à beaucoup. Il est vrai que beaucoup des défauts de l'anglais lui viennent du français.

### Interactions

Des rencontres se font, selon des géométries et des géographies imprévues. Frustré de la frustration linguistique de Mojtabeh Schabestari, symboliquement à l'écart du monde anglophone, je lui proposais de présenter (en allemand) son parcours et la portée aussi politique de sa réflexion herméneutique sur le Coran, qui fut l'occasion d'une séance mémorable. Arriver à penser la non-contemporanéité des besoins théoriques selon les registres, la permanente portée libératrice de certains gestes théoriques dont l'occident est parfois blasé, en même temps le respect de la gravité des questions, des réticences mêmes qui s'exercent au moment de franchir certains pas, l'effort pour parvenir à une peinture plus différenciée d'une situation mal connue. L'herméneutique redevenait un enjeu central permettant à une société de se redéfinir par rapport à son passé et à ses vœux d'avenir.

L'intérêt de Dhruv Raina pour les Jésuites, motivé par les besoins de reconstituer la formation de l'historiographie de l'astronomie et des mathématiques, est un magnifique

exemple de ce qu'il faudrait, pour chaque culture, être en mesure de faire : se voir vu. La présentation de son colloquium du mardi fut l'occasion d'intensifier nos discussions et de toucher du doigt les stratifications de notre regard. La démonstration de Dhruv passait par plusieurs plans : ce que l'histoire scientiste doit aux constructions des Jésuites, à leur première sélection des sources ; comment le regard occidental sur la science indienne est lié pour une part à cette accommodation religieuse et comment il doit être décortiqué pour être reconstitué dans sa bienveillante condescendance ; comment cette réflexion critique est un gain immense pour la compréhension de nos représentations ordinaires du savoir, libérant d'un même geste l'ouest et le sud.

La traduction de quelques textes d'Antjie Krog traduits par elle-même en anglais m'a montré la nécessité de passer d'une façon ou de l'autre par l'afrikaans pour comprendre même l'auto-traduction et être en mesure de mener le passage à l'autre langue jusqu'à son accomplissement. Comme si le recours à l'original résistait, y compris quand l'auteur accorde souverainement le statut d'original à sa propre traduction. C'était là encore une expérience inattendue, dont l'évidence s'est imposée au cours du séjour, correspondant certainement à ce que l'impersonnelle sagesse de l'institution encourage discrètement. (Le résultat a paru à l'automne 2008 dans la revue *Po&sie*.)

### Ce que j'aurai fait

C'est à Berlin que j'aurai quitté Lille où je travaillais depuis plus de quinze ans et où je dus encore organiser un colloque sur l'interprétation des fragments en octobre et sur l'interprétation dans les sciences sociales en décembre 2007. Pour les travaux d'écriture et d'édition, il fallait finir ce qui était en train, des publications dévoreuses de temps, comme l'édition des actes du colloque de Munich de 2006 sur « Philologie als Wissensmodell in der Frühen Neuzeit », dont le lay-out fut préparé en mai et juin 2008 ; l'édition de l'utile volume « Sens et interprétation » dont l'introduction a pu être rédigée ici en février grâce à la venue de Christian Berner comme « Gast » ; la finition de la traduction et de l'introduction de la *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* de Flacius, avec Philippe Büttgen, une aventure s'étirant sur neuf ans et se terminant à Berlin après nous avoir occupés à Paris, Munich, Göttingen et Berlin. J'ai dû préparer aussi, tâche délicate entre toutes, un ensemble autour de Jean Bollack, qui à ma surprise a pris forme et deviendra un livre, mêlant Solon, Démocrite et Sophocle à Spinoza (discussions avec Bernard Levinson et Moira Gatens sur la portée de sa *Grammaire hébraïque*), Lachmann ou Celan. Plusieurs textes à rendre en allemand furent revus et polis

par les soins diligents de Sophia Pick, qui eut ainsi à passer de Schleiermacher à Salomo Glassius. Mon propre projet s'est nourri de lectures et je l'ai présenté, dans son principe, en quelques occasions, à l'Académie des Sciences, en octobre, au Dienstagskolloquium en février et à la FU en mai au séminaire de Sybille Krämer. Profitant des discussions (notamment de Ronald Rogowski, Gunther Teubner), j'ai considéré que le projet, pour garder son sens, devait mûrir encore et attendre. Des entreprises de longue haleine ont en partie avancé, mais sans parvenir à la finition, comme l'édition des livres VI–VIII du *De la religion* de Benjamin Constant, dont j'ai pu prendre cependant l'introduction pour la porter à un stade plus avancé, mais non encore satisfaisant, et la collecte d'un « Reader » herméneutique contemporain, encore à parfaire. La lecture de la *Philosophie des Geldes* de Simmel, dans les premiers mois de mon arrivée (puis du livre sur le jeune Simmel de Köhnke) m'a beaucoup apporté pour dégager ma propre position herméneutique à égale distance de l'herméneutique philosophique et de l'approche intentionnaliste.

Mais tout cela était le prévisible, qui aurait pu se faire aussi ailleurs. L'inattendu est sans doute plus riche, qui n'a pu se faire qu'au milieu de cette communauté atypique (et en même temps si typique, évidemment). Le point de départ fut l'expérience de l'enjeu constitué par les langues, dont je voyais disparaître avec dépit la multiplicité au profit parfois, pour les moins bien dotés (dont j'étais), d'une réduction drastique des capacités d'expression, se reflétant non seulement dans une absence de pouvoir rhétorique, mais par une limitation des capacités argumentatives, atteignant au cœur de l'activité de recherche. Je me tournai alors vers Wilhelm von Humboldt, qui passa sa vie à traquer les différentes manières de dire le monde, pour y retrouver réconfort et inspiration. C'était déjà annoncé dans le programme des rencontres sur la « Sprachlichkeit » à l'Académie des Sciences, inspirées par Jürgen Trabant, avec Bieri devenant Mercier et Sinan Gudžević. Cela se prolongeait avec la postface écrite pour le petit volume allemand sur Beckett édité avec Tim Trzaskalik et consacré à « En attendant Godot », démontrant l'ancrage profondément historique (et donc « engagé ») de la pièce (paraissant paradoxalement en traduction allemande avant toute existence officielle en français ou en anglais, à Berlin, chez Matthes & Seitz), dont nous parlâmes à plusieurs reprises avec Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus et Dževad Karahasan. La question de la langue insistait. J'écrivis sur l'impossibilité d'une « contre-langue » comme il y eut une « contre-parole », un texte court, mais travaillé. Puis vint l'occasion, vers mai, d'organiser une soirée à l'institut culturel roumain, pour transformer une cohabitation en coopération. N'ayant aucun lien direct avec la culture roumaine, encore moins avec sa langue, il fallut les entremises et le travail accompli avec Nadine Lipp, profitant du plurilinguisme

de son Banat natal, pour inventer un programme improbable où, à partir de la poésie de Celan en roumain et en allemand, et de ses traductions du roumain, on se serait déplacé, en passant par Paris, de la Bucovine aux confins de la Méditerranée, terminant dans les sonorités du catalan d'Arnau Pons, dont le passage put lui aussi profiter de l'hospitalité du Wiko. Le besoin d'explorer jusqu'à l'absurde peut-être les possibilités des multiples langues me conduisit à ces expériences imprévues et impensées. Elles donnèrent sens aussi en juin à la belle sortie au château de Tegel, organisée par l'entremise de Frau von Arnim et rendue possible grâce à la généreuse hospitalité du couple von Heinz, où l'on chercha, sous le portrait du politique, les signes d'une pensée de l'avenir des langues.

### Philologie et langues

Plusieurs années je me suis interrogé sur l'apport de la critique de la tradition telle qu'elle connut, avec la philologie, une forme technique, pour la naissance d'une conscience critique. Quelle fut l'importance de la pratique savante des textes pour aiguïser le regard critique et contribuer à suspendre les croyances reçues ? Est-ce que la philologie pratiquée par Galilée ou Newton a eu la moindre incidence sur leur compréhension de la formation du savoir ou sur leur méthodologie ? Kant ne choisit-il pas de couvrir son œuvre du terme de « Critique » pour faire ressortir les potentialités insoupçonnées de *l'ars critica* ? Ces questions m'ont accompagné à Lille où je fréquentais le Centre de recherche philologique, et à Munich, où je découvrais mieux les savoirs de la Renaissance. L'idée était de doubler la généalogie géométrique de la raison moderne par sa préparation philologique, pour reconstituer une articulation entre des formes de savoirs s'étant depuis lors complètement éloignées les unes des autres. Les « conséquences de la philologisation » devaient traiter à mon sens de cet apport passé inaperçu. De nombreuses lectures sur l'histoire de la lecture et de l'écriture me suggéraient de replacer ce mouvement dans l'avancée en direction d'une révolution technologique, changeant notre rapport aux témoignages du passé de façon radicale. Ce projet est finalement réalisé sans avoir besoin de prendre la forme d'un livre, qui me paralyserait trop longtemps, quand d'autres questions, plus importantes sans doute, doivent être abordées.

La question des langues a ressurgi, naturellement, de la confrontation quotidienne des idiomes, et avec elle l'interrogation sur le rapport d'une langue à ce qu'elle permet de dire. Les stimulations sont venues autant de la pratique, de la curiosité d'entendre d'autres langues, de réfléchir sur tous ceux qui vivent ordinairement entre plusieurs langues, ce qui est

la situation « normale » (pensons à l'Inde, pays aux 1600 langues dont 22 officielles, si j'en crois le reportage que je lis dans *Aide et action* 107, juillet 2008 !) alors que le monolinguisme internationalisé est au contraire une exception ! Lors d'une soirée à l'Institut culturel roumain voisin où Andrei Pleșu présentait son livre sur les anges, on évoqua la langue roumaine qui emprunte certain lexique au hongrois, tel autre au russe, véritable carrefour des possibilités linguistiques, laboratoire européen à soi tout seul. D'un tout autre côté, les discussions informatives et passionnantes menées avec Mark Thomas, ayant la longue perspective de l'évolution de l'espèce sous les yeux, donnait une tout autre entrée dans la diversité des langues. L'exemple des Pirahas est-il un cas limite ? Est-il seulement bien décrit ? Ces sollicitations de l'environnement intellectuel me conduisirent à reprendre les questions humboldtiennes dans une perspective non plus savante seulement, mais bien actuelle ; il fallait se mesurer à l'enjeu que représentent les langues pour les différents acteurs, et se confronter aux multiples apories qui se dégagent de tant de situations (cas de la Catalogne discuté avec Arnau Pons, de l'Afrique du sud multilinguistique douloureusement représentée par Antjie Krog, cas de la Roumanie évoqué à l'instant, cas fascinant du maltais, seule langue sémitique officielle en Europe, évoqué par Fawwaz Traboulsi à propos de Shidyaq etc.). Un nouveau programme de recherche s'imposait à moi : finir enfin un livre sur Humboldt, évoquant en son centre l'enjeu de la diversité des langues et de la traduction, intégrant des études sur son rapport au chinois, son travail sur Eschyle, son expérience en France et au pays Basque, mais repensé sous la tension d'un questionnement actuel et des enjeux d'une politique des langues.

Il s'agira de reprendre mes interrogations les plus lointaines, sans vouloir produire du savoir pour du savoir, mais en m'adressant au monde ; il s'agira de faire ressortir en ces questions l'insatiable inquiétude, pour nous, aujourd'hui et demain, dans les possibilités que nous léguons à ceux qui viendront après nous.



DISCOVERING GERMANY  
FAWWAZ TRABOULSI

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Fawwaz Traboulsi is Associate Professor of Political Science and History at the Lebanese American University, Beirut. He has been a Visiting Professor at New York University, the University of Michigan, Columbia University and Cairo University and a Visiting Fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford. He has written on history, Arab politics, social movements, political philosophy, folklore, and art. His translations include works by Karl Marx, John Reed, Antonio Gramsci, Isaac Deutscher and John Berger. His latest translations are Edward Said's *Out of Place* and *Humanism and Democratic Critique*. His latest writings include an anthology of the Arab Renaissance writer Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq (1995), "Surat-al-Fata bi-l-Ahmar" (a memoir, 1997), "Silat Bila Wasl" (an essay on political thought in Lebanon, 1998), Wu'ud 'Adan (a Yemen diary, 2000), "The Stranger, the Treasure and the Miracle" (A Reading in the Musical Theatre of the Rahbani Brothers and the Diva Fairouz, 2006) and *A History of Modern Lebanon* (2007). – Address: Lebanese American University, Social Science and Education Division, P.O. Box 13/5053 – Chouran, Beirut, Lebanon. E-Mail: ftrablsi@lau.edu.lb

The first two months of my stay at Wiko were devoted to putting into Arabic my latest book *A History of Modern Lebanon*, written and published in English (London, Pluto, 2007). The Arabic version, published in Beirut by El-Rayess Books, came out on time for the December 2007 Arab Book Fair in Beirut and was declared by the organizers the best-selling book for its category. A new edition has come out in October 2008. But the greatest part of my time was devoted to pursuing my research project on the relationship between business and politics in postwar Lebanon (post 1975–90 wars). That entailed the reconstitution

of the interests of some 80 leading business families of the Lebanese financial and commercial oligarchy and tracing their modes of intervention in the country's political life, including the new layer of enriched warlords and immigrants. Work done in Berlin finished laying the foundation for the writing of the papers (and ultimately the book). More work and time are still needed for field research and interviews.

My Wiko residence also provided me with the occasion to realize a long-time project, the organization of a workshop on the life and work of Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, the prominent figure of the mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Arab cultural renaissance. The workshop, the first ever to be devoted to the rebellious and radical Lebanese belle-lettrist, translator (of the Bible), travel writer, social critic, satirist and linguist, convened for three days in March 2008 with the participation of a dozen researchers and scholars, funded by Wiko's "Europe in the Middle East – The Middle East in Europe" program (EUME) and the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. A follow-up workshop will meet in Beirut in October 2008. As a way of sharing that experience with my Wiko Fellows, I decided to make the life and work of Shidyaq the topic of my Tuesday colloquium. I also abused the generosity of the Wiko administration to appear once more in the conference room of Wallotstraße 19 for a "Thursday afternoon" lecture (presented on a Tuesday!) to talk about Zionism, the state of Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

My participation in a number of EUME's activities was the occasion to meet and interact with a new generation of young scholars on Arab and Middle East Studies. My critical comments on their work were delivered as a lecture on "Occidentalism", which unfortunately failed to provoke the discussion I had hoped for.

More importantly, the Wiko fellowship was the occasion to discover the benefits of mixing and interacting with a congregation of colleagues from different countries and disciplines. With Dhruv Raina, I immediately discovered many common friends and areas of interest, in addition to learning about another aspect of the craft of the historian, that of the historian of science. At the "Third World Table", and elsewhere, Salman Bashier was a "neighbour" with whom I shared a common admiration for Ibn Arabi and Sufism. Antjie Krog introduced me shyly to the delights of her poetry and suffered patiently and smilingly my remarks against her "nativism". Robert Perlman opened my naïve eyes to the relationship between class analysis and evolutionary biology. Norman Birnbaum informed us all with his rich knowledge of American politics. Michael Fried has his magical way of introducing you to his magical version of realism as Ruth Leys leads you to delve deep into the fleeting and complex relationship between trauma, memory and forgetfulness. Hearing



Randolph Nesse lecture on depressions, you wish you were depressive. Horst Bredekamp's *Bildakt* theory inspired me in an introduction I was writing for a book on the posters of the civil war in Lebanon (1975–90). With Elizabeth Jelin you share much more than her delightful brands of Argentine *maté*. And all this does not exhaust the very interesting and challenging encounters and discussions with so many others around lunch and dinner tables. But I should add that on some such occasions, I was surprised to find how many prejudices and stereotypes about Islam and Arabs still linger among the “internationally renowned scholars” and their guests.

For my extra-Wiko activities, I participated in a number of lectures and panels. At the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, I spoke on a panel on Culture and Resistance about the misuses of culture as a substitute for socio-economic development. “Do Collective Rights Contribute to Conflict Resolution? The Lebanese Case”, was the title of my contribution to the conference on “Ethnonationalisms and State Building”, organized by the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. “Do We Understand the Middle East?” organized in London by the British Society for Middle East Studies (BRISMES) conference in London gave me the occasion to speak on “To Forget or Not to Forget a Civil War – the Lebanese Case”. I also addressed a meeting of a group of bright political science students of the Freie Universität in Berlin preparing a simulation on Lebanese politics.

Despite the fact that I missed the occasion to study German properly, Wiko provided the opportunity to fill a few of the huge gaps in my knowledge of Germany and German culture. The occasion presented itself to discover Ernst Bloch's monumental *The Principle of Hope* and Heiner Müller's theatre.

I am grateful to Zuheir and May Shawi and to Illan Halevi and Kirstin Maass for ritually coming on weekends to take out their friend from his “boarding school” and introduce him to the wonders of Berlin. A fan of carnivals, I attended the Köln festival, which I discovered was no different from any other carnival, in its orgiastic consumption of beer, “turning the world upside down”, and its “soft” symbolic social redistribution, in this case with chocolates and sweets. Dresden, in company with my wife Nawal, was a far cry from the grey, war-scarred city I had visited in 1978. The visit of my sister and niece and of my daughter Jana, after long winter months of hermetic retreat at Wallotstraße 10, was the occasion to discover those parts of the city that cater to youth and art lovers in green Berlin. However, my visit to Germany would not have been complete without a trip to the Rhine region in the company of Aziz al-Azmeh, including the inevitable pilgrimage to the Karl-Marx-Haus in Trier.

Writing these lines, I realise that I did much more in terms of discovery and activities than I had thought I did. At least I can say that, for somebody who belongs to a region that has long suffered from a fixation on French or Anglo-Saxon cultures, I managed to get a few glimpses of another European culture. Even if that had been all I did in ten months, the visit would have been more than worthwhile.

In conclusion, I cannot adequately express my admiration, gratitude and affection toward all the wonderful people in all the departments of Wiko. I owe them a big thank-you.



## HOMECOMINGS AND DEPARTURES MELANIE TREDE

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Melanie Trede grew up, studied and took her degrees, taught and again teaches now in Heidelberg, Germany, a town she managed to escape from on a few occasions – but these proved formative. She was an undergraduate at the Freie Universität, Berlin (1984–88); did research at Waseda and Gakushūin Universities in Tokyo (1988–89, 1994–96, 2003); and taught at Columbia University (1999), and the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University (1999–2004). Her field is the history of Japanese art (pictorial narratives, history painting, gender issues, art historical narratives, and art in the service of political diplomacies, among other things); her most important teachers were Lothar Ledderose, Doris Croissant, and the late Chino Kaori; her partner of twenty years and husband is the Sinologist, gourmet, and life enhancer Lorenz Bichler. Highlights include daughter Klara Kaori (5), son Noah Paul (2), the publication of her books, *Image, Text and Audience*, *The Arts of Japan*, and *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, and the Wiko year 2007/08. – Address: Institut für Kunstgeschichte Ostasiens, Universität Heidelberg, Seminarstraße 4, 69117 Heidelberg. E-mail: [trede@sino.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:trede@sino.uni-heidelberg.de)

### The End

Sitting in the train from Berlin to Heidelberg, it dawned on me that indeed doomsday, the thirty-first of July had arrived. Should I be sad or should I look forward to life after Wiko?

It is only now that I can begin writing a report on this wonderfully exciting year. Nowhere was there a moment to look back and to sum up all that was happening: The excitement of the various beginnings last fall (that memorable, rather intimidating first

lunch, with Catriona MacCallum and Peter Jones, Chris and Martin Laughlin, the latter then turning out to be my esteemed office neighbor), the occasionally turbulent times in spring, and the crescendo toward the finale where our emotions resembled the compulsive draw to the repetitive exclamation marks in a Bruckner symphony (yes, Sascha Somek!).

So, let's start with the end. The farewell party scheduled on July 19<sup>th</sup> turned out to be the magic and synaesthetic climax of oneness. To have been part of the "entertainment group" with Heiner Goebbels, Barbara Rendtorff, Susanne Muth, Gesine Krüger, Hans Biesalski, Raphael Rosenberg, and various changing members was one of the many special and rewarding experiences at Wiko: "the most democratic farewell party" as Christine von Arnim generously labeled it.

The multi-media entertainments were conceived during meetings and rehearsals that were immensely enjoyable and eye-openers in experiencing Heiner's egalitarian approach to "directing" collectively: The reinvented Wiko Hymn originally composed by Hanns Eisler with an adapted text by Gesine and Alva Noë; the newly created "litany" (of thanks) inspired by less classical music genres by Heiner with improvisations by Hans and Frances Loughlin, structured by Antjie Krog and others' poetic condensation of disparate contributions by Fellows, and finally performed by Alva, who will be remembered as "the rapping philosopher" [not only by Pat Kitcher, Pat!]; against the backdrop of converging powerpoint presentations excerpted by Petra Dobner from our colloquia's images and texts: "Blessed be the farewell parties!" (This line should be added to the litany).

This long-prepared-for event was followed by daily departures of the ones that actually had to leave, such as Ruth Leys and Michael Fried with Anna, who lived in the apartment above us in Villa Walther and patiently endured our kids' noisiness; others escaped into secluded solitude (Salman "the peaceful" Bashier), or geared up in intensity of engagement (Susanne gave something like six guided tours to the Pergamon for groups of Fellows, kids, and staff within less than two weeks), and yet others felt the need to exploit the last occasions to talk and discover unnoticed aspects of Fellows and partners, such as: did you know that the only "fault" in Karl Marx alias Dhruv Raina was his wonderful wife Raji, who turns out to be also an accomplished singer in the tradition of Indian classical music called Carnatic; or that Salman helped me vis-à-vis a sudden death by showing me ravishing poems by Rumi and Omar Khayyam; or who on earth could have guessed that Peter Schäfer was born on the same day as I (although he, unsurprisingly, is a sheep; I am a rabbit), and upon discovery of this revelation we fixed a date on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June next year; all this triggered by my daughter Klara's admiration (during our last Thursday family dinner) for

Moira Gatens' beautiful lapis lazuli necklace presented to her by Paul, her partner, on the occasion of her birthday on June 30<sup>th</sup>. With an ending such as this, how, I ask, am I to continue a meaningful life beyond this magic year guarded by Wiko angels (by the way: there should be a plural to The One)?

### Reminiscences

So many moments and insights, intellectual as well as sensual, individual as well as social, were replete with recollections that it felt as though things had fallen into place. For example:

Opening that heavy white-framed glass door, walking up the brownish-tiled stairs in growing expectation, entering the door to the first floor: the enticing fragrance of paper and flowers; on the shelves to the left the fulfillment of academic cravings: books, articles, CDs, notices, and stylish angels in the guise of Frau Bottomley, Frau Rein, Frau Graupner, and all the other heavenly beings who attend ever smilingly to whatever impossible requests or trivial matters that need to be addressed: heaven on earth! I saw myself forty years ago, dressed in Sunday clothes, climbing the tall beige, stony staircase, the smell of candles; singing Christmas carols, the glass door opened, and there they were: mountains of presents!

12:29. Stiff from sitting hours without moving, locking the door, anticipating the display of culinary delights, and then it's always so much more: the very "Liebe Frau Trede ..." kind of intonation by Frau Klöhn and Frau Speder, the acute attention to detailed wishes, and, of course: the discussions and exchanges of ideas, sharing of troubles and discoveries, or simply small talk. Cut. Stafford, school lunch in 1980/81: queuing along a narrow corridor, vile smells of something burnt, overcooked, and always the inedible meat; the British boarding school experience. While that diet at Abbotsholme resulted in a significant weight loss, the food carefully prepared by Frau Frühsammer et al. made me contribute substantially to the production of one more Fellow over the course of the year, as one Alt-Fellow famously observed (Gesine, did you join the club? But we'll probably be evened out by Hans, who claims to have lost some fifteen kilos).

The side effects of a closely-knit community that made me develop protective feelings apparent in immediately noticing if someone was missing (as if only as a whole would we be functional); the reactions against issues that challenged the *Gruppengeist*, which we had fairly quickly acquired; the time spent gossiping; and the development of various sub-

groups, such as the Fellows of non-European/North-American origin: all are phenomena that were hardly different from my experience twenty-seven years back. I arguably profited most in 1980/81 from the encounter with classmates from different cultures and social backgrounds: Stella, a Nigerian princess, who sometimes worked as a model for Yves Saint-Laurent; or my future brother-in-law Rick with his Chinese-Australian background who managed to convince me that Mao was a hero. Similarly, the impact of Antjie and Elizabeth Jelin, Dhruv and Salman; their experiences, questions, and approaches were important for me. I feel the Wiko should (and probably already aims at doing just this) incorporate a larger number of scholars with an Asian and African background to balance the mainstream Western discourse and to increase the diversity of scientific interests and social knowledge. The sometimes-voiced opinion that the Wiko is a Euro/American-centered institution is not altogether wrong.

### Stimuli and Networks

At the same time, I benefited enormously from the Image Science Group (preferably referred to as the “Picture Girls”). Put together by Horst Bredekamp and Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus, the group included members of diverse disciplinary backgrounds, Rüdiger Campe, Luca Giuliani, John Krois, Alva, Raphael, Susanne, and the occasional visitor. The idea of a *Bildwissenschaft*, a philosophical as well as a rather German approach to visual arts, was expanded by reflections on the senses other than looking. This is a rather unexplored territory within the study of the history of Japanese art, and it works as a resourceful tool to open up new questions. Within this group and beyond, Susanne and I developed an academic as well as personal friendship that will last. Raphael had to serve as a frequent lunch partner when discussing matters concerning our institutes and the cluster of excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context” at the University of Heidelberg, which came through only three weeks after our Wiko year began. Although I considered myself lucky to get approval for such a large-scale project, it diverted me from my Wiko project.

There are, we are told, Fellows who pull their projects through; others who opt to reduce written productivity and indulge in other activities; and there are some who develop interests in different directions. I belong to the last type. Contrary to my proposed project on the political iconography of pictorial narratives in Japan, my Wiko time was largely spent exploring the mutual cultural diplomacies between Germany and Japan during the nineteen-thirties and forties seen through the lens of art exhibitions. The archives and li-

baries in Berlin are a treasure trove of fascinating documents that elucidate the degree to which the Nazis exploited the medium of exhibitions to enhance their cause on an international level. Although the respective Japanese archives need to be examined as far as they survived the March 1945 American bombings of Tokyo, it is arguably this time period that served as a pivot to shape the artistic canon of Japanese art history today. By now, I am even more convinced that the site where we do research shapes our work decisively. The composition of our Fellow group; the asymmetry between the more Jewish-Israeli focus at Wiko and its appended periphery, the EUME project; the oppressive Nazi history in the Grunewald district (Gleis 17, the *Stolpersteine*, the numerous villas of former Nazi leaders) and in Berlin at large; and my family background with a Jewish grandmother and the *émigré* past of my father urged me to continue research, which had been prompted by a paper given at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences at the invitation by Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnerit shortly after my arrival in October.

While the multi-disciplinary set-up at Wiko was refreshing, the divide between the natural sciences and the humanities was hard to bridge, even though some Fellows embodied this very bridge in their approaches or wide range of knowledge (Dhruv, Hans, Ruth, and Mark Thomas, to name but a few). Nevertheless, from time to time I was happy to interact with colleagues and friends in Japanese studies and art history at the Free and Humboldt universities, at the Museum of Asian Art (thanks, Alex Hofmann!), at the Japanese-German Center, and from Japan. They offered their expertise, involved me in their activities, and provided me with venues to discuss my research.

#### Koenigsallee

What would all of these inspirations be, though, without the enjoyment of living with my family in the communal residence, Villa Walther? Deprived of the tempting evening activities such as the film series put together by Miriam Hansen and Alex Nagel, Lorenz and I set up a reading group with our next-door neighbors, Alva Noë and Miriam Dym. Although we hardly went beyond Fontane's *Irrungen Wirungen* and an attempt at Benjamin's *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert*, our exchanges extended to frequent whisky-drinking, shared health issues, and educational frenzies. Thanks to August, their elder boy, Klara used her kindergarten English, and Noah developed an intense attachment to Ulysses, the younger of the Noë boys. Likewise, Klara decided to marry Isidore (elder son of Denis Thouard and Fosca Mariani), with whom she shared the kindergarten class; and

while barbecuing on the premises of our lovely garden – illegally, I guess –, we made plans to spend vacations together in the future. Ron Rogowski and Karen Best were partners in car sharing and weekend outings as their two girls EmmaKlehr (Noah’s pronunciation) proved to be exceptional harmonizers of the usual sibling frictions. Klara summed it up one July evening: “Wir haben so ein Glück, in diesem Haus zu wohnen!” (We are so lucky to live in this building!).

No conclusions. Just *ewiger Dank*.





WHAT I COULDN'T DO AT HOME  
CANDACE A. VOGLER

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Candace Vogler took her Bachelor's degree at Mills College (1985) and earned her doctorate in Philosophy (1994) and her doctoral certification in English Literature and Cultural Studies (1992) at the University of Pittsburgh. She joined the Department of Philosophy at the University of Chicago in 1992, became an Associate Professor in 2000, and a Professor in 2007. From 2000 to 2007, she co-directed the Master of Arts Program for the University of Chicago Humanities Division. She is the author of *John Stuart Mill's Deliberative Landscape* (Routledge, 2001) and *Reasonably Vicious* (Harvard, 2002). She works in ethics, social and political philosophy, sexuality and gender studies, psychoanalysis, Marxism, and philosophy and literature. – Address: Department of Philosophy, The University of Chicago, 1010 E. 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, USA. E-mail: [vogue@uchicago.edu](mailto:vogue@uchicago.edu)

I have had two careers in the States since completing my doctoral work and joining the Philosophy faculty at the University of Chicago. I work in Anglophone analytic philosophy. I also work in literary theory and cultural studies. The structure of the North American Anglophone academy is such that these careers are almost completely distinct. Analytic philosophers do not normally read Lacan, say, or Marx, or Freud. Hegel and Heidegger are a bit of a stretch for them. And when analytic philosophers do read outside the boundaries of their chosen sub-disciplines, they read as though everyone of philosophical interest was setting out to do analytic philosophy (it's just that most of them do it very badly). People in Anglophone literary and cultural studies, on the other hand, work from different archives, do not read for argument after the fashion of analytic philosophers, have very different understandings of what counts as an interesting research problem, operate

with different modes of argument and different senses of what counts as evidence in support of a claim, start from different assumptions, come to different kinds of conclusions, and have different understandings of how one might reasonably move from start to finish in a train of thought. Thanks to having two disjoint careers, thanks to having an academic home in an institution with long experience encouraging and fostering cooperative and collaborative research projects across academic disciplines, and thanks to the extraordinary separateness of disciplines in the North American Anglophone academy, I have stopped believing in interdisciplinary work – work that successfully meets the standards of scholarship, evidence, and argument in divergent disciplines at the same time. There is such a thing as cross-disciplinary work, however – work that is useful in divergent disciplines, even if it is appropriated in very different ways across disciplinary divides. I came to Berlin looking forward to settling into a narrowly disciplinary philosophical project. I had spent the preceding seven years having to contend with the inevitable struggles of cross-disciplinary work – pedagogical struggles, scholarly difficulties, and theoretical impasses. As it turned out, I had to alter my plans for the year.

Left to my own devices, I work solidly from the very early morning through the early afternoon (roughly, from 3:00 to 14:00). I think best in those hours. I write best then as well. Whenever possible, I do not see anyone. I do not eat. I do not talk to anyone or answer email. Given half a chance, I stay in my dressing gown and don't bother preparing to face a larger world until afternoon. I can normally manage this back home with very little trouble. In a pinch, I just sleep fewer hours.

I arrived at the Wissenschaftskolleg with hundreds of pages of notes toward a monograph, intending to complete work on the book during the course of my stay. I enjoyed the intensive German course during my first six weeks. By late October, however, it was clear that my writing and research habits were incompatible with the structure of life at the Wissenschaftskolleg. I had to be away from my room in the mornings on Mondays and Thursdays. Tuesday mornings were given, happily, to the Colloquium. Lunch came at 12:30. After trying to get by on two hours' sleep a night for a few weeks, I realized that I needed to take a different approach.

I turned my attention to thinking about what I *couldn't* do at home. I couldn't do the kind of work that happens before a project takes shape, in the days when the topic isn't yet set, the disciplinary home is not yet fixed, and the archive is radically open. I had fallen in love with Berlin and happened into an artists' collective in the city during the first month of my stay. I spent as much time as I could manage with local painters, filmmakers, and

video artists. The things made possible with a BVG transit pass and a few local contacts could only happen in Berlin. Attending concerts, opera productions, gallery shows, and museum exhibitions, practicing conversational German with strangers and new friends in the city, and absorbing as much of the history, culture, and feel of the place as I could – these things could only happen in Berlin. And the working relationships I began building with my fellow Fellows could only happen at the Wissenschaftskolleg.

I became involved in a small group interested in philosophy and literature. One of my fellow Fellows was beginning to make headway with an ambitious project on the work of George Eliot. She thinks that Eliot's fiction embodies a mode of philosophical investigation of social and moral life that has much to teach contemporary philosophers about the ethical. Arguing for this claim requires more than mining Eliot's literary corpus for discrete moral insights. It requires giving serious attention to narrative structure and giving an account of Eliot's rhetorical conduct, use of dialogue, modes of direct address to readers, and so on, as well as developing readings of Eliot's philosophical sources. The philosopher spouse of a philosopher Fellow has done extensive work on James Joyce and was preparing to give a talk on *Finnegan's Wake* to the Joyce Society in Dublin. I have an ongoing research project on Edgar Allan Poe. Poe is an improbable moralist. Poe's fiction takes no interest in character, for example. "In the tale proper," he noted, "there is no space for development of character." That's why he wrote tales. Of course, if there is no space for character development, then there is no space for character *at all*. Instead, his households crumble around masculine figures notable for groundless, but still goal-directed surges of volition, affection, and thought. Strange and beautiful women, when in evidence, only come into their own post-mortem. Unsurprisingly, there are almost no children. And when we turn from individual and household to civil society, things are no better. Poe's cities – most notably, a London and several Parises that bear striking resemblances to antebellum New York – are scenes of crimes. And so the twin pillars of most morality tales – character and society – will not support the weight of ethical narrative in Poe. Nevertheless, Poe writes morality tales. I have been at work off and on for several years trying to learn how best to read them. Our three-person informal philosophy and literature study group gave us an opportunity to read each other's works-in-progress and also to read and discuss our various literary and literary critical source materials with each other. By summer, we had formed a kind of cabal and vowed to stay in touch and to continue the work of bringing literary study and philosophy together in unusual ways.

I led another small group of Fellows interested in working through Elizabeth Anscombe's *Intention* (the topic of my ill-fated monograph). I edited two lectures and various notes for our group, and such progress as I made on my official project was made with our group and off campus at several conferences and gatherings in other places. I was able to attend conferences in Rome, Oslo, London, and Lisbon and so to meet more members of the relatively small community of philosophers and scholars who work on and from the writings of Anscombe in order to discuss my work and theirs.

Another Fellow and I co-sponsored a small working group on philosophy and film, bringing Robert Pippin, Jim Conant, and John McDowell to the Wissenschaftskolleg for a few days in May to discuss Hegel, aesthetics, and three films. The arguments were unusually fruitful, partly because we kept the working group small.

I developed powerful friendships with several of my fellow Fellows. I read widely. I watched a lot of films. I wrote hundreds of pages of notes and several stories. I began thinking about love, the erotic, and ethics.

The work on ethics and the erotic is so new that I do not yet know what sort of book I will make. But the book will be born entirely of my time in Berlin, my affection for my fellow Fellows, and the surprising results of negotiating crises in writing. It has been a very important year for me. I find myself once again working in more than one discipline. Although I did graduate work in three disciplines – philosophy, English literature, and mathematical economics – and although I help to edit a major journal in the humanistic social sciences, working across disciplines is always a matter of being out of one's depth. But being out of one's depth in a brand new region of inquiry that as yet lacks shape is less demoralizing than the more usual experience of being perpetually out of one's depth on familiar ground.

At the Wissenschaftskolleg, being perpetually out of one's depth has been a delight, actually. The community of Fellows has been extraordinary. Quite apart from my work toward a new topic, my return to an ongoing project in philosophy and literature, and my occasional forays into work on my official topic, I wrote two serious essays during the course of the year, neither of which was a thing I could have written without the luxury of long hours spent reading in a multi-disciplinary archive on risk assessment, punctuated by ferocious debate and friendly banter with Fellows working in the sciences, in policy studies, and in law.

Because I have never had a year off before, and because my initial writing plans had to be shelved for the year, my time at the Wissenschaftskolleg also gave me an opportunity to

think seriously about my life and my work. It is not always comfortable to have to look at why one does what one does, and how, and what one might do next. But I think that the combined chance to begin developing a new project and to engage in sober reflection about my life and my work planted seeds that I will be cultivating for many years to come. I will not know how even to calculate the magnitude of the debt of gratitude that I owe the Wissenschaftskolleg for some time. I already know that it is considerable.



## DIE KONSTITUTIONALISTEN RAINER WAHL

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Geboren 1941 in Heilbronn, Studium der Rechtswissenschaften in Heidelberg und Bonn; Juristisches Staatsexamen 1964 und 1969, Promotion zum Dr. iur. 1969 in Heidelberg, Assistent an der neugegründeten Universität Bielefeld, dort 1976 Habilitation. 1977 Professor in Bonn und seit 1978 an der Universität Freiburg; Prorektor 1985–87; nebenamtlicher Richter am Verwaltungsgerichtshof Mannheim 1987–91; Korrespondierendes Mitglied der Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung Hannover; Kooperation mit der japanischen Forschungsgesellschaft für deutsches Verfassungsrecht, Sprecher des Forschungszentrums für deutsches und internationales Umweltrecht. Publikationen: *Rechtsfragen der Landesplanung und Landesentwicklung*, 2 Bde. (1978). *Nationale Kernenergiepolitik und Gemeinschaftsrecht* (mit M. G. Hermes, 1995); *Prävention und Vorsorge: Von der Staatsaufgabe zu den verwaltungsrechtlichen Instrumenten* (1995). „Erklären staatstheoretische Leitbegriffe die Europäische Union?“ *Juristenzeitung* 60, 19 (2005). – Adresse: Institut für Öffentliches Recht VI, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Platz der Alten Synagoge 1, 79085 Freiburg i. Br.

Wer zum zweiten Mal ins Kolleg und in den Grunewald kommt, erlebt alles intensiver. Vom ersten Tag an knüpft man an die guten alten Erfahrungen an, sowohl im Kolleg als auch im überwältigenden Kulturleben der Berliner Opern- und Schauspielhäuser. Ich war Fellow im Jahr 1998/99 und habe seit damals bei all meinen vielen Aufenthalten in Berlin im Kolleg gewohnt. Ob ich für einige Stunden an den Donnerstagabenden ins Kolleg kam oder ob jetzt meine Frau und ich für vier Monate zu einem Fellowjahrgang mit reichem Innenleben stießen – einer wirkliche Eingewöhnungszeit bedurfte es nicht. Gewiss hat sich

im Kolleg einiges geändert und natürlich trifft man auf andere Fellows, aber man erlebt die gleiche, jahrzehntelang bewährte Grundidee und vor allem die gleiche Atmosphäre, die von den vielen „Permanentent“, also vom Staff, immer wieder auf so gelungene Weise geschaffen wird. Ein erneutes Eintauchen in dies Leben im Kollegs geht fast unmerklich und schnell vonstatten. Es erwartet einen ein Rahmen, eine Lebensform, in der jeder nach seiner Façon glücklich werden kann, vorausgesetzt, jeder trifft die ihm gemäße Façon, aber ein gewisser Eigenanteil ist beim Glücklicherweise schon erforderlich.

Die Kollegs-idee, die jetzt an den „Exzellenzuniversitäten“ aufgegriffen und nachgebaut werden soll, besteht nicht nur darin, zusammenhängende Zeit zum Arbeiten zu bieten, was für sich genommen schon das größte Geschenk für die Fellows ist, sondern konstitutiv für die Atmosphäre am Kolleg ist das Zusammenleben mit den anderen Fellows und dem Staff und der nicht endende geistige Austausch untereinander. Natürlich kennt man an der Heimatuniversität genug interessante Kollegen, aber im Kolleg ist der Austausch von anderer Qualität. Es ist die Selbstverständlichkeit des Umgangs mit den anderen Fellows, deren Bereitschaft, jederzeit ein ernstes Gespräch zu führen (und genauso selbstverständlich vom Ernstesten zum Leichten oder zum heiteren Fach zu wechseln).

Meine Frau und ich waren von Anfang April bis Mitte Juli in Berlin und hatten die große Freude, den Frühlingsanfang, der in Freiburg schon vorüber war, ein zweites Mal zu erleben. Zudem waren die Wochen von Ende April bis Mitte Juni 2008 die schönsten des Jahres.

2008 wurde der historischen Ereignisse des Jahres 1933 zum 75. Mal gedacht. In Berlin erlebten wir diese Zeit durch die große Nähe zu den Orten und Schauplätzen, an denen bestimmte Personen die Weichen für diesen bedrückenden Teil der deutschen Geschichte gestellt haben, als besonders gegenwärtig. Hervorzuheben sind auch die vielen Veranstaltungen aus diesem Anlass. Wie kaum eine andere deutsche Stadt ermöglicht, ja fordert Berlin zur Erinnerung und zur eigenen Spurensuche heraus – ein durchaus aktivierender Beitrag der Berliner Kultur und Politik.

Fellow war ich für vier Monate, um an der Arbeitsgruppe „Verfassung jenseits des Nationalstaats“, im Kollegjargon hießen wir: „Die Konstitutionalisten“, teilzunehmen. Das Wissenschaftskolleg verfolgt mit solchen Arbeitsgruppen spezifische Ziele. Die Verantwortlichen des Kollegs sind nicht der Auffassung von vielen Politikern und Bildungsmagern, die meinen, dass man Wissenschaftler aus verschiedenen Fächern nur im selben Raum versammeln müsste und dass dann das Wunder der Interdisziplinarität geschehe. Unter den Arbeitsbedingungen, die das Kolleg bietet, mit der Gelegenheit zur längeren

und intensiven Zusammenarbeit, werden andere und erfolgversprechendere Voraussetzungen geschaffen. Erst im Laufe der Zeit, nach vielen Diskussionen und Spaziergängen, erkennt man die wissenschaftlichen Zugänge der anderen Fellows zum gemeinsamen Thema, versteht man, aus welchen grundsätzlichen Haltungen und geistigen Voraussetzungen sie argumentieren. Nicht die Gleichheit oder Verschiedenheit mancher Ergebnisse sind wirklich spannend, sondern es sind die Begründungen und deren Verwurzelungen in grundsätzlichen Annahmen und methodischen Vorverständnissen.

Unsere Gruppe der Konstitutionalisten hätte unterschiedlicher in den Meinungen und wissenschaftlichen Orientierungen nicht sein können. Schon die Zivil- und Öffentlich-rechtler schienen verschiedenen Welten anzugehören; hinzu kamen die Perspektiven von zwei Politikwissenschaftlern mit deutlicher Binnendifferenzierung, und das alles wurde noch mit den Unterschieden zwischen dem kontinentaleuropäischen und dem angloamerikanischen Rechtsdenken unterlegt. Für die Fruchtbarkeit des gesamten Unternehmens spielte ein Charakteristikum des Kollegs eine große Rolle: Wie auch sonst üblich, gab es am Ende keine Verpflichtung zu einem expliziten Rechenschafts- oder Abschlussbericht darüber, was wir in der ganzen Zeit Vernünftiges diskutiert und erarbeitet hätten. Das Kolleg vertraut, ich denke zu Recht, darauf, dass engagierte Wissenschaftler die zahllosen Anregungen einer solchen Gruppe, die Erfahrungen eines ganz anderen Argumentierens in den nächsten Jahren selbständig umsetzen und weiterentwickeln. Trotzdem konnten wir eine Art Zwischenbilanz schon bei einem Kolloquium im Juni ziehen. Wir hatten vorsichtshalber alle schwierigen Fragen auswärtigen Wissenschaftlern vorgelegt, die wir zu unseren Sitzungen eingeladen hatten. Die Konstitutionalisten-Fellows werden ihr Resumé über das lange Nachdenken in der geplanten Publikation zu Papier bringen.

Ich stelle mir vor, dass sich für mich eine Erfahrung von meinem ersten Fellowjahr wiederholt. Damals bin ich sehr skeptisch und wohl auch enttäuscht mit der Selbsteinschätzung nach Freiburg zurückgekehrt, dass ich in diesem Jahr nichts irgendwie Auffallendes geleistet hätte. Nach einem Jahr bemerkte ich dann, dass ich meine Schwerpunkte völlig verändert hatte und dies nach dem „input“ in Berlin auch tun konnte. Ich bin zuversichtlich, dass sich Ähnliches auch nach dem diesjährigen Aufenthalt wiederholen wird.



## *Vorträge und Schwerpunkte*

## GESUNDE ERNÄHRUNG IM ZEICHEN DES KLIMAWANDELS: HERAUSFORDERUNG ODER FIKTION?

HANS K. BIESALSKI

### Was ist gesunde Ernährung?

Täglich werden Fragen nach gesunder Ernährung in irgendeiner Zeitschrift, im Rundfunk oder im Fernsehen gestellt und auf unterschiedlichste Art und Weise beantwortet. Und so vielfältig wie die Fragen sind auch die Antworten, so dass letztlich niemand mehr genau weiß, was eigentlich gesunde Ernährung ist.

Während wir heute fragen „Was sollen wir essen und wozu eigentlich gesunde Ernährung?“, wird uns als Folge des Klimawandels viel mehr die Frage beschäftigen: „Was werden wir essen und wie sichern wir eine gesunde Ernährung?“ Dieser Frage – „Was ist gesunde Ernährung und werden wir diese auch noch unter den Veränderungen des Klimawandels sichern können?“ – will ich im Folgenden nachgehen und versuchen, eine umsetzbare Antwort zu geben.

### Gesunde Ernährung – wozu?

Meine beiden jüngsten Enkel werden nach derzeitiger statistischer Wahrscheinlichkeit noch ein langes Leben vor sich haben. Und beide werden in einigen Jahren über ebendieses lange Leben nachdenken und auf den Gedanken kommen, dass es schön wäre, dieses auch so lange wie möglich gesund zu genießen. Aber wie machen die beiden das – gesund alt zu werden? Indem sie versuchen, gesund zu leben, und dazu gehört, neben vielen anderen Aspekten, nachzeitigem Verständnis auch eine gesunde Ernährung.

Die internationale Ernährungsorganisation FAO hat gesunde Ernährung wie folgt definiert:

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Vortrag gehalten am Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin am 18. Juni 2008.

Ein Zustand, bei dem alle Menschen, zu allen Zeiten, physischen, sozialen und ökonomischen Zugang zu ausreichenden, sicheren und nahrhaften Lebensmitteln haben, die ihre Ernährungsbedürfnisse und Nahrungspräferenzen für ein aktives und gesundes Leben sicherstellen (FAO 2002).

Die Definition zeigt, wie komplex die Beschreibung dessen ist, was wir unter einer „gesunden Ernährung“ verstehen und wie viele Ebenen außerhalb der eigentlichen Nahrung angesprochen sind. Die Definition sagt nicht, dass eine Ernährung, die nicht gesund ist, unbedingt krank macht. Hier scheinen viele Ausnahmen die Regel zu bestätigen. Vielmehr wird versucht, eine Ernährung über quantitative wie qualitative Standards zu beschreiben, die geeignet ist, den Organismus so zu versorgen, dass er seine Funktionen in Bezug auf aktuelle wie auch auf die lebenslange Gesundheit, soweit dies durch Ernährung beeinflussbar ist, erfüllen kann.

Drei wesentliche Attribute sind es, die eine so bezeichnete gesunde Ernährung definieren: sie muss *ausreichend*, *sicher* und *nahrhaft* sein.

Als *ausreichend* lassen sich Lebensmittel und damit die Ernährung bezeichnen, wenn sie eine für den Bedarf des Individuums ausreichende Energiemenge enthalten, d. h. eine ausgeglichene Bilanz zwischen Energiezufuhr und Verbrauch aufweist. Es muss also eine bestimmte Quantität zur Verfügung stehen. Diese wird gemäß WHO und anderer internationaler Fachgesellschaften für einen gesunden Erwachsenen auf die Makronährstoffe (in % Gesamtenergieaufnahme) folgendermaßen aufgeteilt: Fett (ca. 30%; davon höchstens 10% gesättigte Fettsäuren), Kohlenhydrate (55%; ca. 25–30 g Ballaststoffe täglich) und Eiweiß (15%). Diese quantitative Unterteilung lässt sich grob qualitativ beschreiben:

Pflanzliche Lebensmittel	55%
Cerealien, Obst, Gemüse	
Fette (bevorzugt pflanzlich)	15%
Pflanzenöle (keine gehärteten Fette)	
Tierische Lebensmittel	30%
Fleisch, Innereien, Fisch, Eier, Milch	

Mit dieser Einteilung ergibt sich das, was Fachgesellschaften in Ratgebern anhand von Lebensmittelpyramiden als „gesunde Ernährung“ beschreiben. Dabei handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um eine quantitative und weniger um eine qualitative Beschreibung.

Gesundheit ist aber primär nicht quantitativ, sondern vielmehr qualitativ zu betrachten. Gesundheit ist ein Zustand, der letztendlich einen maßgebenden Einfluss auf die Lebensqualität hat. Dies bedeutet, dass gesunde Ernährung, wie in der Definition der FAO angegeben, *sicher* und *nahrhaft* sein muss. Lebensmittelsicherheit ist dabei mehr ein toxikologisches Problem, d. h. die Lebensmittel müssen so beschaffen sein, dass sie frei von krankmachenden Keimen oder Chemikalien sind. Nahrhaftigkeit impliziert, dass die Nahrung geeignet ist, alle notwendigen Nährstoffe zu liefern.

Nahrhaftigkeit bedeutet bei einer gesunden Ernährung eine Zusammenstellung von Lebensmitteln, die gewährleistet, dass alle essentiellen Mikronährstoffe in gleich bleibender und individuell ausreichender Menge mit ausgeglichener Energiebilanz zugeführt werden. Der Gehalt an Mikronährstoffen einer bestimmten Ernährungsweise stellt ein Qualitätsmerkmal dar. Reicht der Gehalt zur Deckung des individuellen Bedarfs nicht aus, so kann nicht von einer gesunden Ernährung gesprochen werden, selbst wenn die Energiebilanz ausgeglichen oder sogar positiv ist. Da sich kaum jemand die Mühe macht, seine Ernährung auf der Basis des Mikronährstoffgehalts jedes einzelnen Lebensmittels zusammenzustellen, bleibt als einzige praktikable Lösung die sogenannte „Mischkost“.

Tab. 1: Primäre Quellen von Mikronährstoffen

<i>Pflanzliche Lebensmittel</i>	
Cerealien, Obst, Gemüse	B-Vitamine, Vitamine C, K, Spurenelemente, Phytochemicals
Pflanzliche Öle	Vitamin E, ungesättigte Fettsäuren
<i>Tierische Lebensmittel</i>	
Fleisch, Innereien, Fisch	Vitamine A, D, B12, Selen, Jod

Fazit: Gesunde Ernährung ist eine ausgewogene Mischkost, die „im Mittel“ alle essentiellen Mikronährstoffe (sowie essentielle Fettsäuren und Aminosäuren) in ausreichender Menge und Verfügbarkeit enthält. „Ausreichend“ heißt in diesem Fall, dass ein Mikronährstoff abhängig von dessen Halbwertszeit jeweils in derjenigen Menge im Organismus zu finden ist, in der er für eine Aufrechterhaltung aller Funktionen, für die er erforderlich ist, zu jeder Zeit und in jeder Situation ausreichend zur Verfügung steht. Die Halbwertszeit des Mikronährstoffs kann wenige Tage (v. a. bei vorwiegend wasserlöslichen Nährstoffen) und Wochen bzw. Monate (v. a. bei fettlöslichen Nährstoffen) betragen. Über die

notwendige Bandbreite ist zu wenig bekannt, als dass individuelle Bereiche angegeben werden könnten. Eine Ernährung, die die Mikronährstoffe in der Höhe der Empfehlungen der Fachgesellschaften enthält, sollte diese Anforderungen für einen gesunden Erwachsenen erfüllen. Ob diese Empfehlungen für Kranke oder besonders belastete Personen ausreichend sind, ist nicht gesichert.

Trotz aller kontroversen Diskussionen über den individuellen Bedarf besteht Einigkeit darüber, dass eine unzureichende Zufuhr an Mikronährstoffen auf Dauer nicht gesund ist. Wie aus Tab. 1 zu ersehen ist, stellen Makronährstoffe die Quelle für Mikronährstoffe dar. Fehlen bestimmte Lebensmittel, fehlen somit die mit diesen verbundenen Mikronährstoffe in der Ernährung. Je nachdem, welcher Mikronährstoff fehlt, können daraus kurzfristig oder langfristig Erkrankungen resultieren.

Große Bevölkerungsstudien in Europa und den USA haben gezeigt, dass Krankheiten wie Arteriosklerose, chronische Atemwegserkrankungen, neurodegenerative Erkrankungen und sogar Krebs bei solchen Menschen seltener vorkommen, die eine besonders gute Zufuhr von Mikronährstoffen durch ihre Ernährung haben, d. h. wer einen kontinuierlichen Mangel an bestimmten Mikronährstoffen aufweist, hat ein höheres Risiko für diese Krankheiten. Dies gilt auch für eine Vielzahl von Vitaminen, Mineralien und Spurenelementen. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist dabei, dass es keine Hinweise darauf gibt, dass das Fehlen eines einzelnen Mikronährstoffs die oben zitierten Krankheiten begünstigt, sondern, dass es sich fast immer um das Fehlen einer ganzen Gruppe handelt. Selbst wenn ein Zusammenhang zwischen Krankheiten und dem Mangel an einzelnen Vitaminen hergestellt werden kann, so können diese nur als Leitsubstanz für bestimmte Lebensmittel oder Lebensmittelgruppen gelten (s. Tab. 2). Wenn der Gehalt bestimmter Vitamine im Blut erniedrigt ist, bedeutet das keinesfalls, dass nur diese Vitamine fehlen, sondern die Lebensmittel, die diese Vitamine enthalten. Folglich, und das hat die Vergangenheit immer wieder gezeigt, macht es auch wenig Sinn, eine solche Leitsubstanz alleine zu substituieren, um einer Krankheit vorzubeugen, da die ganze „umgebende“ Lebensmittelmatrix mit allen weiteren gesunden Bestandteilen damit unberücksichtigt bleibt.

Tab. 2: Folgen von Mikronährstoffmangel

<i>Mikronährstoff</i>	<i>Leitsubstanz für den Verzehr</i>	<i>kurzfristige Symptome</i>	<i>Symptome im Alter</i>
Vitamin E	Pflanzliche Öle	?	Arteriosklerose, M. Parkinson
Vitamin C	Obst, einige Gemüse	Infektanfälligkeit	Arteriosklerose
Vitamin D	Fetter Fisch	Osteomalazie	Osteoporose, Krebs
Vitamin A	Leber	Infektanfälligkeit	Atemwegserkrankungen, Krebs
Zink	Fleisch, Leber	Infektanfälligkeit	Neurodegenerative Erkrankungen
Carotinoide	Gemüse	Infektanfälligkeit	Krebs, altersbedingte Makuladegeneration

Eine schlechte Vitamin-E-Versorgung ist demnach Zeichen für einen unzureichenden Verzehr pflanzlicher Öle. Genauso wird sich eine geringe Zufuhr an Gemüse durch einen niedrigen Carotinoid-Blutspiegel zeigen, so wie ein völliger Verzicht auf Fleisch und vor allem Leber zu einer schlechten Vitamin-A-Versorgung führt. Kurzfristig hat dies nur sichtbare Folgen, wenn es zu einem echten Mangel an einzelnen dieser Mikronährstoffe kommt (z. B. Scorbut bei Vitamin-C-Mangel). Klinisch sichtbare Vitaminmangelerkrankungen sind jedoch in entwickelten Ländern eher selten. Vielmehr kommt es zu unspezifischen Erscheinungen, die leicht übersehen werden. Diese sind besonders problematisch, da sie langfristig die Entwicklung der sogenannten „Zivilisationskrankheiten“ begünstigen. Studien aus jüngerer Zeit zeigen, dass niedrige Blutwerte, sowohl von Vitamin D als auch von Carotinoiden, unabhängige Prädiktoren der Mortalität bei älteren Menschen sind. Eine entsprechende Studie wurde an 1043 älteren Menschen (älter als 65 Jahre) in Italien durchgeführt, einem Land, dessen Bevölkerung eine deutlich höhere Zufuhr an Gemüse aufweist als z. B. die von Deutschland bzw. Nordeuropa. Die niedrigen Blutwerte gelten als Indikatoren für eine unausgewogene Ernährung, z. B. für eine zu geringe Obst- und Gemüsezufuhr (Carotinoide) bzw. einen unzureichenden Fischverzehr (Vitamin D). Der sichtbare Zusammenhang zwischen Alter und zu niedrigen Blutwerten verdeutlicht,

dass gerade ältere Menschen bisher nicht beachtete Ernährungsprobleme haben und dass dies einen nachweisbaren Einfluss auf ihren Gesundheitszustand hat.

Die Unabhängigkeit von Quantität und Qualität bei der Ernährung zeigt sich beispielhaft bei Übergewichtigen, die trotz positiver Energiebilanz eine Unterversorgung mit einzelnen Mikronährstoffen aufweisen können. Große Bevölkerungsstudien haben dies exemplarisch für verschiedene Vitamine und Spurenelemente dokumentiert. Die Beziehung zwischen Übergewicht und dem damit verbundenen höheren Risiko für Zivilisationskrankheiten, wie Arteriosklerose, Krebs etc., die auch als Folge einer unausgewogenen Ernährung beschrieben werden, kann sich demzufolge aus der Tatsache erklären, dass das hohe Körpergewicht nur ein äußerer Ausdruck einer Fehlernährung ist. Diese hat keinesfalls nur eine übermäßige Energiezufuhr als Ursache, sondern geht, je nach Ernährungsform, mit einer mehr oder weniger ausgeprägten Unterversorgung mit Mikronährstoffen einher.

Eine fettreiche und kohlenhydratarme Ernährung z. B. hat eine Unterversorgung an wasserlöslichen Vitaminen, Mineralien und Spurenelementen zur Folge, während im umgekehrten Fall die fettlöslichen Vitamine und diverse Spurenelemente fehlen. Es ist demnach nicht sinnvoll, dauerhaft Ernährungsformen zu empfehlen, die auf wichtige Lebensmittelgruppen verzichten. Im Falle einer Reduktionsdiät mögen besondere Ernährungsformen Sinn machen, für eine dauerhafte Anwendung sind diese jedoch ungeeignet.

Anders stellt sich die Situation dar, wenn *zu wenig* Energie zugeführt wird und daraus eine sogenannte „Mangelernährung“ resultiert. Mangelernährung, im Unterschied zur Fehlernährung, ist der Oberbegriff für eine unzureichende Zufuhr an Energie und essentiellen Nährstoffen. Äußeres Zeichen des Energiemangels ist der Gewichtsverlust bzw. das Untergewicht und der Hunger. Sichtbare Zeichen einer unzureichenden Zufuhr an Mikronährstoffen treten bei Mangelernährung je nach Ausprägung und Zusammensetzung der Kost erst nach langer Zeit auf und sind in den meisten Fällen vor dem Erscheinen klinischer Zeichen nicht oder nur schwer messbar. Man spricht daher vom „Hidden Hunger“.

Der „Hidden Hunger“ stellt ein Problem dar, da er sich, wie der Name sagt, einer frühzeitigen Erfassung auf Grund fehlender typischer Krankheitszeichen entzieht und doch einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf den Gesundheitszustand hat (s. Tab. 3). Je nachdem, welches Land betrachtet wird, stellt sich der „Hidden Hunger“ in unterschiedlicher Qualität und Quantität dar. In Entwicklungsländern finden sich typische klinische Zeichen des Mikronährstoffmangels, während in entwickelten Ländern solche Mangelkrankungen eher

selten sind, was wiederum keinesfalls heißt, dass die Unterversorgung keinen Krankheitswert hätte. Die klassischen Zeichen eines Vitaminmangels, wie er in Entwicklungsländern zu finden ist, sind das Ergebnis einer ausgeprägten Mangelernährung, wobei der am meisten defizitäre Mikronährstoff das klinische Bild durch ebendiese Zeichen (die es allerdings nicht für alle Mikronährstoffe gibt) dominiert und damit die Defizite anderer Mikronährstoffe überlagern kann.

Tab. 3: „Hidden Hunger“

<i>Mangel in Entwicklungsländern</i>	<i>Unterversorgung in entwickelten Ländern</i>
Eisen	Eisen
Zink	Vitamin D
Jod	Selen
Selen	Vitamin B12
oft zusammen mit zu niedriger Eiweiß- und Energiezufuhr	besonders in Risikogruppen

Der „Hidden Hunger“ trifft bei Jod- und Eisenmangel auf 2/3 der Weltbevölkerung zu. Bei Vitamin A sind es 500 Millionen Betroffene. Der Vitamin-A-Mangel ist eine wesentliche Ursache der hohen Kindersterblichkeit und führt bei jährlich 5 Millionen Kindern zur Erblindung. Diese Form des Vitamin-A-Mangels ist in entwickelten Ländern jedoch selten zu finden, obgleich die ausreichende Versorgung mit Vitamin A in Deutschland – so die Einschätzung des Bundesamtes für Risikobewertung – bei 25 % der Bevölkerung nicht gewährleistet ist.

Kann sich wirklich jeder gesund ernähren, wenn er es will? Betrachtet man unser breites Lebensmittelangebot, möchte man diese Frage bejahen. Es gibt jedoch unbestritten größere Gruppen, die dies nicht können, selbst wenn sie es wollten. Dazu gehören vor allem sozial Schwache und alte Menschen. Bei diesen Gruppen herrschen einseitige oder auch unzureichende Ernährungsformen vor und es besteht kein Zweifel, dass die Versorgung mit Mikronährstoffen nicht ausreicht, d. h. dass es sich hier um Gruppen mit „Hidden Hunger“ handelt.



Britische Studien haben eindrucksvoll dokumentiert, dass trotz eines ausreichenden Angebots die Versorgung mit Gemüse und pflanzlichen Ölen in sozial schwachen Gruppen unzureichend ist. Dies zeigt sich an den niedrigen Blutspiegeln der Leitsubstanzen Carotinoide und Vitamin E.

Der kürzlich vorgelegte Armutsbericht der Bundesregierung hat auf die Problematik der sozial Schwachen und hier besonders der Kinderarmut hingewiesen. 35 bis 40 % der deutschen Kinder in Ein-Elternteil-Familien wachsen in relativer Armut auf – und bleiben oft auch über lange Phasen ihrer Kindheit arm. Chronische Krankheiten, Übergewicht und Verhaltensauffälligkeiten haben insbesondere bei benachteiligten Kindern stark zugenommen.

In empirischen Studien zu gesunder Ernährung wurde festgestellt, dass sich ärmere Haushalte tendenziell ungesünder ernähren. Diese Entwicklung kann zu einer weiteren Verstärkung des Problems beitragen. Personen aus armen Haushalten haben nachweislich ein besonders hohes Risikopotential für ernährungsbedingte Krankheiten.

In Großbritannien hat man kürzlich ausgerechnet, was eine Person pro Woche für gesunde Ernährung ausgeben muss: Übertragen auf deutsche Verhältnisse sind dies 45 € pro Person. Bei einer Familie mit zwei Kindern liegen die Kosten bei etwa 150 € pro Woche, d. h. 600 € pro Monat.

In Deutschland werden beim Arbeitslosengeld II 37 % für die Ernährung vorgesehen. Das sind für Kinder bis zum 13. Lebensjahr 2,57 € pro Tag und ab dem 14. Lebensjahr 3,42 € pro Tag. Dies reicht für eine gesunde und ausgewogene Ernährung nicht aus (s. Abb. 1). Die Kosten für eine gesunde Ernährung, so hat eine kürzlich veröffentlichte Studie ergeben, liegen für Kinder unter 13 Jahren mindestens bei 3 bis 4 € pro Tag und für Kinder über 14 Jahren zwischen 5 und 8 € pro Tag. Dabei muss berücksichtigt werden, dass derartige Analysen die Qualität der Lebensmittel, d. h. die ausreichende Versorgung mit Mikronährstoffen, nur in begrenztem Maß berücksichtigten. Gerade bei Kindern, deren ausreichende Mikronährstoffversorgung die Grundlage eines gesunden Wachstums ist, kann nicht hingegenommen werden, dass hier die Bedeutung einer qualitativ ausgewogenen Ernährung übersehen wird.

In armen Haushalten reichen die verfügbaren Mittel nicht aus, um eine gesunde und auch schmackhafte und satt machende Ernährung zu ermöglichen. Kostengünstigeres Fast Food oder fettes Fleisch wird hier öfter verzehrt als frisches Gemüse oder Obst.

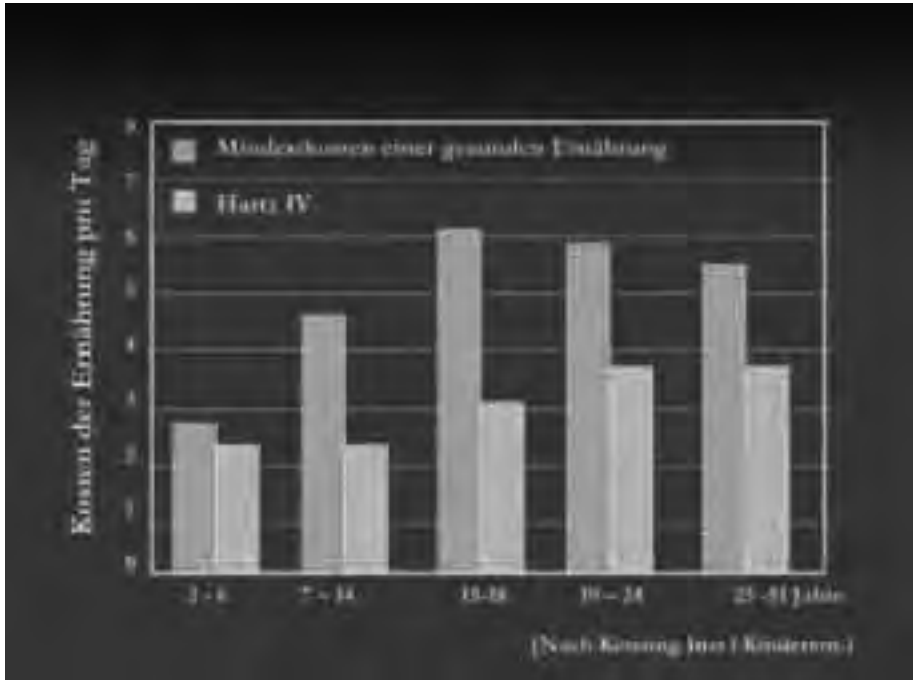


Abb. 1: Kosten der Ernährung

Ein klassischer Hamburger deckt zwar 50 % der empfohlenen täglichen Fettmenge. Zur Sicherung der erforderlichen Vitaminzufuhr müssten jedoch – je nach Vitamin – 5 bis 10 Hamburger verzehrt werden. Hinzu kommt, dass ein Hamburger an sich nur wenige Vitamine enthält. Bei dem oben angegebenen Tagessatz ist der Griff zum Burger unmissverständlich. Ein Burger ist billiger, schmackhafter und macht eher satt als eine gesunde „mediterrane“ Kost.

Die Folge dieses Konsumverhaltens ist, dass Kinder aus sozial schwachen Familien zwei- bis dreimal häufiger übergewichtig sind als Kinder aus besser gestellten Familien. Erschwerend kommt hinzu, dass gerade das Übergewicht darüber hinwegtäuscht, dass diese Kinder, eben wegen ihrer unausgewogenen Ernährung, auch mit Mikronährstoffen schlecht versorgt sind, daher häufiger krank werden und ein höheres Risiko für Zivilisa-

tionskrankheiten im Alter haben. Das Körpergewicht, ob zu hoch oder zu niedrig, ist letztlich ein äußeres Zeichen einer Fehl- oder Mangelernährung.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten:

- Sozial schwache Familien (besonders deren Kinder) haben ein hohes Risiko für Mangelernährung. Dies erklärt die häufigeren Erkrankungen bei diesen Kindern im Vergleich zu Kindern aus besser verdienenden Familien.
- Die Folgen langfristiger Fehl- oder Unterernährung zeigen sich im zunehmenden Auftreten altersabhängiger Erkrankungen.
- Bereits jetzt gibt es größere Bevölkerungsgruppen, die sich nicht gesund ernähren (können).
- Gesunde Ernährung muss im Kindesalter ansetzen, um ein gesundes Altern zu ermöglichen.

### Alte Menschen

Der Anteil alter Menschen wird in den kommenden Jahrzehnten stark ansteigen. Inwieweit damit auch ein Anstieg an *gesunden* Alten einhergeht, hängt ganz wesentlich davon ab, wie sich die heute jungen Menschen ernähren.

Der Anteil der über 65-Jährigen wird stark zunehmen und damit der Anteil derer, die ein Alter erreichen, in dem Zivilisationskrankheiten gehäuft auftreten und zur Einschränkung der individuellen Lebensqualität einerseits sowie zur Belastung der Sozialgemeinschaft andererseits führen. Daher muss der Ernährung alter Menschen besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden.

Am häufigsten tritt Mangelernährung und deren Folgen bei alten Menschen im Krankenhaus (40–60 %) und in Pflegeheimen (30–40 %) auf. 20–40 % der Menschen, die alleine leben, sind mangelernährt, gefolgt von Bewohnern von Seniorenheimen mit 15–40%. Sogar 10–15 % der Menschen, die zu Hause gepflegt werden, sind unzureichend ernährt (Beck et al. 2002).

Nach Untersuchungen der Britischen Ernährungsgesellschaft und der EU steigt das Risiko für Mangelernährung bei über 65-Jährigen um 30 % gegenüber jüngeren Menschen, bei über 80-Jährigen sogar um 50 %. Mangelernährung im Alter bedeutet ein zunehmendes Risiko für Erkrankungen und damit einen Verlust an Lebensqualität.

Die Ursachen der Mangelernährung im Alter sind vielschichtig. Nachlassender Appetit, eingeschränkte Mobilität, sozioökonomische Gründe (wenn z. B. Menschen alleinstehend

sind oder ein geringes Einkommen haben) sind dominierende Faktoren. Es darf nicht übersehen werden, dass trotz des geringeren Energiebedarfs eines alten Menschen der Mikronährstoffbedarf unverändert bleibt.

Die Vorbeugung vor typischen Erkrankungen, die die Lebensqualität im Alter einschränken, sollte folglich bereits in jungen Jahren einsetzen, d. h. gesunde Ernährung darf für keine Gruppe in Frage gestellt werden, da die sonst zu erwartenden Pflegekosten weit aus belastender sein werden als die Maßnahmen zur Ernährungssicherung, gerade bei sozial Schwachen. Im Alter geht Mangelernährung mit einer Zunahme der Infektanfälligkeit, Sturzhäufigkeit mit Frakturen und einer Abnahme der geistigen Vigilanz einher. Das Problem der Mangelernährung alter Menschen besteht bereits heute und wird sich, wenn nichts Einschneidendes geschieht, weiter fortsetzen.

Die Versorgung mit kritischen Mikronährstoffen, wie z. B. den Vitaminen A, D, E, B2, B6, B12, Folsäure, Calcium, Eisen, Zink und Selen, liegt bei älteren Menschen (über 65 Jahre) unter 70 % der empfohlenen Menge (DGE 2004, Wright et al. 2003, Schulze et al. 2001, BfR 2004a, b). Welcher Nährstoff gerade fehlt, ist kaum klar abzuschätzen. Die besorgniserregenden Zahlen dieser Studie und die Konsequenzen der Unterversorgung sollten unbedingt Anlass dazu geben, Konzepte zur Vermeidung von Defiziten zu entwickeln.

Es ist davon auszugehen, dass sich im Zuge der zu erwartenden qualitativen wie quantitativen Veränderungen des Lebensmittelangebots und der wachsenden Gruppe alter Menschen gerade dieses Problem besonders verschärfen wird. Es darf nicht vergessen werden, dass die Grundlage eines gesunden Alterns bereits sehr frühzeitig durch eine qualitativ und quantitativ gesunde Ernährung gelegt wird und Fehler, die hier gemacht werden, nur bedingt im Alter korrigiert werden können. Was jetzt noch für eine begrenzte Gruppe sozial Schwacher und alter Menschen gilt, könnte in naher Zukunft für weitaus größere, auch sozial besser gestellte Gruppen und jüngere Menschen gelten.

### Was werden wir essen? – Ernährung im Klimawandel

Inwieweit werden wir jetzt und in Zukunft in der Lage sein, auch die wachsenden Risikogruppen gesund zu ernähren, um zu verhindern, dass sich dieser Anteil der Bevölkerungsgruppe überproportional steigert, der aufgrund ungewollt ungesunder Ernährung erkrankt bzw. frühzeitig pflegebedürftig wird?

Ich bin mir durchaus im Klaren, dass die folgende Darstellung nur einen Teilaspekt der Ernährung im Klimawandel vorstellen kann, da die Einflüsse des Klimawandels auf allen

Ebenen der Lebensmittelproduktion und der globalen Vermarktung der Grundnahrungsmittel vorhanden sind. Dazu kommen noch die spezifischen Besonderheiten der Länder und Regionen. Die Dynamik des weltweiten Nahrungsbedarfs und damit auch die bedarfsgerechte Versorgung mit Energie und Mikronährstoffen wird eine Vielzahl interaktiver Prozesse hervorrufen.

Im weltweiten Kontext steht die quantitative Betrachtung der Versorgungssicherung der wachsenden Bevölkerung (bis 2050 etwa 9 Milliarden Menschen) ganz im Vordergrund. In den letzten drei Dekaden hat die mittlere tägliche Pro-Kopf-Energiezufuhr, bedingt durch Verbesserungen der Produktion und des internationalen Handels, weltweit von 2400 auf 2800 kcal zugenommen. Ohne eine weitere Steigerung der Produktion wird dieser Wert nicht zu halten sein. Vielmehr gehen Prognosen davon aus, dass es ohne Produktionssteigerung (Klimaeinflüsse nicht berücksichtigt) zu einem Rückgang auf 2200 kcal pro Kopf kommen wird.

Dabei können die Wachstumserträge von Weizen und Reis gemäß FAO (2005) noch gesteigert werden, wobei Umwelteinflüsse bisher nicht berücksichtigt sind. Bis zum Jahr 2030 werden eine Milliarde Tonnen Getreide zusätzlich benötigt, das würde eine Steigerung der Produktion um 50 % erfordern.

Die Veränderungen in der Verfügbarkeit von Nahrung und die gestiegenen Ansprüche in Folge der Verbesserung des Lebensstandards werden in vielen Entwicklungsländern zu einer starken Zunahme der Nachfrage nach qualitativ wertvolleren Lebensmitteln führen (s. Tab. 4).

*Tab. 4:* Prognosen für die Pro-Kopf-Nahrungsnachfrage in Entwicklungsländern (in kg/Jahr)

<i>Jahr</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2015</i>	<i>2030</i>
Getreide als direkte Nahrung	173	173	172
Getreide gesamt	250	265	279
Obst und Gemüse	169	195	219
Pflanzliche Öle	9	13	15
Fleisch	29	32	37
Milch und Milchprodukte	46	55	66

Vor allem die Nachfrage nach Fleisch wird stark steigen und neue Probleme erzeugen, die bei den bisherigen Kalkulationen zur Nahrungssicherung noch nicht berücksichtigt wurden. Je höher das Pro-Kopf-Einkommen eines Staates, desto höher der Fleischkonsum.

Bis 2030 wird mit einer weiteren Steigerung der Nachfrage nach Fleisch um mehr als 20 % des Verbrauchs der Jahre 1977–1979 zu rechnen sein. Über die Hälfte dieser Zunahme wird dabei auf Brasilien und China fallen. Chinas steigender Wohlstand und die daraus resultierende höhere Nachfrage nach Fleisch kann zu einer Verknappung führen und damit die Preise für Nahrungs- und Futtermittel ebenso in die Höhe treiben wie schon jetzt für Stahl und Erdöl. Dies wird erhebliche Konsequenzen für die Ernährung der Weltbevölkerung haben. Der Anstieg des Fleischverzehrs dagegen wird in den Entwicklungsländern, d. h. besonders dort, wo zusätzliches Eiweiß dringend gebraucht wird, eher marginal ausfallen. Auch die Nachfrage nach pflanzlichen Lebensmitteln wird sehr viel stärker sein als in entwickelten Ländern. Diese Nachfrage kann nur durch Importe oder eine Steigerung der nutzbaren Flächen befriedigt werden.

Die landwirtschaftliche Nutzfläche (einschließlich Weideland) beträgt etwa 40 % der Fläche der Erde. In den letzten 40 Jahren konnte der Getreideertrag auf zwei Milliarden Tonnen pro Jahr verdoppelt werden. Dabei fallen nur 12 % auf eine Zunahme der Fläche und 88 % auf die „Grüne Revolution“, d. h. eine Zunahme des Einsatzes von Düngemitteln um 700 % und eine Zunahme der bewässerten Fläche um 70 %. Dies hat zu nicht unerheblichen Umweltschäden beigetragen: zunehmende Verunreinigung des Wassers, Übersalzung von landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen und Verlust von ca. 1,5 Millionen Hektar Ackerfläche pro Jahr. Hinzu kommt, dass für die wachsende Nachfrage nach Fleisch weitere Flächen benötigt werden.

Amerikanische Agrarwissenschaftler haben die Erträge der Maisproduktion und die Steigerung der Wachstumsraten in den Jahren zwischen 1860 und 2000 gegenübergestellt. So hat die mittlere Maisproduktion der USA von 1,6 Tonnen pro Hektar im Jahr 1930 auf 8,6 Tonnen pro Hektar im Jahr 2001 zugenommen. Diese Zunahme wurde vorwiegend durch stickstoffhaltige Düngemittel erreicht. Die mittlere jährliche Wachstumsrate der Produktivität hat jedoch von 3,4 % im Jahr 1960 auf 0,78 % im Jahr 1990 abgenommen. Wissenschaftler gehen davon aus, dass es in dem Maße, in dem der Ertrag an seine Obergrenzen kommt, für die Landwirte immer schwieriger wird, die komplexen Interaktionen zwischen Bodennährstoffen, Klima und Krankheiten, die Einfluss auf den Ertrag haben, zu beherrschen.

Die Abnahme der Erträge nach einer langen Phase der Zunahme macht deutlich, dass die Möglichkeiten zur Ertragssteigerung in den USA bereits jetzt an ihre Grenzen gelangt sind. Hinzu kommt, dass zusätzliche Düngemittel keinen zusätzlichen Gewinn bringen, sondern nur zu einer höheren Auslaugung der Böden beitragen. Die Auslaugung der Böden führt zu einem Verlust an bioaktiven Substanzen, besonders der Mineralstoffe und wichtigen Spurenelemente (z. B. Selen), die aus dem Boden in die Pflanze gelangen und auf diesem Wege zum Endverbraucher Mensch.

Wir stehen vor dem Dilemma, dass die Ernährung einer wachsenden Bevölkerung nur durch Ertragssteigerungen oder Reduktion des Angebots auf Kosten einer gesunden Ernährung erfolgen kann. Wie kann die oben definierte gesunde Ernährung, d. h. eine Ernährung, die qualitativen wie quantitativen Anforderungen genügt, unter den Bedingungen des Klimawandels sichergestellt werden?

Der Klimawandel hat, sehr vereinfacht ausgedrückt, seine Ursache in einer gestiegenen atmosphärischen CO<sub>2</sub>-Konzentration (neben anderen Treibhausgasen, wie Methan) mit der Folge

- einer nicht exakt abschätzbaren Zunahme der mittleren Temperatur
- eines Abbaus der Ozonschicht
- einer zunehmenden UV-B-Strahlung

Modelle, die den Einfluss der Klimaveränderung auf die landwirtschaftlichen Erträge prüfen, kommen zu einem ernüchternden Ergebnis (IPCC 2007). Es wird zu einer Zunahme der Trockenzonen kommen, die vor allem afrikanische Länder betrifft und hier zu einem Rückgang der landwirtschaftlich nutzbaren Flächen um ca. 10 % führen wird. Mehr noch kommen solche Modelle zu dem Ergebnis, dass 2/3 der Erdoberfläche für die landwirtschaftliche Bewirtschaftung problematisch ist:

- bei 14 % der Fläche ist die Temperatur zu niedrig
- bei 27 % ist sie zu trocken
- bei 5 % ist sie zu steil
- bei 20 % handelt es sich um ausgelaugte oder ungeeignete Böden

Dabei ist der Einfluss der Wasserverteilung, d. h. des Rückgangs in einigen Bereichen und der Zunahme in anderen, noch nicht berücksichtigt.

Untersuchungen in den USA haben gezeigt, dass durch die erwartete Klimaveränderung ein nicht unerheblicher Ertragsrückgang eintreten kann. Je nach verwendetem Klimamodell und unter Bewertung der verfügbaren Nutzflächen kann die weltweite Ertragssituation folglich sehr unterschiedlich ausfallen.

Mit wachsender CO<sub>2</sub>-Konzentration nimmt der Ertrag von Weizen und Mais zwar durchaus zu (bei unveränderter Temperatur). Dies gilt jedoch weit mehr für entwickelte Länder und unter Berücksichtigung der insgesamt verfügbaren Agrarflächen. Eine Zunahme des Ozons dagegen wird die Erträge von Mais, Weizen, Reis und Soja um bis zu 50 % senken (FAO 2005).

Wie Fischer und Kollegen unter Verwendung unterschiedlicher Klimamodelle gezeigt haben, wird die Zahl der Hungernden in strenger Abhängigkeit zur atmosphärischen CO<sub>2</sub>-Konzentration zunehmen (Fischer et al. 2005). Dies gilt insbesondere für sozial schwache Gruppen und keinesfalls nur für Entwicklungsländer. In Entwicklungsländern werden, im Gegensatz zu entwickelten Ländern der nördlichen Hemisphäre, die Erträge deutlich sinken und damit zu einer weiteren Zunahme des Hungers führen.

In Europa stellt sich die Situation grundsätzlich nicht anders dar. Hier lassen sich bereits jetzt Entwicklungen absehen, die durch eine Veränderung des Klimas begründet werden können. In den nördlichen Regionen mit höheren CO<sub>2</sub>-Konzentrationen nimmt der Ertrag erwartungsgemäß zu, in den südlichen, mit den höheren bodennahen Ozonwerten und einer steigenden Temperatur, zeichnet sich bereits seit 1993 ein Rückgang der Erträge ab (FAO 2005). Die Klimaveränderung wird sich in Europa auch in der Verfügbarkeit von Nutzflächen niederschlagen.

All diese Veränderungen werden zunächst quantitativ wahrgenommen werden und können unter Umständen durch Importe kompensiert werden. Wie jedoch sieht es um die Qualität der Lebensmittel aus? Sind die unter den Bedingungen des Klimawandels erzeugten Lebensmittel bezüglich deren Mikronährstoffzusammensetzung mit der heutigen Situation vergleichbar? Können Klimaveränderungen zum Rückgang von Mikronährstoffen in pflanzlichen Lebensmitteln führen? Wird sich folglich die Häufigkeit des „Hidden Hunger“ auch in unseren Breiten steigern?

Die Bildung von essentiellen Pflanzeninhaltsstoffen, wie sie für den Menschen von Bedeutung sind, hängt ab von:

- Stickstoff und Wasserverfügbarkeit
- Pflanzenkrankheiten
- Sonneneinstrahlung
- Ozon
- CO<sub>2</sub>
- Reifegrad



Alle Faktoren, die das Pflanzenwachstum und die Qualität beeinflussen, sind durch die Klimaveränderung betroffen. Der Einfluss von Klimaveränderung und Wasser auf die Mikronährstoffsynthese bei Lebensmitteln wurde bisher jedoch noch kaum untersucht.

Durch Zunahme von Hitzestress und UV-B-Strahlung produzieren Pflanzen verstärkt eigene Schutzstoffe. Der stete Anstieg der Flavonoide als Folge eines erhöhten Stresses durch Wärme und UVB schützt die Pflanze vor oxidativen Schäden. Zugleich aber werden in der Synthese aufwendigere, ebenfalls antioxidativ wirkende Metabolite, wie Polyphenole und Vitamin C, reduziert. Die Folge ist eine flavonoidreiche Pflanze, die nur wenig Vitamin C enthält. Flavonoide mögen zwar gesund sein, im Gegensatz zu Vitamin C scheinen sie jedoch nicht essentiell, d. h. sie sind entbehrlich.



Abb. 2: Folgen der Verdopplung des Umgebungs- $\text{CO}_2$  auf den Mikronährstoffgehalt (hellgelb: Pflanzen; dunkelgelb: Getreide) [Quelle: Loladze 2002]

Insgesamt ist die Versorgung mit manchen Mikronährstoffen bereits jetzt kritisch (s. Tab. 5). Sie wird sich, vor allem in den Risikogruppen, durch die vielfältigen Veränderungen im Laufe des Klimawandels noch weiter verschlechtern.

Die Klimaabhängigkeit unter den momentan noch moderaten Bedingungen zeigt sich am Beispiel des Vitamin C im Spinat. Im Jahr 2001 und noch mehr im Hitzejahr 2003 wurden besonders hohe Temperaturen und gleichzeitig die im Jahresmittel niedrigsten Vitamin-C-Gehalte gemessen.

Ein Anstieg der Temperatur um 3,5 °C (und die damit einhergehende Zunahme von CO<sub>2</sub>) führt zu einer starken Reduktion der Carotinoid-Synthese verschiedenster Pflanzen. Carotinoide sind für die Gesundheit des Menschen essentiell. Bisher sind die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Klima und Carotinoid-Konzentrationen in Pflanzen nur sehr begrenzt untersucht worden.

Eine Verdopplung des CO<sub>2</sub>-Gehalts der Umgebung wird nach den in Abbildung 2 dargestellten Ergebnissen zu einer quantitativ bedeutsamen Reduktion verschiedener Mikronährstoffe führen.

Tab. 5: Folgen der mangelnden Mikronährstoffversorgung

<i>Vitamin</i>	<i>Quelle</i>	<i>Folgen unzureichender Zufuhr</i>
D	Fisch	Osteoporose, Osteomalazie, höhere Frakturrate, frühe Pflegefälle; bereits heute ein Migrantenproblem
E	Öle	Arteriosklerose
C	Obst, Gemüse	Immunseneszenz, Katarakt
A	Leber, Eier	Atemwegserkrankungen, Kindersterblichkeit
Folat	Leber, Gemüse	Neurodegenerative Erkrankungen, Neuralrohrdefekte

Im Zuge der Klimaveränderung wird es noch bei weiteren Mikronährstoffen zu einer Unterversorgung kommen. Dies betrifft besonders die in Tab. 5 dargestellten Mikronährstoffe, deren Verfügbarkeit sich noch weiter verschlechtern wird. Damit wird aber auch die Häufigkeit der dadurch begünstigten Erkrankungen zunehmen.

### Anstieg der UV-B-Strahlung

Während der letzten beiden Dekaden hat sich bedingt durch erhöhte Mengen an Fluorkohlenwasserstoff, Stickoxid und Methylbromid eine starke Verringerung der Ozonschicht der Stratosphäre vollzogen. Dieser Prozess wird sich noch eine Weile fortsetzen und zu einer Zunahme der UV-Strahlung auf der Erde führen.

Ogleich der UV-B-Anteil des Sonnenlichts gering ist, hat er erheblichen Einfluss auf biologische Prozesse wie Pflanzenwachstum und -entwicklung. Eine steigende UV-B-Strahlung wird, so verschiedene Studien, einen starken Einfluss auf die Erträge von Mais, Weizen und Reis haben. Vor allem aber wird die Gesundheit des Menschen durch die steigende UV-B-Strahlung gefährdet.

Der Anstieg des UV-B-Anteils des Sonnenlichts hat möglicherweise einen Anstieg des Melanomrisikos zur Folge. Zum anderen jedoch, und das mag man positiv sehen, nimmt mit steigender Sonneneinstrahlung die Vitamin-D-Synthese der Haut zu. Warum haben wir damit ein Problem?

Die Vitamin-D-Versorgung des Menschen geschieht im Wesentlichen auf zwei Ebenen: durch die Synthese in der Haut und durch den Verzehr von Fisch. Vitamin-D-reiche Lebensmittel wie Fisch werden jedoch eher selten verzehrt. Fisch ist teuer und wird, bedingt durch die Überfischung der Meere, noch teurer werden. Fischfarmen sind nur eine fragwürdige Lösung, solange die Zuchtfische mit Fischmehl gefüttert werden, welches wiederum dem Meer entnommen wird.

Im Grunde kann Fisch, vor allem fetter Fisch (nur er enthält Vitamin D und die gesunden  $\Omega$ 3-Fettsäuren) nicht mehr unbegrenzt empfohlen werden. In dem Maße, in dem der Fischverzehr empfohlen wird, nimmt die Möglichkeit ab, dass Menschen in Entwicklungsländern Fisch als bedeutende Eiweißquelle zur Verfügung haben. Hinzu kommt, dass viele afrikanischen Länder ihre Fangrechte an europäische oder japanische Organisationen verkauft haben, die den Fisch direkt in ihre Heimatländer liefern.

Zwischen 1950 und 1980 ist die weltweite Fischfangquote von 19 auf 80 Megatonnen gestiegen. Seither liegt sie zwischen 85 und 88 Megatonnen. Dies ist ein Hinweis darauf,

dass die Meere inzwischen maximal ausgenutzt werden. Gleichzeitig wird der Verzehr von Fisch als Grundlage einer gesunden Ernährung stark beworben. Damit entsteht für die Menschen in entwickelten Ländern wieder das Problem des „Hidden Hunger“, wenn die wichtigste Vitamin-D-Quelle Fisch nicht mehr ausreichend zur Verfügung steht. Die Synthese des Vitamins in der Haut wird möglicherweise nicht ausreichen, um den individuellen Bedarf zu decken.

### Prävention als Risiko

Der Schutz vor den hautschädlichen Wirkungen der Sonne, sei es durch Sonnenschutzmittel mit hohem Schutzfaktor oder aber Sonnenschutzkleidung, führt zu einem starken Absinken der Vitamin-D-Synthese. Die Folge bei Kindern sind Störungen des Knochenaufbaus (Rachitis), bei Erwachsenen eine Störung des Knochenumbaus (Osteomalazie), die aufgrund der damit einhergehenden Schmerzen zu Mobilitätsproblemen führen. Studien an der Universität Gießen sowie in großen Populationen in den USA haben gezeigt, dass chronische muskuloskeletale Schmerzen bei alten Menschen in bis zu 50 % der Fälle auf eine unzureichende Vitamin-D-Versorgung zurückzuführen sind. Ursache hierfür ist die Tatsache, dass mit zunehmendem Alter die Fähigkeit der Haut zur Vitamin-D-Synthese abnimmt und bei Menschen über 70 Jahren gerade noch 25 % dessen beträgt, was eine junge Haut leistet. Bereits heute warnen verschiedene Wissenschaftler und gesundheitspolitische Organisationen davor, das weltweite Problem einer unzureichenden Vitamin-D-Versorgung zu ignorieren.

Hinzu kommen mehr und mehr Hinweise aus epidemiologischen Studien, die belegen, dass eine schlechte Vitamin-D-Versorgung zu einer erhöhten Erkrankungs- und Sterblichkeitsrate im Alter führt. Damit bekommt die Vitamin-D-reiche Ernährung eine besondere Bedeutung. Durch Fisch alleine wird sie in den meisten Fällen nicht erfolgen können. Anreicherung von Lebensmitteln, biotechnische Modifizierung oder gezielter Einsatz von Supplementen bei Risikogruppen wären eine mögliche Lösung.

### Folgen von Hitzewellen

Gesunde Ernährung ist die Grundlage nicht nur für ein gesundes Altern, sondern auch für eine ausreichende Belastbarkeit des Organismus gegenüber der Klimaveränderung. Besonders drastisch wird dies am Beispiel der Hitzewellen in Europa deutlich.

Während der Hitzewelle im August 2003 kam es zu einer überproportionalen Zunahme von Todesfällen vor allem bei alten Menschen. So hat sich die Zahl der Verstorbenen in Paris in dieser Zeit nahezu verdoppelt. In italienischen Städten wie Mailand und Bologna wurde die Abhängigkeit der Mortalität von der Temperatur in den Hitzeperioden eindrucksvoll dokumentiert. Dabei war vor allem bei solchen Personen die Sterblichkeit besonders hoch, die durch Gefäßerkrankungen oder Immobilität vorgeschädigt waren. Je höher die Temperatur lag, desto höher war die Sterblichkeit bei Personen mit Herz-Kreislauf-Erkrankungen und Atemwegserkrankungen. Eine gesunde Ernährung, die der Entwicklung solcher Erkrankungen vorbeugt, bildet grundsätzlich die Grundlage für eine stabilere Gesundheit mit geringerer Sensitivität gegenüber den zu erwartenden Temperaturextremen. Bislang konnte noch nicht untersucht werden, welchen Anteil Mangelernährung während der Hitzewelle 2003 an der Sterblichkeit hatte.

Fazit: Die Versorgung mit essentiellen Mikronährstoffen wird noch kritischer, als sie jetzt ist, und die von unzureichender Zufuhr betroffenen Gruppen werden zunehmen.

Die zu erwartende Klimaveränderung wird zu einer Reduktion der Verfügbarkeit verschiedener Mikronährstoffe, besonders in sozial schwachen Gruppen und hier vor allem bei Kindern, führen. Dies hat Konsequenzen für die Entwicklung dieser Altersgruppe und die Gesundheit im höheren Alter.

Auch bei Personen mit ausreichendem Einkommen wird eine gesunde Ernährung, bedingt durch globale Veränderungen der Märkte (Verfügbarkeit und Preis), nicht wie bisher möglich sein. Es geht in Zukunft nicht mehr darum, eine präventive Ernährung für alle zu sichern. Dies wird nur schwer möglich sein. Es geht um einen anderen Ansatz:

- Definition des Minimums für eine Versorgung, die den qualitativen und quantitativen Ansprüchen der Gesamtbevölkerung entspricht
- Orientierung an sozioökonomischen Gegebenheiten
- Entwicklung von Lebensmitteln zur Behebung des „Hidden Hunger“, z. B. Vitamin-D- und -E-Quellen, Zink, Jod, Selen, Folsäure etc.

Zur Sicherung einer gesunden Ernährung sind zwar die Methoden der Biotechnologie einschließlich der Gentechnologie attraktiv, jedoch vor dem Hintergrund, dass Ernährungssicherung ein globales Problem darstellt, nur ein Teil der Maßnahmen, die ergriffen werden müssen.

## Herausforderungen

- Maßnahmen zur Akutsicherung der Ernährung für Bevölkerungsgruppen mit kurz- oder langfristig eingeschränktem Zugang zu Lebensmitteln (Emergency Food Products, kostenlose Schulspeisung etc.)
- Definition des individuellen Minimums zur Sicherung einer ausreichenden Ernährung (im Speziellen für Kinder und alte Menschen)
- Analyse der Mikronährstoffe unter variablen Klimabedingungen
- Bereitstellung von Technologien, die qualitative Veränderungen von Lebensmitteln, d. h. das Fehlen eines oder mehrerer essentieller Mikronährstoffe, ausgleichen. Dazu zählt neben den bereits vorhandenen Möglichkeiten der Anreicherung von Grundnahrungsmitteln eine Vielzahl von Verfahren der modernen Lebensmittelerzeugung einschließlich züchterischer Verfahren bis hin zur Gentechnologie.

Sofern diese Maßnahmen bereits jetzt erwogen und in Risikogruppen umgesetzt werden, müssen die zu erwartenden und im Ausmaß schwer abschätzbaren Veränderungen der Lebensmittelqualität nicht erst dann kompensiert werden, wenn sie eingetreten sind.

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TRANSLOCATED ROSES OR THE MYTH OF ELDORADO:  
JOURNEYS THROUGH TIME, SPACE, IMAGE AND SILENCE<sup>1</sup>  
ELIZABETH JELIN

Abstract

The looking glass is directed towards Eldorado, a virgin subtropical land in Northeastern Argentina, around 1920. I will be following some lines of its history during the next three decades, a history that can be read in terms of bringing “civilization”, modernity and progress to an untamed savage land. The basic route was that of European immigration, in part escaping from poverty, conflict and destruction. The magnet of a gilded future of wealth and happiness was the other side of the coin.

The “locality” and the “local” – in this case as in others – are not what is left over or left out of the “centre”. Rather, the “local” is part of an interrelated world. The task I propose stems from an attempt to conceptualize the “local” not in contrast to the “global” or the “macro”, but rather as a “shifted centre” from which the world can be looked at, a base from which webs of connections with other places, peoples and institutions are made and broken, shaped and reshaped. From this decentred centre, the history of “Europe” becomes not a history of place, but one of flows and webs – of people, of political and institutional links, of economic interests, of personal and family ties. Personal letters and photographs sent and received, auto- and family biographies, as well as the photo album, are the means to explore such flows. There are also the more conventional public documents and printed newspapers. The story is also one of many silences to be uncovered.

The case of Eldorado will be used to reflect upon and pose some questions about more general issues in social research: the conceptualization of local-global and centre-periphery relationships; the private-public divide; the split we construct between rationality and objectivity on the one hand, and passions and emotions on the other; the “embodied” link between academic research, intellectual commitments and the public sphere; something

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1 | Lecture held at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin on June 17, 2008.



about chance and choice in asking research questions. One final word: my presentation of the story of Eldorado is at a much earlier stage in the research process than what the label “work in progress” usually implies. I see it as something reminiscent of the opening page of a deceptively blank notebook: there are hidden drawings, lines and colours to be discovered by simply watering the pages, yet they will show up only in an unforeseeable combination with what will be added by the pencil and paint brought to the scene by the carrier of the notebook, in this case by me.

Eldorado, 1/XII/30

I find myself now in the colony “Eldorado”. It is a two-days boat trip on the Paraná River from “Posadas”, close to the border between Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil. This is one of the most beautiful places in these countries; it is in the very centre of tropical forests, and it is close to the Iguazú Falls, where tourists from all over the world come.

To think about everything that happened here is to realize that you are in the middle of an amazing thing, a marvel. There were people who took to it, in places that were totally overgrown with trees high as the sky, in a forest so thick that you cannot stick a nail into it ... people who were not used to work in these climatic conditions – yet they managed to work with temperatures of more than 40 degrees, with rains that fall like full buckets, as it is in tropical areas. The area is full of wild beasts and birds. And in spite of all kinds of difficulties, they transformed the area into a Garden of Eden, where they live a quiet life, with the newest technical innovations, with good climate and health conditions, while all the rest is just forest and hills. All this was done by the Germans. One is astonished by their drive and their hard work.

It was done mostly by the immigrants, of which five thousand are Germans. Now they deal with timber, there are many sawmills, there are tobacco plantations and “yerba”. That is the national drink of the South American countries. It is drunk in the following way: after the dry leaves are ground, one puts them in a sort of little box or container, which is the outer part of a plant, inside which a type of fruit grows. The little container feels like wood, and on this you pour warm water that has not boiled, and with a long tube people draw (or drink) the water. It gives you a pleasant feeling to look

as they sit in the evening, around a fire, and the gourd goes from hand to hand, and every one draws from the same tube.<sup>2</sup>

M. was going to be nineteen a couple of weeks after he wrote this letter, addressed to a girlfriend in Central Europe.

So, ELDORADO. What was (or is) Eldorado? “El Dorado” are the Spanish words for “the gilded one” and refer to a legend about a South American tribal chief who covered himself with gold dust to then dive into a lake. There are reports of the legend as far back as 1530, in the Andean region that is now Colombia. The legend travelled to the Spanish towns and from there to Spain, where the imagination transformed El Dorado into a kingdom, an empire, the city of this legendary golden king. Many *conquistadores* followed unbelievable paths to find that city of gold.

This mythical or metaphorical name comes up time and again, from Milton to Edgar Allan Poe, from John Wayne (in the 1966 film, reciting Poe’s poem) to Werner Herzog’s “Aguirre, the Wrath of God”. The list can go on with Donald Duck travelling in the Amazon, and according to Wikipedia, the legend of El Dorado is featured in the 2008 film “Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull”, where the legend turns out to be a mistranslation and the city holds a “treasure”, but it is not made of gold.

Let us leave the myth for the time being, and go back to “reality”. Eldorado is nowadays a city of about 70,000, located on the eastern banks of the Upper Paraná River, 100 km from the Iguazú Falls and 200 km from the provincial capital of Misiones, a city called Posadas, on the Argentina-Paraguay border.

The “history” of the area – the standard, written, European-type history – goes back to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Jesuit missions in the area, now a UNESCO “Heritage of Humanity” site. The territory, and since the 1950s a province, gets its name *Misiones* from the Jesuit missions. (This time, the film version is British, with Robert de Niro and Jeremy Irons).

In 1918, a rich German-born British citizen, Adolfo Julius Schwelm, who came to Buenos Aires in 1915 sent by the Rothschild Banking group, bought in an auction a tract of land of 67,000 hectares in the territory of Misiones. The property papers define the area as that between the Piray Guazú and the Piray Miní creeks. His idea – common at the time – was to sell the land in plots of 25 to 50 hectares to settlers coming from Europe, in what was then the private “colonization” model.

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2 This, as well as the other quotations from letters, is from a private family archive. The original letters are written in Yiddish.

According to some local romanticized narratives, Mr. Schwelm was captivated by the area when he travelled to visit the Iguazú Falls in 1918.<sup>3</sup> On September 29, 1919, the story goes, he arrived at a sandy beach of what was to become the port of the town. The date of arrival was chosen because it was Mr. Schwelm's birthday; it was also St. Michael the Archangel, patron saint of Germany, day. To have a significant foundational date was part of his strategy of future community identity-building.<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the name of the place was a reference to the legend of El Dorado, "the worldly paradise, where treasures and richness are to be found ... " (Rizzo 1987, 22), "a wild paradise of red soil and virgin forest" (Micolis 1973, 11). Alternative stories trace the name to Mr. Schwelm's fishing hobby, *dorado* being the name of a very common big fish in the Paraná River.

Mr. Schwelm arrived in his boat, named "Svástica", accompanied by another boat, "Cuñataí" ("young maiden" in Guaraní). The Svástica was his "home" for some time when he was in town: until he decided to dismantle the house he had in another region, in Chaco, and carry its wooden beams and walls to Eldorado, to install the family house on a plot of land next to the harbour – now a park bearing his name. (Remember Herzog's "Fitzcarraldo"?).

I will not go into the details of the colonization history of Argentina, nor more specifically of the colonization programs in Misiones. I take Eldorado as my point of reference and will try to work from there. What I want is to take this locality as a "shifted centre" from which the rest of the world can be looked at, a base from which webs of connections with other places, peoples and institutions are made and broken, desired and critiqued, shaped and reshaped (paraphrasing expressions used in a recent paper by Rosalind Shaw). My aim is to see whether such an analysis can make it possible to work avoiding hierarchies of levels, centres and peripheries and distinctions between micro and macro analyses.

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3 A quote from Mr. Schwelm: "Day after day, as we were going up-river on the Paraná, I was mesmerized, trying to imagine what was behind the curtain that was jealously hiding what it held behind. My imagination started to turn and turn around that strange world my eyes were looking at. I felt a powerful attraction ... We stopped the boat. I started looking attentively and remained in silence. It was at that moment that an idea assaulted me: How extraordinary it would be to populate this, to colonize!" (Arenhardt de Romagosa 2003:159).

4 Those of us who work on memory know that the politics of memory and future commemoration begins at the very moment when a significant event takes place, often with scripts already prepared for future commemoration – this is one more case, September 29 being since then the day of commemoration of the founding of the town.

So, that's my choice of beginning. After landing and recognizing the surroundings, Mr. Schwelm and his group marked the place with a stake bearing the "km 0" sign. From there inland, west to east, they initiated the design of the main road of the settlement, the *Picada Maestra*. The settlement followed a pattern based on a medieval German model suited for mountainous forest areas, the *Waldhufendorf* (a town following a narrow strip of forest land), in contrast to the "checkerboard" model. The fact is that up to now, the city has this Master Road; places are referred to by the km, measured in terms of their distance from the port on the Paraná River. Hubs with perpendicular *picadas* succeed each other, some of them more important than others – km 2, km 9, km 14, and the like. The Master Road is about 30 km long.

In order to attract settlers, Mr. Schwelm developed a major advertising campaign. He had his own views and philosophy about colonization, he wrote about it, gave lectures in Europe, and was featured in countless press interviews. Eldorado was advertised personally and through offices in London, Berlin and Paris through brochures and movies – someone has even claimed that Eldorado is what made Argentina known in Northern Europe. The "Northern" Europe target was very clear and explicit: "My preferences – Schwelm wrote in 1931 – go towards the Nordic races." And he adds: "The first *colonos* of Eldorado were German, Danish and Swedish. They constitute the majority of the population nowadays. There are also a few Britons, Austrians and Hungarians." By that time (which is the time of M.'s letter), Eldorado, with around 7,000 inhabitants, was in fact a colony of German culture and language. Why the neglect of Mediterranean immigrants? It was a matter of personal preference, but it fitted with the prevailing images among the Argentine elites, ready to praise the virtues of these "Northern" races.

A brochure promoting colonization read: "We invite to Eldorado all those who are led by their circumstances to search for an assured future; those who at the same time are not ready to resign the culture of their country of origin, but are ready to *transplant* it to a new homeland; to those who envisage their happiness and their well-being through finding comfort and wealth, through persistent work and inflexible will." (Micolis 1973, 16). By 1924, brochures claimed that the town had running water, electricity, commerce, a German school to teach the language to the children, and the like ... It seemed that within the framework of wild nature, one was assured to be able to maintain a "civilized" way of life.

Over the years, important European visitors were hosted in the colony: from a Prussian prince (Louis Ferdinand von Preußen) and the royal princess Cecilie to ambassadors and nobility figures. Their visits were used in the advertisement campaigns.

The first *colonos* came in 1920. There are different accounts as to who was “the first”. It is fascinating to read the various accounts of the pioneers and their descendants, claiming to be “the first” of a long list of events and roles: the first wedding, birth, house, teacher, mass, priest, pastor ... To avoid conflict among different claims, it is enough to say that among the first settlers there were Danish ones (recruited in Buenos Aires) and German-Brazilians from Rio Grande do Sul. These were descendants of the Catholic German immigrants who settled in the South of Brazil in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They used the same route M. would take 10 years later: by land through Paso de los Libres (freedom pass), then the train and finally the boat. By 1922, the first settlers coming directly from Europe – German and Danish immigrants – arrived in Eldorado. 60 families populated the colony in 1924.



III. 1: Route to Eldorado

Given the succession of immigrants of different origins, Don Adolfo decided to organize the colony. This meant distributing the population (i. e. offering the plots to the buyers) according to identity criteria, basically origin and language. Thus, along the west-to-east axis

of the colony, there was first the Danish *picada* (km 0 to 9), the Catholic Bavarian or “Bayernthal” *picada* (km 24), the “Schönthal” one (i. e. Germans of Polish origin) (km 25–31), the Swedish one (km 28), the German-German “Wurttemberg” one. Brazilian Germans, being a relatively small group, dispersed themselves in various places along the route.

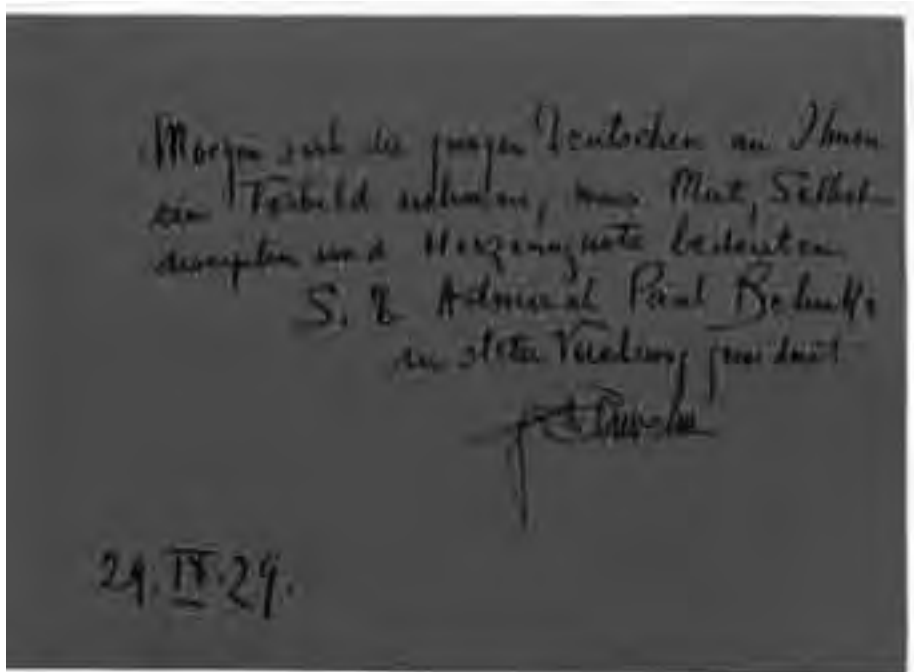
By 1929, Mr. Schwelm could present Eldorado as the myth made reality. His album of photographs is clear evidence of the way he showed what life in Eldorado was like.<sup>5</sup>



III. 2: Cover of the Eldorado album

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5 The album is part of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut collection. The director and staff of the IAI were very helpful in preparing the scanned version of the album and lending the original for the seminar presentation.



- III. 3: „Mögen sich die jungen Deutschen an Ihnen ein Vorbild nehmen, was Mut, Selbstdisziplin und Herzengüte bedeuten. S. E. Admiral Paul Behnke in steter Verehrung gewidmet. A. Schwelm, 29. 9. 29.“ (May the young Germans take you as a model of courage, self-discipline, and kindheartness. Dedicated in constant admiration to S. E. Admiral Paul Behnke, A. Schwelm, Sept. 29, 29)



*Ill. 7 left: “Tabak-Pflanzung” (Tobacco planting)*

*right: “Edelorangebaum 5 Jahre alt” (5-year-old orange tree)*





*III. 8:* Tobacco drying barn



*Ill. 9* left: “Verpflanzung von Yerba-Setzlingen” (Transplanting yerba seedlings);  
right top: “Neu angelegte Yerba-Pflanzungen” (New yerba plantings);  
right bottom: “vierjährige Yerba Pflanzungen” (Four-year-old yerba plantings)



*Ill. 10 left top: School*

*right top: School children*

*bottom: Church of Eldorado*



*Ill. 11: "Junge Bauernburschen im Luzernenfeld" (Young farmer boys in an alfalfa field)*



*Ill. 12:* Saw mill



*Ill. 13:* Water fall in the region



*Ill. 14:* fishing expedition



*Ill. 15: German settler proudly growing roses*



Proud roses grown in Eldorado! Not an easy task – roses are not to be found in subtropical forests. But, as M. wrote, the Germans did it.

As could be expected, reality was harsh and confronted settlers with unforeseen conditions. Disillusion was a common feeling upon arrival. Many were ready to leave, but they had used all of their savings in buying the land, so they had to stay ... Thus, family reports and autobiographies, written much later, paint the heroism of the early settlers – having to overcome every obstacle, from tropical heat and humidity, pouring rains and nonexistent roads or bridges, to mosquitoes and *imbarigües* –, with the certainty that Eldorado did not exist but had to be constructed, and there was no money to escape ...

In the various written reports, little is said about the presence of “others” in the colony, especially during the initial years. Argentines seemed to have no role. All the public roles were occupied by the colonists or the staff of the colonization company. In fact, Europeans considered Eldorado *their* town, and the “others” were the “foreigners”. Little if anything is said in local historians’ writings or in family testimonies about any “native” population. There is almost complete silence regarding the Guaraní group, often identified as “the Paraguayans” (Rizzo 1987, 44). Yet these “obscure and mysterious people of the forest”, as one rare reference in a report mentions, worked for the colonists, offering the cheapest possible labour. They were in charge of the most daring tasks, being the axe peons who cleared the forest. The cultural gap between them and their masters was, in fact, an abyss.

Colonos had clear images and ideas about the habits of “Paraguayans”: living from day to day, no provision for the future, social instability. Paraguayans were no threat, because relations were clearly hierarchical. German and Guaraní were worlds apart. The Paraguayan peons were “Hiesige”, and that was it. They were “part of nature”, there since the beginning of time, ready to fight against the forest.

This local silence about the local people contrasts with the very significant figure of the “mensú” in Argentine and Paraguayan history and imagination. The “mensú” refers to a system of semi-servile labour, the name coming from the form of monthly (*mensual*) “payment”, not in cash but in vouchers. Short stories, novels and films are plentiful about this area of the country and about these workers: Horacio Quiroga’s short stories and Augusto Roa Bastos novels are classics in literature; *Las aguas bajan turbias* (The waters come down muddy, Hugo del Carril, 1952), *El trueno en las hojas* (The thunder in the forest leaves, Armando Bo, 1958), *Prisioneros de la tierra* (Prisoners of the land, Mario Soffici, 1939) are well-known films. And of course, there is much music, especially the local *Chamamé*.

There are other silences in the reports I read. Besides the Argentines and the Guaraníes, there is no reference to Lebanese or Jewish traders, itinerant and settled. Yet the *mate* travelled to the Middle East, where it is an ongoing custom. And there were several Jewish families in Eldorado ... (Also, if we look back to M.'s letter, it is clear that those who sit around the fire drinking *mate* are not Germans ...).

\* \* \*

I follow two years of letter writing. I want to find more descriptions of Eldorado, but there are none. There are many references to the rain, to silence and to solitude. Interestingly, most of the space of the letters is taken up by writing about letter writing – that you did not answer soon enough, that I wrote to so-and-so, that you complain that I write short letters but the size of the paper is different here and in Europe ... There is also something about the moment of writing – “Sunday evening, it is raining, I sit in bed, next to a little table, and start writing to you ...”, and so forth. As if the urge is to show the presence of the absence, of the person who has gone away and wants to show he IS there. I will find the same pattern of informationally “empty” letters ten years later, during a time when M., now a husband, is in Eldorado, and his wife in Buenos Aires. Letters written every other day, saying literally nothing – except “Here I am.”

It is inevitable to wonder about the whole area of technologies of communication and the presence/absence syndrome. Much research is being done on interactive patterns based on IT – e-mail and internet, text messages and cell phones, deterritorialized yet bound always by time and place (usually, the first question when calling a cell phone is “where are you?”). I doubt whether a longer-term historical perspective is incorporated in such studies.

Then there is talk about photographs: asking for some to be sent; talking about the unavailability of film; about delays in developing because of difficulties in the supply of chemicals; about how many photos one has sent or received; about the difficulties of sending picture portraits of oneself alone, and their replacement by group photographs. It is clear here what Marianne Hirsch has to say about the place of photographs in the lives of people:

... in lives shaped by exile, emigration and relocation, where relatives are dispersed and relationships shattered, photographs provide perhaps even more than usual some illusion of continuity over time and space ... Family pictures depend on such a narrative act of adoption that transforms rectan-

gular pieces of cardboard into telling details connecting lives and stories across continents and generations.” (Hirsch 2002, XI–XII).

\* \* \*

Back to Eldorado, now in the 1930s. Written reports – except for a couple of scholarly research ones – never mention human conflicts. Yet there were conflicts, and many. In economic terms, commercialization processes are always full of tension and conflict. Initially, the commercialization of the “green gold” yerba and of tobacco, as later on of *tung*, was in the hands of some middlemen, who according to the settlers were exploiting producers. The solution was to create a Cooperative, in 1931.

Religious and ethnic lines also divided the settlement. I registered several stories of conflicts around church and school, both among Lutherans and among Catholics. Thus, in the early 1930s, the Lutheran community ended up splitting – the German Germans (*Reichsdeutsche*) building their church and school in km 14 and the rest, Germans of Danish and Polish origin (Schönthal), building theirs elsewhere.

Among Catholics, the Teuto-Brazilians (*Deutschbrasilianer*) set the groundwork for a Catholic regular service in 1924. In 1925, a group of a dozen Bavarian families came to settle in the town. The Bavarians were coming from just one town, Turkenfeld. They arrived in Argentina in 1925 with a Benedictine priest and settled in another province, Chaco, where Schwelm met them. A drought enabled him to convince them to move to Eldorado, where they were known as *Die Chaco-Leute* and established themselves in the Bayernthal *picada*. The priest had to split his time between the *Chaco-Leute* in km 24 and the *Deutschbrasilianer* in km 9. Services were held in km 10 and in km 23, in private homes that also functioned as parish schools. Then a church was built in km 11 (on a plot donated by Mr. Schwelm), but the Bavarians did not like it, and they erected their own school and church. With a strong sense of community based on origin, very soon the Bavarians also organized a chorus and a folk dance group, the “Männergesangverein Germania”.

Come 1935. German associations intensified their activities. More than ever, they cultivated their traditions and praised their fatherland. Gradually, and with the support of the German Embassy in Buenos Aires and the consulate in Posadas (the capital of Misiones), many became strong supporters of Hitler’s Germany. The most important German school, founded in 1926, was very much part of the transmission of nationalistic German sentiments. Just to give one example, a Spanish-language teacher who arrived in town in 1938

remarks that he was struck by the Nazi salute when the children were singing the German anthem in school. In fact, between 1935 and 1945, the school, the German Sports club and the *Deutschjungen* (organized in the same format as Hitler's youth movement) played a major ideological role. There was a *Wochenschau*, a meeting where documentaries were shown about German advances in the war. Twenty young *colonos* left for Germany to participate in the war. People talked about taking over the land owned by the anti-Nazis; of offering Hitler this land to relocate the Jews there; and of volunteering to occupy the territories of the Ukraine and Russia. ... The headquarters of the Nazi party in Eldorado was referred to as *Das Braune Haus*.

After years of being concerned with the struggle against nature, now the Germans (still divided into the various groups according to origin) devoted themselves to political and social issues. Nazi Germany exalted their identity and ethnicity. Their feelings were going in the direction of total independence from Argentina. Yet nobody who aligned himself with the *Reich* wants to talk about it. Historical silence again ... Some records and testimonies exist, mostly collected by a researcher in the late 1960s, for a thesis presented in French in Canada. The people who offered their testimony were mostly those who opposed Hitlerism.<sup>6</sup>

We Germans are tremendously proud people. ... If we are faced with a leader who speaks forcefully, a man who speaks about power and conquest, we will follow him immediately, without thinking. That explains the division of Eldorado during Hitler's time. For 98% of the Germans in Eldorado, the ideas of world conquest, of power and glory, of the universal reign of Germany for a thousand years – that meant joining a ball and dancing without stopping. We were a very small group of Catholics who refused to enter the game; we were systematically boycotted in economic terms by our own compatriots. ... There were violent discussions among Germans. In this way and without realizing it, the *colonos* engaged in a suicidal operation (Micolis 1973, 33).

We lived in an isolation that was harder to bear than the geographical isolation of the first years of colonization. Our struggle against Hitlerism was much more demanding than the struggle against nature, because against nature we struggled all together, while during Hitlerism we had to struggle

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6 Micolis (1973) quotes only one testimony of a Nazi supporter, offered in writing.

against our compatriots. It is much harder to fight against the wildness of the extremist and fanatic man (Micolis 1973, 35).

There is also the recollection of an English settler in Victoria, a nearby colony:

When the Second World War clouds began to loom, our activities intensified, and our large room was used for jumble sales and dances to which members of the German community of neighbouring Eldorado were invited; a number of them were non-Nazis. ... The proceeds of all our functions were sent to the British Red Cross, through the medium of the Bank of London and South America in Buenos Aires. In the months after Great Britain had entered the war, most of the British settlers of military age left for the homeland as volunteers (Cooper 1986, 120).

In 1939, Adolfo Schwelm resigned as President of the Colonizing Company. He was disgusted by the orientation “his colonos” were taking. The romanticized version of his life and fate goes on: “Twenty years after the foundation of the colony, he felt that Eldorado escaped all of his moral power and expectations. Schwelm ‘exiled’ himself in his house and garden, in solitude. The forest invaded his 20 hectares of English lawn, and he died there in 1948, alone and in bankruptcy.” Others, of course, think of him as a liar, an authoritarian and arbitrary man.

\* \* \*

I read now letters from 1937 and 1938, the time when, after years of being separated, preparations are being made for the coming of E., the girlfriend to whom M. has been sending his letters.

Eldorado, 18/IX/37

My dearest!

I would really love to please you, travelling back to Amdur [a Shtetl in Poland]. To that Amdur to which one feels so attached, so as to be in the place that one can never forget. Because, how could one forget the place where one was born and raised? The place where each little corner reminds one of experiences and life? And not only that; it would also be the possibility of being with you, and with Mom and Dad. It is not an economic issue, but rather a question of time. And what is the most important now, “Poland, Europe”. How much hate there is when these words are uttered! “Poland”,

a land of suffering and barbarism, and “Europe”, the Europe that lies on the threshold of a fundamental breakdown, and it may even turn up that there will be a new war. And perhaps one sacrifices one’s life, but for whom? So that others benefit from it? Perhaps we here can consider the situation more objectively, better than you being there ...

The response:

Grodno, 30/X/37

... I think that everything is the same as before, the same scripts, the same leaves. And it is dark, perhaps darker than before. Yet we go where we have to go. Nobody sits at home ...

By then, emigration and immigration conditions had changed. In 1930, M. could get his passport in February, leave Poland by train and board a ship in Genoa on March 12 (he arrived in Rio on March 26, was in Porto Alegre on April 3, and crossed the Argentine frontier on April 16). Now, paperwork on both sides of the ocean began in October 1937, and by the time the passport was ready (July 1938), it took weeks in Warsaw to secure an Argentine visa. The letters are telling:

Warsaw, 2/VIII/38

My dearest,

At last the day has come when everything is ready, when I am leaving. The day I have to say goodbye to everybody. I am now so far from them! I am in Warsaw, in the Emigration Hotel. This is my sixth day here. We should have left the morning after arriving, but the Argentine consul restricted the number of visas he issues each day, from 40 to 5 or 6. Today he will start issuing 15 per day. This is why we had to postpone our trip, and the boat left with very few emigrants. Now we have to wait for another boat, and that will be on Aug. 10. Even if we do not have visas, we were assured that we could travel to London on that boat and get the visas there. ... Here the days are so long, they stretch and stretch, time goes by so slowly ...

And the last one of this kind:

Warsaw, 19/VIII/38

Dearest M.,

As you see, I am still in Warsaw in the Emigrants Hotel, for the fourth week. I sent you an airmail letter telling you that we would leave with the Almanzara, but ... the consul decided not to issue any visas, and when the

time came to leave, the transport left with only four emigrants from the hotel ... Can you imagine? There are 100 people in the Hotel. The situation is desperate. People get sick from worrying and from plain distress. You sit and there is no hope of getting a visa. One could think of going back home, but there are families who sold out everything and are bankrupt, and they have nowhere to go back to. People go several times a day to the offices of the boat company, to the union, and nobody has an answer. They assure us that they are working on it. Nobody can answer the question why the consul is not issuing visas. There are rumours that he does not want to allow Jews to enter the country ...

Suddenly, the letter changes, as if she interrupted and then went on:

Last Friday we received a call from the union saying that two children, who were travelling to meet their father, should go to get their visas. I had a happy idea: I will try my luck, and I go with them to the consul ... It was quite a long wait until the children entered his office. It took some 10–15 minutes and they went out happy because they were issued visas. I stand up with no hope to get mine. I stand next to the door and my whole body is trembling. The secretary takes my documents and gives them to the consul, who was already at the door, dressed up to leave. The consul looked from top to bottom at the papers, read the word “Posadas”, and without asking me a single question, said “Si, si,” and left. The secretary asked no question, gave me a big book where I had to sign and put my fingerprints. I keep staying there, uttering no word ... I do not know what is going on; I cannot believe that in fact I finally have a visa. Then the secretary tells me: you are lucky, you already have a visa. At the hotel there was much happiness, thinking that my case was a good beginning. But unfortunately after me nobody got it. It is sad to see. There are still four days before our departure, and people say, perhaps, perhaps ... Perhaps we will have luck ... Perhaps somebody will secure a visa ... We will leave with the boat Asturias. We have been informed that the boat will arrive in Buenos Aires on Sept. 20. I wish we had already left ...

I get letters every day from your mother and father. They are happy about this...

Greetings, E.

A footnote to this story:

In April 2005, a well-known journalist who had researched and published several books about Nazism in Argentina and elsewhere, wrote a letter to the Argentine Foreign Minister:

Applying the inhuman Directive 11 that the Foreign Affairs Ministry issued in 1938, my grandfather and other Argentine consuls abroad refused visas to the Jews who were fleeing from the Holocaust, condemning many of them to an assured death ... The imminent sixtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, this coming May 8, moves me to renew my request for this repeal as a minimum gesture of reparation for all the deaths that resulted from the application of Directive 11, by my grandfather and by so many other officials of that Ministry.

In June 2005, the secret 1938 Directive was repealed. In the ceremony of the repeal, Uki Goñi spoke:

The existence of this order represented for me a state secret that with the passage of time became a family secret ... The history of our country is plagued by convenient secrets that allowed the construction of an “official history” that excludes disturbing data ... It is not very difficult to sense a cruel and anti-human line linking the hand that drafted the Directive 11 and the hands that drafted the secret directives of our dictatorship, that were so damaging to all of us. (<http://ukinet.com/circular.htm>)

\* \* \*

Back to the story:

In February 1944, Argentina broke off diplomatic relationships with Germany, and declared war in March 1945, when the end was nearing. The Argentine state confiscated “German property”. In Eldorado this meant the German schools (km 8 and 14), the German clubhouse, and the property of Germans who had left for Germany before the war and could not come back. The state banned all German businessmen from selling oil and gasoline. Germans had to ask for permission to leave the town. In 1956, the German school was authorized to reopen and a new “normal” life emerged.

To finish the story, let me tell you that local community and family histories are plentiful. They praise the hardship of the pioneers, the heroism of the women who had to take



care of families under duress, without access to market products, isolated and disconnected from “the world”. They talk about the first period, and at times about the third, “normal” one. About the period of the war, talking is taboo. As if the middle period were a void, colonos keep silent, or they are trying to forget ...

\* \* \*

So, that’s the story. Now to some questions and issues that emerge from it. I will mention only a few.

1. One issue is that of scale and level of analysis. This is a story of embeddedness and embodiment. It is world history, yet made real in the actual experience of people. They are individualized and embedded in specific localities and social systems, like M. or Uki Goñi’s anecdotes show; at the same time, they are traversed by global forces, part of the global human drama. I chose the scale of my analysis, i. e. where to put the lens and the focus. This involves enlarging the object from demographic statistical figures of flows of migration to individualized subjects, getting near each of them.

There is also a selection of a time scale, in this case the specific and unique convergence of a biographical time in the lives of people and the historical time line in which their lives develop. Thirty years is nothing for many sciences, but it is a lot for the contemporary social sciences when the processes studied take on the human life dimension.

The relationship between biography and history is crucial in this. In a book that has been very significant in my intellectual life, C. Wright Mills’ *The Sociological Imagination*, the author looks at the point of convergence of history and biography, or in his words, at the combinations of the “personal troubles of milieu” and the “public issues of social structure” that transcend the local environments of the individual and the range of his inner life, claiming that “no social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey”. I take this as part of the political agenda expressed in the closing paragraph of his book: “Within that range (biography, history and their intricate relations) the life of the individual and the making of societies occur; and within that range the sociological imagination has its chance to make a difference in the quality of human life in our time.” (Mills 1959)

2. My second question derives from the first. Isn't the same principle of focusing on the convergence of biography and history in trying to understand historically located subjects applicable to ourselves? Is there anything to gain in looking at researchers and intellectuals as historically located subjects who have "personal troubles" (or intellectual / academic nightmares) that have to be connected to the "public issues of social structure" in which we operate?

Seldom do we reflect upon the personal routes that lead us to our research questions. Academic ritual involves giving "scientific" reasons pointing to gaps in knowledge, controversies about explanations or theoretical paradigms – always rationales that are anchored in advancing disciplinary public knowledge. And almost always, we keep an absolute silence about our personal passions, experiences, ideological leanings or political commitments. These are silenced, hidden, as if researchers were perfect knowledge machines without feelings and without passions.

Yet we know that every question has an autobiographical turn. There is something in our lives that pushes us to explore certain issues and not others. It is a mix of feelings, personal experiences and sensibilities, coupled with accumulated collective knowledge and wisdom. Except when, in old age, people in the sciences write their memoirs or autobiographies, or later on, when biographers try to picture the men behind the ideas, what we find is silence about these passions and these drives.

Why this silence? How can we incorporate ourselves in the story we tell or in the explanations we give? At this point, the feminist critique of the "partition" between private and public life, between reason and emotion, has much to offer. The distinction or rift has been so ingrained in our thinking that it looks like a NATURAL apartheid. Are there other ways of organizing paradigms of knowledge?

3. I have still another story to tell or narrative to convey, a more personal one. My question is: How did I come to work on this subject? What led me in this direction? This "project" – if it can be called that – was not in my plans for research in Berlin. The theme and the location were in the back of my mind for some time, but not in this form, and clearly not for here and now!

Two weeks after arriving in Berlin in the quite remote month of January, as I was still devoting all my efforts to try to understand (and conform to) the rituals and norms of the *Wissenschaftskolleg*, my son Pablo, who lives in London, visited me for a short weekend. Both of us share an interest in photography. Nowadays what this means is looking mostly at computer screens, rather than at the old-style photo album.

I was telling him that before coming I scanned many old family photographs (from my parents' generation) and brought them with me with the idea that in Berlin I might have the time to perhaps starting to organize them. He then asked me if I had any photographs from Eldorado. I said "Yes, a few, not very good ones. We will have to work on them, perhaps together, to make them more visible."

The next day, as I was having lunch, Christine von Arnim mentioned that there was an article on German emigration to Argentina in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. At the lunch table, we talked about the history of that emigration. We talked about the restrictions Argentina put on fleeing Jews (also on exiles from the Spanish Civil War) and about the few very notable and many not-so-notable Nazis coming to Argentina after the war, comparing them with the Nazis in Namibia. I looked for the article, "Buenos Aires war kein Sehnsuchtsort" (Buenos Aires was not a place to long for). It referred to the opening of a special exhibit in the Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven on "A life in Buenos Aires: German emigrants and refugees during the 20<sup>th</sup> century". To my surprise and in a totally unexpected way, I found myself reading the following paragraph:

"The never-ending stream of German immigrants to the United States has long blocked our view of Argentina as a land of immigration ... Only beginning in the 1920s did tens of thousands of German immigrants seek their fortunes and established agricultural colonies in the provinces, which until then had belonged solely to the Indigenes, with exotic names like "Colonia Liebig" and "Colonia Eldorado". The exhibition shows pictures of young fellows wearing *Lederhosen* and *Gamsbärte* planting saplings; the yerba plant, used to make Mate tea, was the most important source of revenue." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 28, 2008:40).

Within 24 hours, I encountered Eldorado twice, in a family conversation and in the public discourse. What to do? The first thing was to go visit the museum and the exhibition. The museum is really interesting. I got much out of the visit, but nothing very specific about Eldorado (the museum even sells yerba, but from Colonia Liebig and not from Eldorado). On the return trip, Barbara Goebel (we went together to the museum), Director of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, had the idea of searching the archives of the Institute, to see if there is something on Eldorado. I had never thought about it, and did not take the offer very seriously because it was not in my plans; Barbara did, and the search began in February – March ...

Eldorado was a chapter in my family history and my childhood about which I knew very little. And up to that moment, I did not have much interest in exploring and learning about it. Over the next couple of months, as I worked on it, I realized that this story was touching my innermost feelings ... At the same time, it was a story of world history.

When I wrote to a geographer friend asking for bibliographical sources for the region and the town, in addition to sending a couple of references his answer was a further question that contributed to my bewilderment: "Couldn't a Jewish family find a more welcoming and friendly place, instead of going to Eldorado, a place where people wanted to break away from Argentina to establish a Nazi republic?" Of course, such response raised the level of commitment and interest. I HAD to do something ... Common sense and the memories of family stories were of no help in explaining the unexplainable, the enigmas of personal/political life.

I used all my networks to get sources and information. I travelled back to Buenos Aires and searched through the disorganized boxes of family papers. I found my father's and my mother's Polish passports with all the inscriptions and dated seals; I interviewed an older cousin who could tell me something. I selected three series of letters my parents wrote to each other, in Yiddish, scanned them and brought them to Berlin. I immersed myself in reading the letters. I did not know how, but my early years of Jewish school came back to me and, with the help of a dictionary, I was able to read the letters.

Reading the letters was not easy, and not for language-related reasons. It is hard to participate in the feelings of the others – my father's loneliness, his longing. But the hardest is feeling oneself a voyeur, invading the intimacies of others ... I saw myself facing some ethical dilemmas in such invasions. I had to remind myself that the people involved are long dead and that they left all these letters and photos as a legacy to their children, i. e. me and my siblings ...

Mysteries and enigmas, old and new. I can be ironic at times, talking about romanticized stories, about silences that embody class, gender and race relations. Other times, irony is beyond my possibilities, and emotion invades. Why did they go to Eldorado? Why did they stay during the Nazi period? My body shivers – like my mothers' in the Argentine consulate in Warsaw – when I think that at the same time that we were living in Eldorado surrounded by Nazi symbols and parades, the news of the family annihilation in Europe was reaching my parents.

4. A related issue has to do with individualized or dialogical processes of knowledge production. When I recount the history of this small project, I have to include my son and my sister, Barbara and the staff of the Ibero, Christine who set me off in the journey, Carlos Reboratti who asked the pointed question, my student Delia Ramírez who travelled to Eldorado to photocopy materials in the museum, Mark Thomas who helped me with the maps, the staff of the library and the computer services at the Wissenschaftskolleg. And many more people – who participated in my nightmares or searched for sources and references. Each offered something, each “contributed” in a way to the product. How do we work out the individualized me and the collective inputs? In the end, all knowledge is social. As Maurice Halbwachs said, “we are never alone”. Probably it would have never occurred to me to engage in this without them. So my question is about the “me” and the “us” in the process of knowledge production. Intellectual property and academic practice are based on the notion of “property” of ideas and of “authorship”. What is the place of the “us” in intellectual work? Is there a place for the “others” in processes of learning?
5. This is really the end! I chose not to show any of the family pictures, perhaps inspired by Roland Barthes, who wrote a whole book based on one photograph of his mother that he does not share with his readers. I want to end with something about photographs. In one of his essays on photography, John Berger distinguishes between two uses of photography, photographs in private experience (to which family photography belongs) and photographs used publicly. The first remains surrounded by the meaning from which it was taken, it contributes to a living memory, a memento from a life being lived; the latter (advertisement is the most extreme case) offers information, but information severed from lived experience, of “strangers”, a dead object torn from its context. I quote Berger:

Photographs are relics of the past, traces of what has happened. If the living take that past upon themselves, if the past becomes an integral part of the process of people making their own history, then all photographs would reacquire a living context, they would continue to exist in time, instead of being arrested moments. It is just possible that photography is the prophecy of a human memory yet to be socially and politically achieved ... The task of an alternative photography is to incorporate photography into social and political memory, instead of using it as a substitute which encourages the atrophy of any such memory (Berger 1980, 57–58).

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“YOU MAY NEITHER ADD TO IT NOR TAKE AWAY FROM IT” (DEUT. 13:1):  
LEGAL REVISION AND HERMENEUTICS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE<sup>1</sup>

BERNARD M. LEVINSON

The idea of a scriptural canon is one of the most distinctive achievements of many major religions, both Western (Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islām) and Eastern (the Pāli canon of Theravāda Buddhism).<sup>2</sup> By locating its font of revelation or contemplative insight in a canon of foundational sources, however, a culture confronts an almost inevitable difficulty. The essence of a canon is that it should be stable, self-sufficient, and delimited. For example, in the book of Deuteronomy in the Bible, Moses twice admonishes his addressees: “You must not add anything to what I command you nor take anything away from it, but shall keep the commandments of Yahweh your God” (Deuteronomy 4:2; similarly 13:1 [English, 12:32]). This so-called canon formula had a long prehistory in the ancient Near East, where it originally sought to prevent royal inscriptions, law collections, and treaties from being altered.<sup>3</sup> Only subsequently was it taken over by Deuteronomy’s Israelite authors and

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1 Lecture held at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin on October 30, 2007.

2 For a fuller presentation of the matters discussed here, see my *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). In a shorter, German-language version: idem, “Du sollst nichts hinzufügen und nichts wegnehmen” (Dtn 13,1): Rechtsreform und Hermeneutik in der Hebräischen Bibel,” *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 102 (2006): 157–183.

3 Adducing comparative material, see Johannes Leipoldt and Siegfried Morenz, *Heilige Schriften: Betrachtungen zur Religionsgeschichte der antiken Mittelmeerwelt* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1953), 53–65 (stressing the origins of the formula in Egyptian wisdom literature); Nahum M. Sarna, “Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. A. Altman; Brandeis University Studies and Texts 1; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 29–34, reprinted in idem, *Studies in Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2000), 377–394 (stressing precedents in cuneiform literature); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 261–265 (with a wide range of Near Eastern and Egyptian parallels); Michael Fishbane, “Varia Deuteronomica,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 84 (1972): 349–352; Eleonore Reuter, “Nimm nichts davon weg und füge nichts hinzu: Dtn 13,1, seine alttestamentlichen Parallelen und seine altorientalischen Vorbilder,” *Biblische Notizen* 47 (1989): 107–114; and Christoph Dohmen and Manfred Oeming, *Biblischer Kanon: Warum und Wozu? Eine Kanontheologie* (Quaestiones disputatae 137; Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 68–89; Choon-Leong Seow, *Ecclesiastes* (Anchor Bible 18C; Doubleday: New York, 1997), 388, 394 (stressing

applied to the Mosaic Torah.<sup>4</sup> The formula makes it clear that its intent is to safeguard the textual status quo by precluding both literary and doctrinal innovation.<sup>5</sup>

If textual stabilization and sufficiency are its hallmarks, how can a canon be made to address the varying needs of later religious communities? These later generations face the conflicting imperatives of subsuming their lives to the authority of the canon, while needing to adapt that unchangeable canon to realities of social, economic, political, and intellectual life never contemplated at the time of its composition. Among the vicissitudes not contemplated by the canons foundational to the three major Western monotheisms are, for Judaism, the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 A.D. that rendered impossible the sacrificial cultus essential to Israelite religion; for Christianity, a Messiah who failed to return, although that return in eschatological Parousia had been expected to be imminent; and, for Islām, the death of Muḥammad, the community's founder and prophetic leader, without his having appointed a successor. Of course, the paradox of *O felix culpa* extends to the history of religions, where crisis may engender a productive innovation. The triumph of Pharisaic Judaism as the dominant form of Judaism, with the claim that its teachings derive by oral transmission from Sinaitic revelation; the consolidation of the Church in doctrine, organization, and admission of gentiles; and the separate developments of Sunni and Shi'i Islām: each of these accomplishments presuppose situations where the scriptural canon was faced with historical circumstances that threatened its viability.

If the closed literary canon as the repository of revelation or insight is the source of stability for a religious tradition, *exegesis* provides vitality. By exegesis or hermeneutics I mean the range of interpretive strategies designed to extend the application of a given canon to the whole of life, even to circumstances not originally contemplated by the canon itself. By means of exegesis, the textually finite canon becomes infinite in its application. As Jonathan Z. Smith

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that the formula's original intent was not to delimit a corpus of texts as canonical but to emphasize "the sufficiency of the text").

4 See Bernard M. Levinson, "The Neo-Assyrian Origins of Deuteronomy's 'Canon Formula'," in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination (Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane)* (ed. Deborah A. Green and Laura Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25–45.

5 Deuteronomy's appeal for fidelity to the legal status quo (Deut. 13:1) immediately follows a passage in which the authors have radically transformed prior religious law by demanding the restriction of all sacrifice to the central sanctuary (Deut. 12). The canon formula's use in that context, in effect functioning as a colophon to Deuteronomy's radically innovative law of centralization, is therefore paradoxical. See Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 79, 263; and Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 48.



has argued, one of the chief means by which a religious tradition demonstrates its creativity is the variety of ways it finds to accommodate itself to and overcome an authoritative yet textually-delimited canon.<sup>6</sup> Smith's model of exegesis requires modification in two significant ways, however.

First, the creativity of exegesis consists not only in its ability to adjust to new circumstances not contemplated by the canon but also in the interpreter's claim that there is no innovative or transformative activity involved whatsoever: the interpreter merely elucidates the plenitude of truth already latent in the canon.<sup>7</sup> Second, it is essential to understand that the ingenuity of the interpreter operates even in the formative period of the canon, while those texts that will subsequently win authoritative status are still being composed and collected.<sup>8</sup> In my presentation, I argue the following four theses: (1) that exegesis provides a strategy for religious renewal; (2) that renewal and innovation are almost always covert rather than explicit in ancient Israel; (3) that in many cases exegesis involves not the passive explication but the radical subversion of prior authoritative texts;

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6 "Canonical criticism" in Biblical Studies has valuably emphasized the importance of the formative canon to Israelite religion as a repository of the nation's identity. See James A. Sanders, "'Adaptable for Life': The Nature and Function of Canon," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1976), 531–560; reprinted with a foreword in James A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 9–39. In this understanding, subsequent generations could draw on the canon and apply it to new historical crises. Despite this proper emphasis, however, the approach tends to overlook the hermeneutical problematic inherent in just that reinterpretation and reapplication of the canon. It overlooks also the extent to which the reformulated texts challenge the authority and break down the coherence of the original texts; see Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 13–15.

7 See Gershom Scholem, "Revelation and Tradition as Religious Categories in Judaism," in idem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 282–303.

8 See Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); James L. Kugel, "Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis," in *Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. James L. Kugel and Rowan Greer; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 9–106; and idem, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Helping pioneer this approach were, among others, Sarna, "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis" (see n. 3 above); and Jacob Weingreen, *From Bible to Mishna: The Continuity of Tradition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976). As evidence of the diffusion of this approach, see Yair Zakovitch, *An Introduction to Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (Even Yehudah: Rekhes, 1992) (Hebrew); and Eckart Otto, "Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitsgesetz Levitikus 17–26," in *Leviticus als Buch* (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling; Bonner biblische Beiträge 119; Berlin: Philo, 1999), 125–196.

and (4) that these phenomena operated in the literature of ancient Israel before the closure of the canon.

### 1. The Legacy of Cuneiform Law

The concept of divine revelation of law distinguishes Israelite religion from all of the other religions of the ancient Near East. According to this concept, Yahweh publicly reveals his will to Israel in the form of cultic, civil, and ethical law, obedience to which becomes the condition for the nation's proper relationship to God and possession of the promised land of Canaan. The most dramatic account of this legal revelation occurs when God, from the top of Mount Sinai, proclaims the Ten Commandments to the nation of Israel gathered at the base of the mountain, trembling in fear of the thunderous divine voice (Exodus 19–20). But it is not the Ten Commandments alone that the Hebrew Bible ascribes to divine revelation. By means of a redactional tour de force, the entire legal corpus of the Pentateuch, in effect all biblical law, is either attributed directly to God or indirectly to him through Moses, his prophetic intermediary.<sup>9</sup>

Despite this claim by Israelite authors for the divine origin of the legal collections, the archaeological remains of the ancient Near East preclude any notion of *lex ex nihilo*. The Near East bequeathed to ancient Israel a prestigious literary genre, the legal collection, which originated in the scribal schools (or É.DUB.BA.A) of late third-millennium Sumer and then spread up the Fertile Crescent through Babylon and Assyria into Anatolia and the Hittite Empire. Since the discovery of Hammurabi's famous "Code" in 1901, about a dozen different cuneiform legal collections have been discovered, written in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite, and ranging from school exercises to extended, formal compositions. The biblical legal collections share many detailed points of contact with this cuneiform material in technical terminology, formulation, and legal topos. In particular, Israelite scribes learned from the cuneiform model how to frame a series of legal provisions with a literary prologue and epilogue in which a royal speaker claims responsibility for promulgating the laws. Using the categories of literary criticism, one might say that these legal collections were given a textual voice by means of such a frame, which put them into

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9 Ezekiel's vision of the restored Jerusalem and its temple (Ezekiel 40–48) represents a variation of this paradigm. Law continues to be revealed by God through the mediation of a prophet: the corpus of law that is to govern the community after its return from exile here derives its authority from a new prophetic revelation.

the mouth of the reigning monarch. Hammurabi repeatedly boasts that the laws are *awātīya ša ina narīya ašṭuru*, “my pronouncements, which I have inscribed on my stela” (xlix 3–4, 19–21). He refers to them as *awātīya šūqurātīm*, “my precious pronouncements” (xlviii 12–13), and insists, *awātūa nasqā*, “my pronouncements are choice” (xlviii 99).<sup>10</sup> Confronted by the literary convention of the royal voicing of law, Israelite authors pushed the genre in a different direction. When King Lear, on the storm-driven heath, was asked by blind Gloucester for his hand, so as to kiss it in poignant greeting, Lear demurred: “Let me wipe it first; it smells of mortality.”<sup>11</sup> As Israelite authors turned their hand to law, they wiped that genre clean of mortality by transforming the royal speaker from a human monarch into their divine king, Yahweh.

With that troping of convention, Israelite scribes introduced a new idea into the ancient world: the divine revelation of law. It was therefore not the legal collection as a literary genre but the voicing of publicly revealed law as the personal will of God that was unique to ancient Israel.<sup>12</sup> That trope of divine revelation had a far-reaching impact upon the literary and intellectual life of ancient Israel. So strongly was the divine voice privileged as *the* authoritative voice of law that it preempted the emergence to independent dignity of explicitly human legal compositions. Just as there is not a single law in the Bible that Israelite authors do not attribute to God or his prophetic intermediary, Moses, the

10 On this aspect of the Laws of Hammurabi, see the important study of the contrasting ethics of cuneiform and biblical law by Moshe Greenberg, “Some Postulates of Biblical Criminal Law,” in *Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume* (ed. M. Haran; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1960), 5–28; reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 25–50. In translation, the Laws of Hammurabi are most conveniently available in the excellent edition of Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (2d ed.; Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 71–142 (at 134–136).

11 William Shakespeare, *King Lear* (ed. Stanley Wells, text prepared by Gary Taylor; The Oxford Shakespeare; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 237 (scene 20, line 128). This edition is based closely upon the 1608 Quarto, which is closest to the original manuscript. Contrast the later, more familiar Folio version: “Let me wipe it first; it smells of mortality” (4.5.129; emphasis added), as Lear’s cohortative ironically inverts Gloucester’s eager request: “O, let me kiss that hand!” (4.5.128). For the latter edition, see William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Lear* (ed. Jay L. Halio; The New Cambridge Shakespeare; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 224.

12 This notion of divine revelation of law constitutes a crucial component of what Karl Jaspers termed the “Axial Age” breakthrough achieved by ancient Israel (*Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* [Munich: Piper, 1949], 15–106). Separate essays assess ancient Israel and Mesopotamia from this perspective in the comparative volume by S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).

converse is also true. In the entire Hebrew Bible, not a single text, legal or otherwise, is definitively attributed to the actual scribe responsible for its composition.

On this basis, it becomes clear that just as the idea of divine revelation of law opened up new intellectual and cultural possibilities, it equally shut down others. In order to make the case of the Bible as distinctive as possible, I will begin with a counter-example, so as to demonstrate how a culture in which there is no concept of divine revelation easily resolves the problem of legal change. The Hittite Laws were discovered in 1906 at Boghazköy in central Turkey. That city had served as the capital of the Hittite Empire, which flourished in Anatolia from approximately 1700–1200 B.C.<sup>13</sup> Two aspects of the Hittite Laws make them of particular interest. First, they exist without a literary frame; they thus make no claims whatsoever about the authorship or origins of the legal text.<sup>14</sup> Second, they reveal legal change and development openly. For example, one of the laws governing personal assault reads as follows:

If anyone blinds a free person or knocks his teeth out, *formerly* (*karū*) they would pay 40 sheqels of silver, *but now* (*kinuna*) one pays 20 sheqels of silver . . .

(Hittite Laws § 7)<sup>15</sup>

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13 For a valuable survey of Hittite civilization, see O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (2d rev. ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981).

14 For a legal-historical study of the function of the literary frame in cuneiform, biblical, Greek, and Roman laws, see G. Ries, *Prolog und Epilog in Gesetzen des Altertums* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 76; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983). It should be noted that some copies of Hammurabi's Code exist without the literary frame; moreover, a version of the prologue has also been discovered without the laws. There has resulted some discussion of which is compositionally prior, the frame or the laws, and whether the combination of the two is original or a result of secondary redaction. Such issues are important to address in order to determine the literary history and the nature and function of the legal collection within Near Eastern culture. On the redactional relation between frame and legal corpus, see J. H. Tigay, "The Stylistic Criterion of Source Criticism in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern and Postbiblical Literature," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 155–158; and Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, "*Inu Anum širum*": *Literary Structures in the Non-Judicial Sections of Codex Hammurabi* (Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 15, 1994), 90–103.

15 My translation departs slightly from that in the excellent recent edition by Henry Angier Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 21.

The legal speaker makes a clear distinction between what was formerly the case and what is now the case, between what would have been done and what is currently the practice. In this case, the new fine reduces the original one by a half. This opposition is marked grammatically by a change in verb tense. The same technical formula is used, *mutatis mutandis*, to revise nearly twelve percent of the Hittite Laws, either to reduce fines or to shift from corporal punishments to financial damages.<sup>16 17 18</sup>

If legal amendment repeatedly manifests itself within a century or two of the original codification of the Hittite Laws, similar kinds of revision would naturally be expected to take place in ancient Israel, whose literature spans six or seven centuries.<sup>19</sup> Specific geopolitical considerations only increase this expectation. Ancient Judah and Israel stood directly on the Via Maris, the ancient equivalent of the A8 Autobahn, linking all the major world powers of its time. They repeatedly underwent wrenching historical transformations. The Neo-Assyrian empire, with its invasion and domination, forced major changes to patterns of settlement, urbanization, religion, and political administration. The subsequent destruction of Judah by the Babylonian Empire; the experience of deportation and exile; the restoration of the population under Persian rule with sharply limited political

16 This formula occurs in the Hittite Laws §§ 7, 9, 19, 25, 51, 54, 57, 58, 59, 63, 67, 69, 81, 91, 92, 94, 101, 119, 121, 122, 123 (fragmentary text) 129, 166–167. For suggestive parallels to the Hittite formula in Rabbinic and Roman law, see Martin S. Jaffee, “The Taqqanah in Tannaitic Literature: Jurisprudence and the Construction of Rabbinic Memory,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41 (1990): 204–225.

17 Most valuable is the edition by R. Haase, which presents this latest version of the laws separately, as an independent work; see idem, *Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in deutscher Fassung* (2d ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), 67–91. The more common form of publication obscures the independence of that version by blending it back into the earlier version that it seeks to update and replace. What results is an “eclectic text” that never existed in antiquity, whereby the later version’s individual stipulations are appended to the pertinent ones of the main version and identified as “Late(r) Version”. Such is the approach of A. Goetze, tr., “The Hittite Laws,” in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (ed. J. B. Pritchard; 3d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 188–197; and Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*.

18 See Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*, 22 (§ VII). The changes marked by the “formerly . . . but now” formula derive from a far-reaching legal reform, carried out under King Telipinu (ca. 1525–1500 b.c.), of a version of the laws codified a century or two earlier in the Hittite Old Kingdom. The parallel text preserving the latest version was prepared a century or two afterward (Hoffner, *Laws of the Hittites*, 221).

19 The dating of the biblical literary sources is complex. The dates here extend from the Yahwist, generally considered the oldest documentary source of the Pentateuch (although certain poetry may be older), to the Book of Daniel, the latest book to enter the canon of the Hebrew Bible. For trends in the dating and analysis of biblical literature, see *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker; Society of Biblical Literature, The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters 1; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

autonomy: each shredded the fabric of daily life and transformed the conditions for material existence. It therefore becomes even more astonishing that the Hebrew Bible reveals a remarkable absence of explicit evidence for the revision and updating of Pentateuchal law.<sup>20</sup> How are we to understand this?

## 2. The Impact of the Idea of Divine Revelation

The Pentateuchal claim that its laws originate in divine revelation created a distinctive set of hermeneutical constraints. Once a law is attributed to God, how can it be updated, revised, and corrected without God's prestige or authority being impaired? How can a specific component of divine revelation become obsolete without thereby qualifying the validity of God's word?<sup>21</sup> There thus exists an inherent tension within the biblical laws

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20 There are four cases within the Pentateuch of new divine oracles, mediated by Moses, which supplement the existing provisions of covenantal law with judicial adjustments to unforeseen circumstances (Lev. 24:10–23; Num. 9:6–14; 15:32–36; 27:1–11). In these instances, the earlier law is not revoked; instead, given particular unforeseen eventualities, a divine oracle is represented as allowing Moses to render a judgment. The very *ad hoc* nature of these situations makes them the exception that proves the rule. For an astute analysis of these passages, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 98–102; and Simeon Chavel, *Oracular Law and Narrative History: The Priestly Literature in the Pentateuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming in 2009).

21 It is important here to distinguish between the biblical authors' attempt to maintain the adequacy of Pentateuchal legislation and their striking freedom in representing Yahweh as fallible. Indeed, so taken aback is Yahweh by the immorality of his creation that, in a remarkable soliloquy at the outset of the biblical flood story, he reveals his fallibility as he regrets the creation of human life (Gen. 6:6–7). In other cases as well, Yahweh concedes his fallibility, or at least the absence of omniscience, and is forced to change his plans as a result of human iniquity (1 Sam. 2:30; 15:11; note also, inconsistently, 1 Sam. 15:29!). Even divine oracles proclaimed by the prophets sometimes remained unfulfilled or were controverted by history, a problem that the editors of the prophetic books were forced to address (see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 476–482, 521–524). In none of these cases, however, is there any question about the infallibility of the divine laws or ethical proclamations, which are the focus here. In a sense, Yahweh's fallibility, as the flood story reveals, is that he has created a fallible humanity. For just this reason, prophetic visions of a post-exilic "new age" often include notions of the inauguration of a new moral and religious regime. Such visions often include formulae that distinguish current practice from future transformation: for example, "In those [future] days, no longer shall they say . . . but rather . . ." (Jer. 3:16; 23:7–8; 31:29–30; cf. 16:14–15; Ezek. 18:2); see Moshe Weinfeld, "Jeremiah and the Spiritual Metamorphosis of Israel," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 88 (1976): 17–55. The new regime nonetheless presupposes the continuing validity of divine law. The change lies in the divine reprogramming of human nature, as if to enable – or coerce – fallible humans to heed God's infallible law: "I will set my Torah within them; upon their heart will I write it" (Jer. 31:33a; similarly, Ezek. 36:27).

between renewal and conservatism: between the need to amend laws or create new ones in light of inevitable historical change and the desire to preserve the authority of laws claiming a divine origin.

As a result of this tension, biblical authors developed what may best be described as a “rhetoric of concealment” that served to camouflage the actual literary history of the laws. The revision of old law and the creation of new law continued to occur, just as in the Hittite Laws. But rather than candidly specify, “this law is no longer the case,” as the editor was free to do with secular law, the editor of divine laws found indirect ways to adapt old law to new circumstances without slighting the prestige or authority of laws that tradition ascribed to God. The Ten Commandments or Decalogue, which best symbolizes the Israelite concept of revelation, provides a heuristic point of departure for examining these strategies.<sup>22</sup> The second commandment prohibits idolatry<sup>23</sup> and offers the following rationale for the prohibition:

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22 See Moshe Weinfeld, “The Decalogue: Its Significance, Uniqueness, and Place in Israel’s Tradition,” in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives* (ed. E. W. Firmage, B. G. Weiss, and J. W. Welch; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 3–47. That approach, which regards the Decalogue as ancient and Mosaic in origin, should be supplemented by the model of a late, deuteronomic redaction of the Sinai pericope; see, for example, Christoph Dohmen, “Der Sinaibund als Neuer Bund nach Ex 19–34,” in *Der Neue Bund im Alten: Studien zur Bundestheologie der beiden Testamente* (ed. Erich Zenger; Quaestiones disputatae 146; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 51–83; Erich Zenger, “Wie und wozu die Tora zum Sinai kam: Literarische und theologische Beobachtungen zu Exodus 19–34,” in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. Marc Vervenne; BETL 126; Leuven: University Press/Peeters Press, 1996), 265–288. In this context, it is impossible properly to address the dating of the Decalogue. Nor can the pentateuchal texts that refer to vicarious punishment be fully considered here. The formula is almost certainly not original to the Decalogue. It very likely circulated independently; the range and extent of its inner-biblical reuse suggest its antiquity and prevalence. Further evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the formula’s attestation in non-biblical inscriptions. Inscription B from the tomb cave at Khirbet Beit Lei (sixth century B.C.) reuses the attributes of mercy in the context of a petition to be spared from punishment; see Frank Moore Cross, Jr., “The Cave Inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei,” in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (ed. James A. Sanders; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 299–306. Confirming the decipherment as dependent upon the divine attribute formula and arguing for a deliberate reformulation of it is Patrick D. Miller, Jr., “Psalms and Inscriptions,” in *Congress Volume, Vienna, 1980* (ed. J. A. Emerton; Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 32; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 328–331.

23 With its plural object, this prohibition against worship – “You shall not bow down to *them* or worship *them*” (Exod. 20:5) – cannot originally have continued the present second commandment, which prohibits the manufacture of “*an* idol”, in the singular (Exod. 20:4). More logically, it represents the continuation of the first commandment, which prohibits the worship of other deities, in the plural – “You shall have no other *gods* before me” (Exod. 20:3). At a later stage in the history of Israelite religion, as monotheism replaced monolatry, such references to actual deities were reinterpreted as designating instead the worship of

For I, Yahweh your God, am an impassioned God, *visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children* (פִּקֵּד עוֹן אֲבֹתָ עַל בְּנֵיהֶם), upon the third and the fourth generation of *those who reject me* (לְשֹׂנְאֵי), but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of *those who love me* (לְאַהֲבָי) and *keep my commandments* (וּלְשֹׂמְרֵי מִצְוֹתַי).

(Exodus 20:5–6)

The Hebrew participles translated “those who love” and “those who reject” are not emotional but legal terms. Reflecting the terminology of Hittite and Aramaic state treaties, “love” designates political loyalty to the suzerain while “reject” denotes acts of treason.<sup>24</sup> Israelite authors took over this secular treaty terminology, together with the concept of a binding legal tie, in order to conceptualize the nation’s relationship with its God as a covenant. Now, despite the narrative’s ancient setting, this concept of the covenant actually represents a late development that was then read back into Israel’s origins.<sup>25</sup> These ancient Near Eastern treaties were understood as being made in perpetuity. They were therefore binding not only upon those immediately signatory to them but also upon succeeding generations. Consequently, the punishment for non-compliance stipulated the execution both of those actually party to the treaty and of their progeny. This principle of distributive justice underlies Yahweh’s threat that he will visit his rage upon the third and fourth generation of those guilty of breaking the covenant.<sup>26</sup>

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inert idols. That newer perspective accounts for the interpolation here. The addition to the text prohibits the manufacture of images (v. 4), and thus separates the plural object (v. 5) from its original antecedent (v. 3). First identifying this redactional issue, see Walther Zimmerli, “Das zweite Gebot,” [1950] in idem, *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (Theologische Bücherei 19; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1969), 234–248 (at 236–238).

24 William L. Moran, “The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25 (1963): 77–87; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 81–91.

25 See Lothar Peritt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (WMANT 36; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969). For an attempt, in part, to rehabilitate and rethink the covenant in light of the theological issues raised by Peritt’s dating, see Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

26 Note the thorough study by Meir Weiss, “Some Problems in the Biblical Doctrine of Retribution,” *Tarbiz* 31 (1961–1962): 236–263; 32 (1962–1963): 1–18 (Hebrew); reprinted, *Likḳutei Tarbiz: A Biblical Studies Reader* (ed. Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1979), 71–98, 99–116 (Hebrew). His argument, however, that “third and fourth” simply means “a large number of generations,” and is thus equivalent to “the thousandth generation,” is harmonistic. Moreover, it does not take into account the following parallels to the Neo-Assyrian treaties.



This extension of retribution across three generations strikingly resembles a similar formulation found in a group of treaties made between the Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon and his eastern vassals in 672 B.C., which we discovered only about 40 years ago. In order to ensure their allegiance to Assurbanipal, his heir designate, Esarhaddon required that his vassals swear the following oath demanding their loyalty and accountability across three generations: “As long as *we, our sons [and] our grandsons live* (*anēnu mar’ēni mar’ē mar’ēni*), Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, shall be our king and our lord. If we place any other king or prince over *us, our sons, or our grandsons* (*ina muḫḫīni mar’ēni mar’ē mar’ēni*), may all the gods mentioned by name [in this treaty] hold *us, our seed, and our seed’s seed* to account (*ina qātēni zar’[īn]i zar’i zar’īni*).”<sup>27</sup>

By transferring this Near Eastern convention from the political to the religious domain, the biblical text formulates a doctrine of the transgenerational consequences of sin. Although it is my parent who wrongs God, I and my children and my grandchildren are punished for the parent’s wrongdoing, independent of any particular malfeasance on our part. The text is remarkably silent about whether the actual sinner is punished for his or her own offense or whether the expected punishment might be completely displaced onto the progeny.<sup>28</sup> Precisely this anomaly of justice occurs when God remits the capital punishment due David in double measure – for adultery with Bathsheba and for contriving the murder of Uriah, her Hittite husband – and transfers it instead to their innocent newborn son, who is stricken with a fatal illness (2 Sam. 12:1–15; similarly, 1 Kgs. 21:29).

There here emerges a fundamental ethical and theological problem: Is it not *odious* for God to punish innocent persons, merely for being the progeny of sinners? Abraham took God to task for just this breach of justice while bargaining over the lives of the inhabitants of Sodom: “Shall you sweep away the innocent along with the guilty? . . . Shall not the judge of all the earth deal justly?” (Gen. 18:23, 25). This problem of theodicy raised by the doctrine of transgenerational punishment had vital implications for the nation’s history. Ancient Israel endured a catastrophe in 587 B.C. when, following a two-year siege,

27 The translation of the Akkadian is my own. It draws on the excellent edition by Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, eds., *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (State Archives of Assyria 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), 50 (§57; lines 507–512), and on Erica Reiner, tr., “The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon,” in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (ed. J. B. Pritchard; 3d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 539. Note the similar generational reference at §25; lines 283–291.

28 This delay in exacting punishment was clearly intended as an expression of divine mercy towards the penitent wrongdoer; see Yochanan Muffs, *Love & Joy: Law, Language and Religion in Ancient Israel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 19 (on Exod. 32:34).

the Babylonian army breached the walls of Jerusalem, burned the city, gutted the Temple, and deported the majority of the population to Babylon. The editor of the book of Kings, charged with narrating that history, explained the destruction as the result of divine punishment for the unprecedented iniquities committed – not by the generation contemporary with the destruction – but rather by King Manasseh (696–641 B.C.), stigmatized as committing religious wrongdoing, who ruled three generations beforehand (2 Kgs. 21:1–15; 23:26–27; 24:3–4; contrast 24:19–20).<sup>29</sup> The biblical editor had little choice: how else to explain the gutting and burning of Jerusalem that followed so shortly after the reign of righteous King Josiah, who had been heralded for perfect devotion to the law of Moses (2 Kgs. 23:25)?

### 3. Critical Scrutiny of the Principle in Lamentations

The technique of accounting for the Babylonian Exile as punishment transferred transgenerationally may well have become a commonplace, since it shows up in a number of different texts from the period following the exile. These texts confirm, however, that this historiographic “solution” created as many theological difficulties as it sought to solve. The book of Lamentations preserves a moving poetic dirge over the destruction of Jerusalem and the suffering of its population. Near the book’s close, the speaker seems to share the orientation of the historiographer of Kings as he, too, accounts for the destruction as divine punishment for the apostasy of previous generations. That rationalization is now, however, subjected to critical scrutiny.

Our fathers sinned and are no more;  
But as for us – the punishment for their iniquities we must bear!  
(Lam. 5:7)

The terminology of the lament, which pointedly refers both to “fathers” (אבות) and “punishment for iniquities” (ענינה), alludes to the Decalogue’s doctrine of the transgenerational consequences of sin, in which God describes himself as “visiting the *punishment for the*

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<sup>29</sup> There were three generations from Manasseh’s reign to the time that the Babylonians ended Egyptian control over Judah and made King Jehoiakim their vassal (2 Kgs. 24:1–5): Amon, Josiah, and Josiah’s two sons, Jehoahaz and Eliakim/Jehoiakim. The first deportation occurred in the next (fourth) generation with the deportation of King Jehoiachin (2 Kgs. 24:8–17).

*iniquity of the fathers upon the sons,” פקד עון אבת על בנים* (Exod. 20:5).<sup>30</sup> God’s threat of punishment is here invoked as accomplished fact – but now for the first time from the perspective of the progeny who proclaim their innocence by restricting culpability to the previous generation. By insinuating the innocence of his own generation, the speaker asserts the injustice of divine justice. In the Hebrew of the lament, the words for “fathers” (אבות) and for “the punishment for iniquities” (עונות) are strongly linked by both assonance and rhyme. Only the suffixes that specify “our fathers” (אבותינו) and “the punishment for their iniquities” (עונותיהם) break the similarity of sound. The broken assonance highlights the fractured logic: the punishment that the speakers endure is not for their own but for their *fathers’* apostasy. The literary allusion amounts to the censure of a text whose infrangible authority is precisely the problem.

The injustice of the doctrine also raises important practical difficulties. It creates an overwhelming sense of the futility of historical action altogether, inasmuch as the progeny cannot free themselves from the consequences of the past. It amounts to determinism. After the catastrophe of Judah’s destruction and exile, the future would have seemed radically foreclosed: the direct result not of one’s own but of a previous generation’s action. God himself anticipates the despair of the first group of deportees, citing their complaint in advance: “How then shall we survive?” (Ezek. 33:10) Any step forward – whether towards personal renewal or national reconstruction – quite logically appeared pointless. For both theological and existential-historical reasons, therefore, we can expect biblical authors to struggle relentlessly against the injustice of the Decalogue’s doctrine.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. The Transformation of Divine Justice in Ezekiel

Precisely as Judah faced the prospect of national destruction, the prophet Ezekiel (active 593–573 B.C.) provided a profound meditation on the impact of temporality upon human

30 Providing criteria to distinguish textual dependence from simple sharing of common language, and thus distinguishing between allusion (as intentional reuse) and “intertextuality” (which technically considers the questions of intention and of dependence irrelevant), see Benjamin D. Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger,” *Vetus Testamentum* 46 (1996): 479–489; and idem, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6–72.

31 See Michael Fishbane, “Torah and Tradition,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. Douglas A. Knight; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 275–282; and idem, *Biblical Interpretation*, 335–350. The following analysis is indebted to Fishbane’s work.

action. Ezekiel had been among the upper echelon of Judean society deported to Babylon in 597. He told his fellow deportees about an oracle he had recently received:

The word of Yahweh came to me: “How dare you bandy about this proverb upon the soil of Israel, ‘*Fathers* (אבות) eat sour grapes and their *children’s* (הבנים) teeth are set on edge?’ As I live – declares the Lord Yahweh – this proverb shall no longer be current among you in Israel. Consider: all lives are mine. The life of the father and the life of the child are both mine. The person who sins, only he shall die!”

(Ezek. 18:1–4)<sup>32</sup>

The proverb cited by the prophet concerns itself not with literal sour grapes but with moral ones, with wrongdoing and its consequences for successive generations. The prophet rejects this proverb and substitutes for it a clear statement of individual responsibility: henceforth the father shall suffer for his own misdeeds; the child will be spared inherited punishment. Strikingly, while rejecting the proverb as offensive, Ezekiel never disputes that the moral economy it depicts has been valid hitherto! The correspondence between the rejected proverb and the Decalogue’s doctrine of transgenerational punishment can hardly be accidental. The two share not only the notion of retribution vicariously transmitted from one generation to the next but also common terminology: the resonant language of “fathers” (אבות) and “children” (בנים, literally, “sons”). At the same time, the overlap is only partial: sufficient for the proverb to resonate with the Decalogue doctrine but insufficiently specific or extensive to point to an explicit citation or reuse. Might Ezekiel’s *indirection* be intentional? The proverb almost certainly functions as a straw man. After all, the perception among the exiles that they suffer innocently and that divine justice is arbitrary is perhaps the least of Ezekiel’s problems (see Ezek. 18:25, 29; 33:17). The more serious problem is that this popular perception of divine *injustice* has sanction in ancient Israel’s formative canon! For Ezekiel *explicitly* to reject transgenerational punishment would require the prophet to repudiate an authoritative teaching at-

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32 This translation is indebted to *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1988); and Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel, 1–20* (Anchor Bible 22; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 325.

tributed to Yahweh.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, failing to repudiate the doctrine validates the deportees' perception that Yahweh is unjust and that their future is foreclosed.

I contend, therefore, that Ezekiel uses the proverb as a strategic foil for the problematic act of effectively abrogating a divine law. The prophet in effect “de-voices” the doctrine’s original attribution to God and then “re-voices” it as folk wisdom. By this means the oracle obscures its subversion of the divine instruction found in the Decalogue. While it is a simple matter to repudiate a folk saying, it cannot but raise serious theological problems to reject the Decalogue’s concept of transgenerational punishment as morally repugnant.

Ezekiel’s new conception of divine justice presupposes learned textual reworking. The prophet draws upon a precedent that prohibits vicarious punishment specifically in the sphere of civil and criminal law:

Fathers (אבות) shall not be put to death on account of sons (ובנים),    A  
 nor sons (ובנים) be put to death on account of fathers (אבות);            B  
 each shall (only) be put to death for his own offence.                    C  
(Deut. 24:16)

The judicial requirement outlined here for individual retribution in the sphere of civil and criminal law, and the prohibition against collective punishment, almost certainly served as a legal and literary precedent for the prophet.<sup>34</sup> He cites it in precise reverse order, so that

33 Joel S. Kaminsky regards the principle of individual responsibility advanced by Ezekiel 18 in *ad hoc* terms as a situation-specific response, rather than as a concerted rejection of transgenerational punishment altogether, let alone as a rejection of a particular text or specific tradition (*Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible* [JSOTSup 196; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 189). While Kaminsky concedes the influence of the formula for secular justice (Deut. 24:24), he denies it in the case of the formula for divine justice. His approach seeks to redress the tendency of past scholarship to impose an external agenda on the chapter by regarding it as pivotal in the development of a theology of individual salvation within ancient Israel (see n. 36 below). The hesitation to assign the weight of formal doctrinal change to the chapter is therefore understandable. Yet going to the opposite extreme of denying both the diachronic development of theological ideas and the possibility of the prophet’s critically challenging an existing doctrine of divine justice raises an equal concern. Eliminating both possibilities denies the prophet his agency and creativity. Further, the technique used to isolate each text from the other so as to deny textual allusion or doctrinal contradiction corresponds precisely to the method of classical harmonistic legal exegesis. That approach qualifies the otherwise nuanced theological reading.

34 The scholarly consensus, which I follow, regards Ezekiel 18 as later than Deuteronomy 24 and therefore allows for such literary dependence. A recent challenge to that consensus, however, regards Deuteronomy 19–25 as a very late addition to the legal corpus that, in effect, is “post-Deuteronomic,” and that draws upon

ABC becomes C' B' A'; I will say more about this technique of inverted citation later. This precedent enabled Ezekiel to bring religious justice into conformity with secular justice by means of analogical legal reasoning. Ezekiel revises and reapplies the original law so that now also governs offences against the deity:<sup>35</sup>

The person who sins, (only) he shall die:	C'
<u>a son</u> (בן) shall not bear the iniquity of <u>the father</u> (אב),	B'
nor shall <u>a father</u> (אב) bear the iniquity of <u>the son</u> (בן).	A'
(Ezek. 18:20)	

In the rest of the chapter Ezekiel exploits the proverb in an intricately crafted series of acute reflections upon morality in order to deprive the proverb of any moral validity whatsoever: neither righteousness nor sin, neither reward nor punishment may be communicated between generations (18:10–20).<sup>36</sup> The prophet finally rejects the generational logic of the proverb altogether and transforms it into a metaphor for the freedom of an

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both Ezekiel and the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26). That perspective reverses the direction of dependence in this case, maintaining that Deut. 24:16 depends upon Ezekiel 18. For this argument, see Georg Braulik, “Ezechiel und Deuteronomium: Die ‘Sippenhaftung’ in Ezechiel 18,20 und Deuteronomium 24,16 unter Berücksichtigung von Jeremia 31,29–30 und 2 Kön 14,6,” in idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und seiner Nachgeschichte* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 33; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001), 171–201. Braulik himself cites challenges to his redactional analysis (*loc. cit.*, 200 n.122).

35 This analysis follows Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 333; and Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 337–341. On inverted citation as marking reuse (as noted by Greenberg), see the analysis of Deut. 7:9–10 below. The likelihood of the reuse of Deut. 24:16 is increased with the recognition that Ezekiel 18 contains a complex series of re-workings of prior legal texts (Ezek. 18:7–8, 13, 16, 18 reuse Deut. 23:20–21; 24:6, 10–15, 17; so Fishbane, *loc. cit.*).

36 The doctrine of repentance cannot be viewed as operating only in the context of the individual: its application is simultaneously individual and national. See the thoughtful study by Baruch J. Schwartz, “Repentance and Determinism in Ezekiel,” *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies: The Bible and Its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), 123–130. Other scholars properly stress the national reference but regard it as inconsistent with a focus also on the individual; see Paul M. Joyce, “Individual Responsibility in Ezekiel 18?,” in *Studia biblica 1978: Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford, 3–7 April 1978* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1979), 185–196; and Gordon H. Matties, *Ezekiel 18 and the Rhetoric of Moral Discourse in the Book of Ezekiel* (SBLDS 126; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 113–158. Paul M. Joyce astutely rejects the widespread assumption of an evolution within ancient Israel from belief in corporate responsibility to individual responsibility, with Ezekiel 18 providing the transition between the two; see idem, “Ezekiel and Individual Responsibility,” in *Ezekiel and His Book* (ed. J. Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Peeters Press, 1986), 317–332.

individual to transform and renew his or her life, at every moment in his or her life, whatever the burden of his or her past (18:21–29).<sup>37</sup> Even if one has committed unremitting evil, Ezekiel contends, should one repent, one will not suffer the consequences of that evil (18:21–23, 27–29). The individual is held accountable for the moral decisions he or she makes in the present. Ezekiel’s theology of freedom works to counter notions among his contemporaries of the futility of action. The prophet contends that the future is not hermetically closed but hermeneutically open. Ezekiel began with inexorable fate but ends with freedom, moral action, and repentance as the sole forces that govern human action.

### 5. The Homily on Divine Justice in Deuteronomy

An even more remarkable transformation of the Decalogue doctrine can be found within the legal corpus of the Pentateuch itself. Deuteronomy presents itself as a Mosaic address to the nation of Israel, forty years after Sinai, on the eve of the nation’s entry into the promised land (Deut. 1:1–3). According to the editorial superscription, Moses here explicates the laws that God had earlier proclaimed (Deut. 1:5) and exhorts the nation to obedience. In this new literary setting, Moses, while reviewing the past, ostensibly quotes the Decalogue (Deuteronomy 5) and then preaches to the nation concerning it. Moses thus expounds upon divine justice:

Know, therefore, that only Yahweh your God is God, the steadfast God who keeps his gracious covenant to the thousandth generation of those who love him and keep his commandments, but who requites (וְיִשְׁלַח) those

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37 Ezekiel’s formulation of freedom is essentially modern in its conceptual structure, despite its religious terminology. Structurally similar is the conceptualization of moral freedom as independence from the burden of the past by Immanuel Kant. He establishes a dialectical notion of freedom: although there is no freedom from causality (from an immediately preceding cause) within nature, such freedom exists from the vantage point of ethics and religion. He intricately probes the issues involved in holding someone morally accountable who is a habitual liar. “Reason is present in all the actions of men at all times and under all circumstances, and is always the same; but it is not itself in time, and does not fall into any new state in which it was not before. . . . When we say that in spite of his whole previous course of life the agent could have refrained from lying, this only means that the act is under the immediate power of reason, and that reason in its causality is not subject to any conditions of appearance or of time.” See Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason* (tr. Norman Kemp Smith; unabridged edition; New York: St. Martin’s; Toronto: Macmillan, 1965), 478 (A556/B584).

who reject him (לשנאיו) – to their face (אל פניו), by destroying them. He does not delay with anyone who rejects him – to his face (אל פניו) he requites him (ישלם לו).

(Deut. 7:9–10)

The vocabulary of this passage makes it clear that the speaker alludes specifically to the Decalogue, which he has previously quoted (chapter 5). This reuse of the Decalogue is marked by the ancient scribal technique of inverted citation, which we have already seen in the case of Ezekiel, and which is technically called “Seidel’s Law.”<sup>38</sup> Let me clarify.

Often in the Bible and post-biblical literature, an author will quote a source in inverted order, such that a text sequence AB would recur elsewhere as B’A’. Thus, in the present case, the first person sequence of the Decalogue – (A) “those who reject me” (לשנאי) and (B) “those who love me and keep my commandments” (לאהבי ולשמרי מצותי; Deut 5:9–10) – is inverted. In the new context, it is recast as a third-person report: (B’) “those who love him and keep his commandments” (לאהביו ולשמרי מצותו) and (A’) “those who reject him” (לשנאיו).

The Mosaic speaker purports to provide a homiletic paraphrase of the formula for divine justice in the Decalogue.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the homily so fundamentally transforms the original as to revoke it. The speaker strategically deletes references to the transgenerational consequences of sin and instead asserts the immediate punishment of the sinner. By implication, divine punishment for sin is restricted to the sinner alone. In contrast to the

38 The principle of inverted citation (see also n. 35 above) is named after its discoverer: M. Seidel, “Parallels between Isaiah and Psalms,” *Sinai* 38 (1955–1956): 149–172, 229–240, 272–280, 335–355, at p. 150; reprinted, idem, *Hiqrei Miqra* (Jerusalem: Rav Kook Institute, 1978), 1–97 (Hebrew). Seidel’s claims are often insufficiently controlled by criteria for establishing the direction of dependence. More controlled uses include Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Textual Study of the Bible – A New Outlook,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 362–363; P. Beentjes, “Inverted Quotations in the Bible: A Neglected Stylistic Pattern,” *Biblica* 63 (1982): 506–523; Marc Z. Brettler, “Jud 1,1–2,10: From Appendix to Prologue,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 101 (1989): 434; and Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 35 and 219 nn. 11–12. On this and related editorial markers, see Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 17–20.

39 The proposal that “those who reject him/anyone who rejects him” (Deut. 7:10) tags לשנאי, “those who reject me” (Exod. 20:5 = Deut. 5:9) raises a series of issues that go beyond the scope of this essay to address properly. If my analysis is correct, it provides indirect evidence for the originality of לשנאי within the divine attribute formula.



Decalogue, the progeny, *here strikingly unmentioned*, are not explicitly visited with divine punishment.

The doctrine of individual retribution is not presented as a departure from the *status quo*, as in the case of Ezekiel. Instead, the new teaching is presented as consistent with the very doctrine that it rejects: as an authoritatively taught “re-citation” of the original *theologoumenon* or divine saying. The author of this text marshals the very words of the formula for transgenerational punishment against itself. Its key terms are redeployed so as to abrogate transgenerational punishment and mandate individual retribution instead:

A	who requites	ומשלם
B	<u>those who reject him</u> – <i>to their face</i> ,	לשנאוּ אֵל פְּנֵי
X	<i>by destroying them.</i>	לְהַאבִּידוּ
X	<i>He does not delay</i>	לֹא יֵאָחֵז
B'	with <u>anyone who rejects him</u> – <i>to his face</i>	לְשֵׁנֹאֵי אֵל פְּנֵי
A'	he requites him.	יִשְׁלַם לוֹ

#### Lematic Reworking in Support of Doctrinal Innovation (Deut. 7:10)<sup>40</sup>

The chiastic pattern of the repetition frames and thus highlights Deuteronomy’s ethical innovation (marked by *X*): the introduction of the notion that God “does not delay” (לֹא יֵאָחֵז) retributive justice, that is, that punishment no longer occurs transgenerationally. That doctrinal innovation is accomplished by means of textual reformulation. In the diagram, the underlining shows how a key term from the originally problematic text is cited: the retribution due “those who reject him,” which alludes to “those who reject me” in the Decalogue. Once cited, however, the same term receives a new continuation: the new teaching of individual responsibility (as the diagram’s italicized text shows). The double annotation stipulates that God requites the sinner, literally, “to his face” (אֵל פְּנֵי).<sup>41</sup> As the medieval commen-

40 The singular pronominal suffix is employed here in the Hebrew rather than the expected plural form; see Samuel R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (3d ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 102.

41 Contrary to several modern translations, the phrase cannot mean “immediately” or “instantly.” There is no evidence in the Bible for instantaneous divine retribution for wrongdoing. Thus missing the point are the translations offered by Moffat’s American version (“immediately”) and by the new Jewish Publication Society Version (“instantly”); see *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988),

tator Rashi (1040–1105) accurately saw, the phrase means “in his lifetime” (בְּחַיָּיו).<sup>42</sup> The annotations redefine divine punishment and restrict it so that it no longer extends across generations.<sup>43</sup> The paraphrase of the source thus abrogates the source, which now propounds the doctrine of individual responsibility.

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286. The *Tanakh* translation must derive from Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Mikra ki-Peschuto* (3 vols.; Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1899–1901), 1.323.

- 42 Rashi frequently embeds classical rabbinic exegesis, particularly *midrash halakha*, in his commentary on the Pentateuch. In this case, his annotation directly reflects the Aramaic Targum Onqelos. The latter does not strictly translate the lemma of Deut. 7:10 but rather amplifies it midrashically, to argue that God “requires the good deeds of those who reject him in their lifetime (בְּחַיָּיהוֹן), so as to cause them to perish.” Ironically, the correct insight into the literal meaning of the specific phrase in the lemma – the recognition that “to his face” means “in his life” – actually comes in the service of a midrashic transformation of the verse. The verse is reinterpreted to forestall the inevitable question of theodicy raised by the verse in its literal meaning: How is it that, if God truly rewards the righteous and punishes the guilty, does the experience of life suggest the contrary: that the wicked seem to prosper in the world, while the righteous suffer? The midrashic solution to the problem is to extend the analysis into the afterlife. The wicked receive reward for their good deeds only in this life while they are requited for their iniquity by being denied a share in the world to come. The righteous, conversely, suffer only in this life for any iniquities they may have committed while being rewarded for their good deeds with the assurance of a place in the world to come. That extension of the time span of the verse into a putative afterlife, however, completely contradicts the radical claim for divine justice within history made by Deut. 7:10. These issues are overlooked in the untenable claim concerning the Targum: “The Aramaic paraphrase is a reasonable interpretation of the verse’s *peshat* [literal sense]”; so, Israel Drazin, *Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy: An English Translation of the Text with Analysis and Commentary (Based on A. Sperber’s Edition)* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1982), 115. In its rendering of Deut. 7:10, Onqelos corresponds closely to the Palestinian Targumic tradition, which has a well-known proclivity for extensive “aggadic” expansions. See the rendering of Deut. 7:10 in Michael L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; Analecta Biblica 76; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 1.213; 2.171. For the social and theological context of these additions, see Avigdor Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Makor, 1979), 2.301 (Hebrew). The best edition of Rashi’s Commentary on the Pentateuch, citing his classical sources (here noting the correspondence with Targum Onqelos) is Charles Ber Chavel, ed., *Perushe Rashi ‘al ha-Torah* (3rd ed.; Jerusalem: Rav Kook Institute, 1985–1986), 532 (Hebrew). The latter, of course, does not address the exegetical issues discussed here. Finally, despite its midrashic turn, Rashi is correct to follow Targum Onqelos in understanding “to his face” (אֶל פָּנָיו) as meaning “in his lifetime” (בְּחַיָּיו). An equivalent idiom occurs elsewhere: “Haran died during the lifetime of (עַל פְּנֵי) Terah, his father” (Gen. 11:28a, literally, “upon the face of”; cf. Num. 3:4).
- 43 A member of the Spanish school of medieval rabbinic exegesis, Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164 A.D.), rejected Rashi’s midrashic approach. Ibn Ezra recognized that the issue in Deut. 7:10 is not an opposition between this world and the afterlife but between individual responsibility and vicarious punishment. He correctly, if quietly, saw that the verse contradicts the Decalogue doctrine by restricting judgment to the agent “himself” (לְעַצְמוֹ). See Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary on the Torah* (ed. A. Weiser; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Rav Kook Institute, 1977), 3.238 (Hebrew). Ironically, ibn Ezra’s rendering is almost identical to that of the

In formal terms, the new dispensation represents a studied series of annotations to the original doctrine, cited almost as a scriptural lemma that requires a commentary or, technically, a “gloss.” In using the term lemma, I refer to a unit of text that is formally cited and commented upon, a phenomenon well known in the literature of classical antiquity. In substantive terms, however, far from simply elucidating the lemma, the author of the gloss subverts it. Moreover, there is no formal demarcation between the lemma and its annotation: the gloss is not distinguished from the lemma itself. Here the revisionist voice of the glossator directly continues, and is equal in authority with, the divine voice of the source. The revision of tradition asserts the originality of tradition. It presents itself as scripture, not as commentary upon scripture.

The reworking of authoritative texts to make them sanction the needs of later generations, or to sanction a later interpretation of religious law as having “scriptural” warrant, is more conventionally associated with much later stages in the history of religion (ca. 200 B.C. through 200 A.D.). It is evident in the reuse of the Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the book of Jubilees, and in the exegetical midrashim of the rabbinic period, for example.<sup>44</sup> Classical antiquity also attests a genre of scholastic commentary, formally structured as lemma and gloss.<sup>45</sup> Deuteronomy’s transformation of the doctrine for transgenerational punishment into one that propounds individual responsibility confirms the sophisticated use of such techniques in pre-exilic Judean literature: centuries earlier than it has previously been recognized.

The authors of Deuteronomy employ two techniques to present their reformulation covertly. I call the first “lemmatic citation and reformulation.” The new doctrine of individual retribution cites the very doctrine that it replaces, yet does so “atomistically.” It selectively redeployes individual words as markers of tradition while breaking down their original se-

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modern New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). Making allowance for the NRSV’s commitment to gender-neutral language, its correct translation (“in their own person”) precisely corresponds to that earlier proposed by ibn Ezra.

44 The literature of course is vast. Demonstrating continuities of exegetical technique between biblical and post-biblical reworking of texts is Michael Fishbane, “Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin J. Mulder; Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2:3; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 339–377.

45 See H. Gregory Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews and Christians* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 75–82.

matic reference.<sup>46</sup> Reduced to a cluster of individual lemmas and then reassembled in a new context, the older doctrine becomes infused with new content. Citation here functions less as an acknowledgement of the authority of a source than as a means to transform that source: to “re-inscribe” that source in a new context that, in effect, restricts and contracts its original authority.<sup>47</sup>

The second literary device is pseudepigraphy, the attribution of a text to a prestigious speaker from the past.<sup>48</sup> The authors of Deuteronomy do not write directly in their own voice. Instead, they harness the voice of Moses in order, literally and metaphorically, to “authorize” their reformulation of the Decalogue. The risk of discontinuity with tradition is thus paradoxically avoided by attributing the revision of the Decalogue doctrine to the same Mosaic speaker credited with propounding it in the first place. Equally profound transformations of ancient Israel’s formative canon take place elsewhere in Deuteronomy, especially in its legal corpus (chapters 12–26), as I have demonstrated elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> Nor is this phenomenon restricted to Deuteronomy. The Pentateuch has a vital le-

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46 *Contra* Joachim Schaper, who reduces to a logical absurdity the premise that the tendentious “exegetical” reworking of a prestigious or authoritative text might either abrogate that text or curtail its authority (“Schriftauslegung und Schriftwerdung im alten Israel: Eine vergleichende Exegese von Ex 20.24–26 und Dtn 12.13–19,” *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 5 [1999]: 111–132.). The history of interpretation requires a more dialectical model of hermeneutics. In this example, whereby transgenerational punishment is replaced by individual retribution, the latter doctrine finally controls the way that the former one is understood and taught, as the targumic tradition confirms (see next section).

47 For the same phenomenon in the legal corpus of Deuteronomy, see Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, 46–48.

48 See the stimulating analysis of Morton Smith, “Pseudepigraphy in the Israelite Literary Tradition,” in *Pseudepigrapha I: Pseudopythagorica – Lettres de Platon – Littérature pseudépigraphe juive* (ed. Kurt von Fritz; Fondation Hardt; Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique 18; Geneva: Vandœuvres, 1971), 191–215 (with ensuing panel discussion). Both techniques are attested within the Dead Sea Scrolls; see Moshe J. Bernstein, “Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions,” *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–26. Addressing the theological issues raised by false attribution but doing so apologetically, see David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition* (WUNT 39; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1986). For a discussion of pseudepigraphy’s importance for the authority claim of rabbinic literature, see Martin S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE–400 CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23–25.

49 For an analysis of these changes in the areas of sacrifice, the calendar, and the public administration, see Eckart Otto, “Von der Gerichtsordnung zum Verfassungsentwurf: Deuteronomische Gestaltung und deuteronomistische Interpretation im ‘Ämtergesetz’ Dtn. 16,18–18,22,” in “*Wer ist wie du, HERR, unter den Göttern?*” *Studien zur Theologie und Religionsgeschichte Israels für Otto Kaiser* (ed. Ingo Kottsieper et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 142–155; and Levinson, *Deuteronomy*.

gal and intellectual history in which later authors and editors respond to, challenge, reinterpret, contravert, reconcile, expand, and harmonize the earlier layers of the legal tradition.<sup>50</sup> From this perspective, legal hermeneutics does not belong simply to the post-biblical reception history of scripture. Instead, human legal hermeneutics plays a significant role in the very creation of scripture.<sup>51</sup>

## 6. The Interpretation of Divine Justice in the Targum

With the close of the Scriptural canon, texts such as Ezekiel 18 and Deuteronomy 7, whose authors had each earlier struggled obliquely with the authority of the Decalogue, have now themselves won authoritative status coextensive with it. Indeed, in a striking reversal of literary history, these passages now eclipse the Decalogue's doctrine of trans-generational punishment since they mediate its reception and interpretation for later communities of readers. A text from this post-biblical period offers a final strategy for the reformulation of revelation.

As Hebrew ceased being spoken by Jews under Persian and then Hellenistic rule, it was gradually replaced by either Aramaic or Greek as the lingua franca. Consequently, translations of the Bible into these new vernacular languages became necessary to serve the liturgical needs of the community.<sup>52</sup> The Aramaic translation that eventually became dominant in Babylonia during the talmudic period (ca. 200–640 A.D.) is called Targum

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50 See Eckart Otto, *Theologische Ethik des Alten Testaments* (Theologische Wissenschaft 3.2, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1994), 230–234; *idem*, “Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitsgesetz Levitikus 17–26,” in *Leviticus als Buch* (ed. H. J. Fabry and H. W. Jüngling; BBB 119; Berlin: Philo, 1999), 125–196. Also see Jan Christian Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 186; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 29–73.

51 Analysis of the literary history, composition, and textual development of the Qur'ān remains exceedingly rare even within ostensibly *academic* Islamic Studies. For the reasons for this situation, see the brilliant work of John Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (London Oriental Studies 31; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 43–52, 202–227. One cannot be a Muslim and think historically about the Qur'ān as having a compositional history: that would be a contradiction in terms and an invalidation of the faith. The recent discovery of ancient Yemenite manuscripts of the Qur'ān significantly complicates, however, the standard notion of the 'Uthmanic recension (*imām*). Specifying the implications and the sensitivities involved, see Toby Lester, “What is the Koran?” in *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 283, no. 1 (January 1999): 43–56; available online at <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/99jan/koran.htm>.

52 See Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint”; and Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” in *Mikra*, 161–188, 217–254 (full citation of this volume in n. 44 above). On the Targums, see

Onqelos. In the main, it is simple and non-expansive, and commonly regarded as a literal translation of the Hebrew. In translating the Decalogue, however, Onqelos makes several telling additions, as shown in italics:

... visiting the guilt of the fathers upon the *rebellious* (מרדין) children, upon the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me, *when the children continue to sin* (כד משלמין בניה למהטי) as their fathers (אבהתהון בהר).<sup>53</sup>

Like the “Moses” of Deuteronomy 7, the Aramaic Targum presents itself, not as a revision or as a new teaching, but as the original significance of the Hebrew source text. Nonetheless, by means of their additions, the post-biblical interpreters responsible for Onqelos have God restrict the punishment so that only the guilty, never the innocent, are punished. Only when sinful action is transgenerational – “when the children continue to sin as their fathers” – is the punishment fittingly transgenerational as well. As such, only “rebellious” children are punished, never the innocent progeny of sinful fathers.

This radical reformulation of the original doctrine amounts to a post-biblical theodicy. The Targum’s authors expunge the slightest chance of God’s espousing a doctrine of injustice. What the text means, the Targum affirms, is that divine justice requires a notion of individual responsibility. There exists no adequate doctrine of divine justice except as the voice of Yahweh in the Decalogue is heard through and understood to be consistent with Ezekiel’s prophetic oracle and the homily of Deuteronomy 7. In harmonizing these texts, the authors of the Targum present their exegetical accommodation of the Decalogue to Ezekiel 18 and Deuteronomy 7 as the literal meaning and original significance of the Decalogue itself. The human voice of exegesis in the Targum thereby creates the divine voice of the Decalogue anew in its own image.

In solving one problem, however, the Targum’s revision creates others. If God only punishes those who commit wrongdoing in each generation, then the doctrine of the transgenerational consequences of sin has been entirely vitiated. While the corrected version saves God from committing iniquity, it also makes the original text redundant. What is the logic

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also John W. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

53 *Tg. Onq. Exod. 20:5*; see A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts: The Pentateuch According to Targum Onqelos* (5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1959–1973), 1.122 (my translation).

for even mentioning the generations if it is only individual retribution that operates, no longer transgenerational punishment? The original doctrine has now been reduced to a lexical shell, devoid of its original content.

The Targum has created a *tertium quid*: transgenerational punishment is suddenly contingent upon whether each generation continues in the ways of the preceding one. Thereby a paradox emerges. The attempt to eliminate the contradiction between the Decalogue and Ezekiel 18 has introduced a new version of the Decalogue that is consistent neither with the original Decalogue (since it now asserts individual retribution) nor with Ezekiel 18 (since Ezekiel's doctrine of repentance passes unmentioned).<sup>54</sup> Here yet another paradox emerges. The very drive to maintain the coherence of the canon has abrogated, both by addition and subtraction, the primary requirement of that canon *not* to innovate, whether by addition or subtraction.

### 7. Conclusions: The Canon as Sponsor of Innovation

Textual authority was widely challenged and actively debated in ancient Israel. Yet that debate took place in textual terms. The evidence presented here makes it possible to enrich Jonathan Z. Smith's theoretical model of exegetical ingenuity by complicating its assumption of a simple priority of foundational "canon" to subsequent "exegesis." Already evident in the wide range of texts that much later came to be selected, anthologized, and incorporated into the canon is a technical facility with texts and with interpretation. The ineluctable connection between religious renewal and textual reworking brings into clear focus the role of the technically trained scribe as the agent of cultural change. The skilled scribe is both thinker and religious visionary; spirit becomes manifest in the scribe's revision of a text. From the perspective of ancient Israel, revelation does not consist of some kind of literal divine manifestation or theophany that takes place prior to or independent of the text; revelation is in the text and of the text.

The conceptual breakthrough is grounded in the text; the originality of thought is a consequence of engagement with the textual curriculum; and the break with tradition presents itself in terms of continuity with tradition. Ingenuity here takes the form of literary sophistication: the skill by means of which successive writers were able to conceal the conflict between their new doctrine of individual retribution and the authoritative principle of trans-

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<sup>54</sup> See *b. Ber.* 7a; *b. Sanh.* 27b; *b. Šebu.* 39a; as noted by Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 345 n. 72.

generational punishment. That ingenuity required striking technical means – dodges both of voice (including devoicing, revoicing, and pseudepigraphy) and of the scribal craft (including Seidel's law and lemmatic citation and reapplication). This extensive repertoire of sleights of scribal hand suggests the difficulty of innovation in ancient Israel.

Paradoxically, such sophistication equally underscores the wide-ranging possibilities of authorial creativity, as Israel's formative canon itself sponsors innovation even as it seems to proscribe it. Nor does the process cease with the canon's closure, as the Targum's reading of individual responsibility into the Decalogue demonstrates. The reworking of tradition presents itself as the original significance of tradition; the challenge to the source is read back into the source; the author renders his own voice silent by attributing that voice to the authoritative source, thereby allowing the author to emerge all the more powerfully as author, thinker, and reworker of tradition. The Torah is radically transformed by the interpretation of Torah.

Tradition itself emerges here as a hermeneutical construction, since the citation of tradition provides a means to rework tradition. Citation does not entail passive deference to the ostensibly authoritative source but rather critical engagement with it.<sup>55</sup> Israel's concept of textual authority was thus profoundly dialectical. For all the rhetoric of concealment – the impossibility of making innovation explicit or of employing the human voice – the very act of concealment, marked by the deliberate strategies just identified, reveals the innovator – the human author – at work. Notwithstanding its ostensible powerlessness before the authority of the canon, the human voice in ancient Israel was not diminished but augmented. Through its various forms of indirection, it purchased sufficient autonomy to *replace* the received understanding of divine punishment with a new principle of justice. The divine speech of biblical law and prophecy thereby reveals the transformative human voice: the voice of authors, thinkers, and writers, passionately engaged with tradition.

The religious creativity of ancient Israel refuses any easy dichotomy between grammar and spirit, between technical scribal training and religious creativity, between philology and phenomenology. By challenging disciplinary conventions of both method and theory, the paradoxical structure of textual authority in ancient Israel opens out to the humanities. But here I see a difficulty. Contemporary theory has all but divorced itself from the study of Scripture, from thinking in a sophisticated way about religion. The biblical text often seems

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55 See Bernard M. Levinson, "The Hermeneutics of Tradition in Deuteronomy," in idem, *"The Right Chorus": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (FAT 54; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 256–275.



to be regarded as a parade example of a fossilized text that encodes and perpetuates concepts of power, hierarchy, domination, privilege, xenophobia, patriarchy, and colonialism. The truth is much more complex. The less recognized but equally serious counterpart to scientific illiteracy is the widespread lack of knowledge in today's world about the breakthroughs provided by *academic* religious studies and the recovery of the literature of the ancient Near East. Many, even within the broader academic community, have not had the opportunity to learn how to read the Bible critically, historically, and intellectually. The absence of a historical and of a philological approach to Scripture has transformed the scriptural text into a golden calf, lacking in intellectual complexity, awaiting theory for its redemption.

Once viewed adequately, however, the scriptural canon itself deconstructs the false dichotomies that are repeatedly projected onto it. Theory does not bring hermeneutics or revisionist reading to the ancient text; the text invites the capable reader to recognize the theory latent in it. The canonical text arises from and sustains its own history of reception and interpretation. Although chronologically prior, therefore, the canonical source is not *ontologically* prior, since the past is rethought and interpreted from the vantage point of the present. The authoritative source reveals hermeneutics. If canonization conventionally represents an anthropologizing attempt to gain closure, then the texts of the Hebrew Bible militate in the opposite direction. They resist any simple notion of canonical authority or of Scripture as one-sidedly divine. They tolerate no such hierarchies or binary oppositions. The so-called canon formula may sound like a simple, rigid commandment that inhibits renewal: "You must not add anything to what I command you nor take anything away from it." Yet from its very first appropriation by ancient Israelite authors, it already marked a site of creative textual transformation. At every point where fidelity to the canon is invoked, closer examination shows the issues to be much more complicated, with the claim of an unchanging canon itself finally emerging as an authorial construction to sanction innovation. Seen from that vantage point, the canon is radically open. It invites innovation, it demands interpretation, it challenges piety, it questions priority, it sanctifies subversion, it warrants difference, and it embeds critique. Scholars across the humanities would benefit from deeper exploration of this rich paradox.

SEINER ZEIT VORAUSS? WIE DAS FORUM ROMANUM  
ZU EINER NEUEN PLATZSTRUKTUR FAND  
SUSANNE MUTH

Städtischer Raum ist immer ein Spiegel derjenigen Gesellschaft, die sich diesen Raum schafft, um in ihm so zu leben, wie sie darin leben möchte. Grundsätzlich bestehen bestimmte Bedürfnisse und Interessen, wie dieser Raum als Bühne des städtischen Lebens benutzt und bespielt werden soll. Und entsprechend diesen Bedürfnissen und Interessen wird der städtische Raum dann auch geformt – durch seine architektonische Gestaltung und durch seine räumliche Strukturierung. Und indem der Raum so geformt ist, dass er bestimmte Rituale und Interessen städtischen Lebens unterstützt und andere hingegen eher erschwert, trägt der so gestaltete städtische Raum seinerseits auch wieder dazu bei, das hier gewünschte Leben zu realisieren, es gar zu provozieren und zu stimulieren. Dieser enge Konnex zwischen den Interessen einerseits und der Formung des städtischen Raumes andererseits wird vor allem dort spannend, wo sich verschiedene Interessen überschneiden, gar gegeneinander konkurrieren – und wo sich diese Interessen zugleich auch verdichten, nachdrücklicher verfolgt und verteidigt werden: Das gilt besonders für den Raum des städtischen Zentrums, den Mittelpunkt der Stadt – dort, wo sich die politischen Kräfte repräsentieren und sich die Identität der bürgerlichen Gemeinschaft formuliert.

Betrachten wir diese grundsätzlichen Mechanismen kurz an einem (aus Berliner Perspektive naheliegendem) Beispiel: der Diskussion um die Gestaltung des ehemaligen Schlossplatzes in Berlin. Keine Baustelle im aktuellen Stadtbild Berlins wird derart kontrovers diskutiert wie die Neugestaltung des Platzes mitten auf der Museumsinsel, wo einst das Schloss der preußischen Könige und deutschen Kaiser stand (Abb. 1). Seit dem 15. Jahrhundert beherrschte das Schloss der Hohenzollern diesen urbanen Raum und bildete seitdem den politischen und repräsentativen Mittelpunkt Berlins. Seine imposante Architektur visualisiert dabei nachdrücklich den Herrschaftsanspruch des Souveräns: die Repräsentation der Macht okkupiert symbolisch die Mitte der Stadt. Genau diese Stärke der

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Dienstagskollegium am Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin vom 27. Mai 2008.

symbolischen Repräsentation sollte dem Schloss jedoch zum Verhängnis werden. Den 2. Weltkrieg überstand es, zwar beschädigt, aber es stand. Doch als Symbol einer abgelehnten Vergangenheit, der Vergangenheit des (wie man es damals definierte) „preußischen Militarismus“, wurde das Schloss für das SED-Regime der DDR zum Stein des Anstoßes: 1950 wurde es gesprengt – und damit als Symbol einer unerwünschten Vergangenheit ausgeräumt. In die so geschlagene Lücke trat schnell die Gegenwart, mit ebenso symbolträchtigen Formen: Zunächst schuf man an der Stelle des alten Schlosses einen großen Aufmarschplatz nach dem Vorbild in Moskau, mit Tribünen für die Aufmärsche und politischen Demonstrationen. 1973 erhielt der Platz dann wiederum eine neue, repräsentativere Ausgestaltung: Es entstand an der Ostseite der Palast der Republik, der Sitz des Parlaments (Abb. 2) – ein Bau, der in seinem Namen und in seiner Funktion allzu offensichtlich als Kontrapunkt zum verschwundenen Schloss fungiert.

Doch ist ideologische Aufladung letztlich noch keinem Bau gut bekommen. Und so sollte den Palast der Republik schließlich dasselbe Schicksal einholen, das zuvor dem Schloss widerfahren war: Nach der Wiedervereinigung Berlins und Deutschlands 1990 avancierte der Palast der Republik schnell zum Symbol einer überwundenen politischen Vergangenheit, an die man im Stadtbild Berlins immer weniger erinnert sein wollte, besonders nicht in seiner repräsentativen Mitte, wo man eher wieder Anschluss an die scheinbar weniger belastende preußische Vergangenheit suchte. Nach heftiger Diskussion wird schließlich der Abriss des Palastes der Republik beschlossen – und seitdem wird der Palast schrittweise abgetragen, um Platz für einen neuen Raum zu schaffen (Abb. 3). Die Frage ist nur: Platz wofür?

Wie man die nun wieder frei gewordene repräsentative Mitte Berlins gestalten soll, ist eine Frage, die in den letzten Jahren zunehmend heftig diskutiert wird. Und diese Diskussion eröffnet wiederum für die Erforschung von Stadtbildern eine geradezu ideale Versuchsanordnung, in der sich die Kräfte, Strukturen, aber auch Probleme gegenwärtiger Gestaltung von urbanen Räumen analysieren lassen. Bei aller Divergenz der diskutierten Lösungsvorschläge, eines war von Anfang an klar: Nicht mehr die politischen Kräfte sollten in der Mitte Berlins repräsentiert werden, sondern andere, unverdächtigere Werte der Gesellschaft, die nachhaltig um Kultur und Freizeit kreisen. Entsprechend kamen schnell Vorschläge auf, die auf eine neue funktionale Nutzung des Platzes zielten: So schlug man vor, den alten Schlossplatz etwa in einen neuen Park umzuwandeln, als Flaniererraum für die Bürger, oder in einen multifunktionalen Raum für Freizeitunterhaltung, Sport, Spiel, Konzerte. Andere Vorschläge gingen in andere Richtungen, sahen den Bau



*Abb. 1:* Berliner Schloss (Foto um 1900)

*Abb. 2:* Platz des ehemaligen Schlosses mit dem Palast der Republik (Foto 1992)





*Abb. 3:* Platz des ehemaligen Schlosses mit dem z. T. „zurückgebauten“ Palast der Republik (Foto 2007)

*Abb. 4:* Vision des wiederaufgebauten Schlosses („Humboldt-Forum“), digitale Rekonstruktion (© Förderverein Berliner Schloss e.V.)



einer kulturellen Begegnungsstätte vor, in Form eines großen und aufsehenerregenden Museums. Diese Vision von der Errichtung eines mehrschichtigen Forums von Museum und kultureller Begegnungsstätte hat sich bekanntlich inzwischen durchgesetzt, in Gestalt des Humboldtforums, dessen Errichtung 2002 beschlossen wurde.

Doch ist die Frage nach der funktionalen Nutzung des Platzes nur die eine Seite der Diskussion. Auf sie antwortet eine zweite, ebenso drängende Frage, nämlich die nach der symbolträchtigen und identitätsstiftenden Inszenierung dieses bedeutungsschweren Ortes. Und hier geht es nicht zuletzt auch immer wieder um die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, nach dem angemessenen Umgang mit der Geschichte dieses Raumes. Wie schwierig hierbei allseits anerkannte Lösungen zu finden sein können, zeigt sich besonders anschaulich am Beispiel der jüngsten Diskussion, die um die Frage nach einem möglichen Wiederaufbau des zerstörten Schlosses kreist (Abb. 4). Mit gleicher Nachdrücklichkeit werden Argumente sowohl für als auch wider den Vorschlag eingebracht, die Sprengung des alten Schlosses wieder rückgängig zu machen und dadurch die Geschichte der DDR gleich im doppelten Sinn auszuradieren. Wie stark letztlich jedoch das Bedürfnis nach einem identitätsstiftenden Bau ist – jenseits der Akzeptanz manch gerechtfertigter Kritik an diesem Plan –, zeigt sich darin, dass der Wiederaufbau des Schlosses inzwischen seit 2007 unwiederbringlich beschlossen ist: als ein Bau, der die Architektur des alten Schlosses weiterreichend zitiert und zugleich den funktionalen Ansprüchen des geplanten Humboldtforums dienen soll. In diesem Widerstreit zwischen symbolträchtiger Architektur und funktionaler Nutzung, welcher diesen Bau zweifelsohne spürbar prägen wird, illustriert sich somit anschaulich das Dilemma, das sich momentan bei der Ausgestaltung eines städtischen Zentrums allzu leicht einstellen kann.

Es geht mir bei diesem Beispiel nicht darum, Vorteile und Nachteile einer solchen Planung zu diskutieren. Das Beispiel des Berliner Schlossplatzes soll vielmehr dazu dienen, das grundsätzliche Zusammenwirken und Konkurrieren verschiedener Kräfte und Interessen zu verdeutlichen, die bei der Formung urbaner Räume einwirken: 1) Interessen der funktionalen Nutzung, 2) Interessen nach repräsentativer, symbolhaltiger Inszenierung (wobei dabei nochmals die Frage ist, wer sich repräsentieren lassen will: die politische Macht oder das Kollektiv der Bürger), sowie schließlich 3) Interessen nach einer angemessenen Anknüpfung an eine bestimmte, als vorbildhaft verstandene Vergangenheit, die immer zwangsläufig das Ausradieren einer anderen Vergangenheit impliziert. All diese Interessen wirken zusammen und wirken gegeneinander, so dass momentan die Formung städtischer Räume, insbesondere städtischer Zentren, alles andere nur keine leichte Her-

ausforderung ist. Eine Herausforderung, die wohl auch immer zugleich ein Scheitern bedingt – und deren Ergebnisse, egal wie sie ausfallen, immer sehr aussagekräftige Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit und ihrer kulturellen Kontexte sind.

Es ist genau dieses wechselseitige Zusammenspiel von Interessen und Formung des städtischen Raumes, das sich konsequenterweise nun auch die verschiedenen Disziplinen der kulturhistorischen Wissenschaften zunutze machen, wenn sie versuchen, vergangene Kulturen und Gesellschaften zu erforschen. Ziel dieses Ansatzes einer historischen Urbanistik ist es, anhand der überlieferten Strukturen von Städten und städtischen Räumen Rückschlüsse auf die dahinterstehende Gesellschaft zu erlangen, das heißt: die städtischen Räume als historische Zeugnisse derjenigen Gesellschaft zu befragen und zu interpretieren, die sich diese Räume geformt hat.

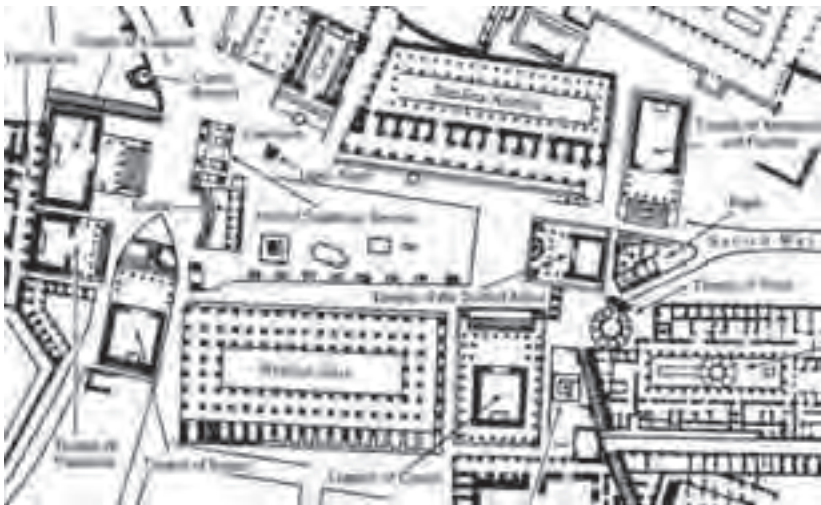
In meinem Fach, der Klassischen Archäologie, bildet die historische Urbanistik einen geläufigen Ansatz, der sich als gewinnbringend und wichtig bewährt, wenn es gelingt, die archäologischen Zeugnisse urbaner Räume zum Sprechen zu bringen: Worin die Chancen, aber auch worin die Probleme und Grenzen dieses Zum-Sprechen-Bringen liegen, will soll einer der wohl berühmtesten Befunde antiker Stadtgestaltung illustrieren: das Forum Romanum, das öffentliche und politische Zentrum des antiken Rom (Abb. 5, 6).

Was hat es mit diesem Forum Romanum auf sich? Und wie funktionierte es als städtisches Zentrum? Das Forum Romanum bildete den öffentlichen Mittelpunkt der Stadt Rom, solange die antike Stadt Rom bestand: Seine Anfänge reichen bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zurück, und erst im 5./6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. sollte es sukzessive wieder untergehen, als auch die Stadt Rom ihre politische Bedeutung langsam, aber sicher verlor. Das ist ein langer Zeitraum, in dem das Forum Romanum bestand – und in diesem langen Zeitraum erlebte das Forum Romanum eine wechselvolle und bewegte Geschichte. Dabei behielt es aber seine Bedeutung immer bei: Es war die zentrale Bühne allen öffentlichen Lebens in der Stadt: Hier am Forum war der Ort der politischen Entscheidungsfindung und der öffentlichen Repräsentation, hier tagte der Senat und lenkte die Geschicke der Stadt und des Reiches, hier sprachen Politiker und Kaiser zum Volk und warben um dessen Gunst, hier fanden alle zentralen Rituale der Bürgerschaft und der führenden Familien statt, hier triumphierten die siegreichen Feldherrn und Kaiser, hier rühmten die führenden Familien ihre verstorbenen Ahnen, hier wurden Staatsmänner und Kaiser erhoben und wurden ermordet – kurzum: hier konzentrierte sich alles politische und öffentliche Leben der Stadt. Das Forum Romanum war also die eigentliche Bühne des politisch-repräsentativen Lebens. Und so intensiv diese Bühne immer wieder mit neuen Stücken be-



Abb. 5: Rom, Forum Romanum, Ansicht der Ausgrabungsstätte (Foto 2007)

Abb. 6: Forum Romanum, Plan des ausgegrabenen Areals





spielt wurde, so nachhaltig änderte sich konsequenterweise auch immer wieder die Bühne selbst, wurde ihre Kulisse kontinuierlich immer wieder den neuen Stücken angepasst (wobei es vor allem die Akteure des politischen Wettkampfes und der politischen Repräsentation selbst waren, die durch ambitionierte Stiftungen von Bauten, Tempeln und Monumenten das Erscheinungsbild des Forums ständig änderten, um dadurch für sich Macht und Ansehen zu gewinnen).

Alles in allem wird am Forum Romanum somit die Dynamik des lebendigen Wandels im städtischen Raum anschaulich greifbar. Und dieser Wandel ist um so aufschlussreicher, da er vergleichsweise nahsichtig die Geschichte der politischen Kultur Roms widerspiegelt. Aus der Perspektive der historischen Urbanistik stellt das Forum Romanum somit einen relativ idealen Befund dar, den es zu analysieren und zu interpretieren gilt. Wie aber ist das Forum nun in diesem Sinn als historisches Zeugnis zum Sprechen zu bringen? Ich will das an einem Kapitel aus der Geschichte des Forums illustrieren, ein Kapitel, das mir für diese Fragen recht aussagekräftig erscheint, das bislang aber unbekannt ist, erstaunlicherweise – vielleicht aber auch bezeichnenderweise.

Um dieses Kapitel zu verstehen, müssen wir eines jedoch noch bedenken: Unsere Betrachtung des antiken Forums ist weitaus schwieriger, als es die Betrachtung des Berliner Schlossplatzes war. Denn wir müssen zugleich eine doppelte Distanz überwinden, die sich zwischen uns und dem antiken Befund auftut und die unseren Blick auf das Forum verschleiert.

Die erste Distanz geht gewissermaßen vom antiken Befund aus und ist noch vergleichsweise leicht zu überwinden: Das Erscheinungsbild, in dem sich das Forum einst in der Antike präsentierte, ist durch den Verfall und die Zerstörung seiner Bauten unwiederbringlich verloren. So, wie es sich uns heutzutage präsentiert, als reizvolle Parklandschaft mit eingestreuten Ruinen (Abb. 5), hat es freilich nur noch wenig mit dem zu tun, wie das Forum als städtisches Zentrum einst aussah. Und entsprechend kann die heutige Ausgrabungsstätte auch nur schwer noch vermitteln, wie wir uns das Forum als das politische Herz des antiken Rom vorstellen sollen, als das Forum noch das Forum war. Diese Distanz gelingt es jedoch vergleichsweise einfach zu überbrücken: Zwar ist der Großteil der einstigen Architektur zerstört, aber die erhaltenen Reste erlauben es, die Bauten weitgehend in ihrem einstigen Erscheinungsbild zu rekonstruieren. Rekonstruiert man das Forum in dieser Weise, so wandelt sich der Anblick (Abb. 7): Anstelle der weiten Parkfläche entsteht ein engerer Platz mit hochaufragender, imposanter Architektur, gewaltigen Basiliken, Tempeln, der Curia (dem Amtszimmer des Senats), dazu hochaufragenden Säulen-



Abb. 7: Forum Romanum, digitale Rekonstruktion der Platzanlage (© UCLA)

Abb. 8: Forum Romanum, Grundrissplan der Platzfläche





*Abb. 9:* Forum Romanum, Strukturierung der Platzfläche (Foto 2007)

monumenten und Ehrenbögen. Natürlich ergeben sich bei einer solchen Rekonstruktion des Forums in seinem antiken Erscheinungsbild auch Lücken und Unklarheiten, besonders wenn man bedenkt, dass dieses Erscheinungsbild immer wieder Veränderungen unterworfen war, die sich nicht gleichermaßen in allen Schritten im archäologischen Befund dokumentiert haben. Hieraus entstehen erste Grenzen für die Interpretation des Forums als historisch geformter städtischer Raum. Doch diese Grenzen sind nicht unser primäres Problem. Dieses kommt vielmehr aus anderer Richtung – nämlich aus der zweiten Form von Distanz, die zwischen uns und dem Forum besteht.

Diese Distanz zu überwinden ist weniger leicht, besonders weil sie auch weniger bewusst ist. Auch wenn wir das antike Forum in seinem ehemaligen Erscheinungsbild weitgehend rekonstruieren können, so schauen wir es dennoch weiterhin als Angehörige des 21. Jahrhunderts an. Unser Blick ist dabei selbstverständlich determiniert durch unsere Erfahrungen im Umgang mit unseren heutigen Stadtzentren – und er ist zudem determiniert durch unsere Bilder im Kopf, die wir von der architektonischen, räumlichen und monumentalen Inszenierung urbaner Räume heutzutage haben. Mit ebendiesen Erfahrungen, Bildern und Erwartungen, die an den urbanen Räumen unserer heutigen Städte geformt sind, blicken wir also auf einen Befund wie des antiken Forums. Und genau hierin liegt ein eklatantes Problem: Denn unsere Erfahrungen und Erwartungen gegenüber dem öffentlichen Raum haben nur noch wenig mit dem zu tun, was ein antiker Besucher des Forums vor 2000 Jahren empfand. Hier laufen wir also schnell Gefahr, trotz aller möglichen Rekonstruktionen des antiken Befundes, Situationen misszuverstehen, Phänomene falsch einzuschätzen, zu unterschätzen oder gar zu übersehen – und dafür anderen falschen Fragen bei unserer Erschließung des Forums nachzuspüren, die die antiken Menschen in Wahrheit wenig beschäftigt haben. Wie leicht wir in diese Perspektiven des Missverstehens und Übersehens geraten können – und wie wichtig es daher ist, uns unserer kulturellen Determiniertheit immer wieder bewusst zu sein und uns entsprechend zu sensibilisieren, das zeigt das folgende Beispiel – und hier komme ich nun auf das angekündigte, unbekannte Kapitel in der Geschichte des Forums zu sprechen.

Wenn wir die Rekonstruktion des Forums im Bild betrachten: wundert uns etwas? Ein Phänomen müsste uns eigentlich wundern – aber es ist wahrscheinlich, dass uns gerade das nicht auffallen wird, da es zum selbstverständlichen Erfahrungsschatz unserer heutiger Platzanlagen gehört, so dass wir darüber gar nicht weiter nachdenken. Gemeint ist die Strukturierung der freien Platzfläche auf dem Forum. Diese ist in einer klaren Weise gestaltet (Abb. 8, 9). Dabei werden zwei Bereiche deutlich voneinander unterschieden: die



*Abb. 10:* Rom, Piazza Navona (Foto 2007)

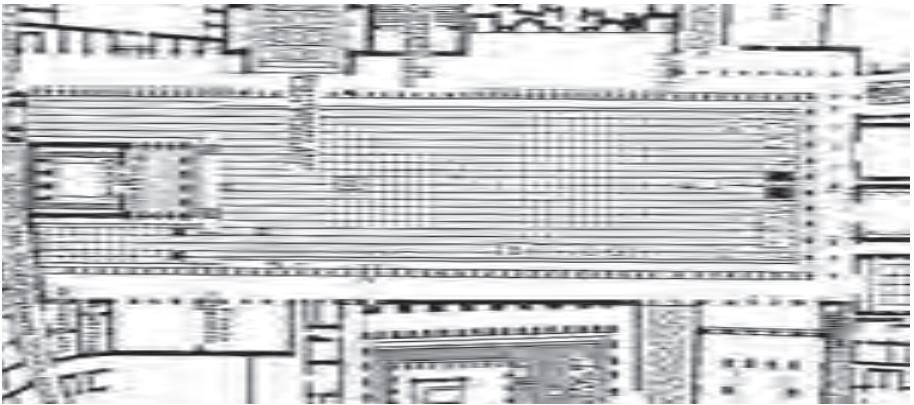
*Abb. 11:* Paris, Place de la Concorde (Foto 2005)





*Abb. 12:* Pompeji, rekonstruierte Ansicht des römischen Forums

*Abb. 13:* Pompeji, Grundriss des römischen Forums



freie Platzfläche in der Mitte, gewissermaßen die Platzinsel, und darum herum die rahmenden Straßen an allen vier Seiten, an die sich dann wiederum die aufragende Architekturkulisse anschließt. Diese Zweiteilung ist auch noch heutzutage im antiken Befund deutlich zu erkennen. Denn die beiden Sektoren, Platzinsel und rahmende Straßen, sind durch eine unterschiedliche Pavimentierung voneinander geschieden: Die Platzinsel in der Mitte ist mit großen rechteckigen Travertinplatten gepflastert, während die rahmenden Straßen mit großen runden Basaltsteinen gepflastert sind; zudem ist die Zäsur zwischen Platzinsel und Straße durch eine ca. 20 cm hohe Schwelle markiert.

Was aber soll an dieser Strukturierung der eigentlichen Platzfläche außergewöhnlich sein? Diese Frage scheint berechtigt. Auch die Ausgräber, die das Forum im ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert freilegten, haben sich darüber nicht gewundert – und die wissenschaftliche Diskussion zum Forum ist ihnen darin seitdem auch gefolgt. Und dennoch gibt es guten Grund, sich zu wundern: Denn diese Strukturierung des römischen Forums ist alles andere, nur nicht naheliegend.

Für uns heutzutage ist die Trennung von Straßen und hervorgehobener Platzinsel eine alltägliche Erfahrung in unseren Städten. Nehmen wir etwa die Piazza Navona in Rom (Abb. 10) oder die Place de la Concorde in Paris (Abb. 11), sie beide zeigen dieselbe Grundstruktur: Immer wieder findet sich eine leicht erhöhte Platzinsel, um die der Verkehr auf den rahmenden Straßen herumgeführt wird. Aus der Erfahrung solcher Platzanlagen wundert uns die Gestaltung des römischen Forums verständlicherweise wenig. Doch übersehen wir dabei, dass derartige Strukturierungen ein relativ junges Phänomen in der Geschichte urbaner Plätze sind. Erst im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts treten derart gestaltete Plätze häufiger auf und werden zu einem Leitmotiv der modernen Stadt. In Städten früherer Gesellschaften waren hingegen solche Anlagen die Ausnahme und unstrukturierte Platzflächen dagegen die Regel.

Das gilt auch für die Städte der römischen Antike: Die Plätze, die Fora, sind dort als ein geschlossener Raumkörper geformt, wobei die Platzfläche mit einer einheitlichen Pflasterung überzogen wird. Nehmen wir als Beispiel das Forum von Pompeji (Abb. 12, 13): Der Platz zeigt eine durchgehende Pflasterung der gesamten Forumsfläche – und diese setzt sich betont von der Pflasterung der äußeren Straßen ab, die von verschiedenen Seiten auf das Forum führen. Auch wenn sich das Leben auf den Straßen natürlich in das Forum hinein erstreckte bzw. es durchquerte: der Platz wird durch die flächendeckende Pflasterung als ein eigener und einheitlicher Raum definiert. Eine solche Flächengestaltung findet sich bei römisch-antiken Platzanlagen immer wieder. Das Forum in Rom mit



Abb. 14: Rom, Piazza Navona (Stich von 1693)

Abb. 15: Rom, Piazza Navona (Foto um 1900)





seiner Trennung von Platzinsel und rahmenden Straßen ist somit ein einzigartiger Befund.

Und das sollte es auch lange Zeit bleiben, wenn man die Geschichte urbaner Platzanlagen weiterverfolgt. Seien es Plätze im Mittelalter, der Renaissance, des Barock, der Aufklärung, immer wieder ist die Unstrukturiertheit der Fläche ein bezeichnendes Charakteristikum. Grundlegend für die Gestaltung der Plätze ist ihre Multifunktionalität (Abb. 14): Sie sind Marktplätze, Verkehrsknotenpunkt, geselliger Treffpunkt der Bürger und Ort für öffentliche Bekanntmachungen, oftmals zudem Raum für Prozessionen und Spiele. Viele dieser Funktionen können gleichzeitig stattfinden – und hieraus konstituiert sich ein lebendiges Chaos, das das Leben auf diesen Plätzen prägt (und das die Stiche und Gemälde immer wieder einfangen). Eine reglementierende Ordnung, die den Platz in verschiedene Räume des Bewegens und Handelns unterteilt, wird nicht gesucht – und so wird auch die Fläche des Platzes, soweit sie gepflastert ist, einheitlich gestaltet. Allein bei Festen und Prozessionen kann es dazu kommen, dass ephemere Bauten das Treiben auf dem Platz ordnen und den Verkehr bzw. den Prozessionszug außen am Rand des Platzes herumleiten – doch das sind temporäre Eingriffe, die sofort verschwinden, wenn der Platz wieder zu seiner alltäglichen Multifunktionalität zurückfindet. Ein neues Kapitel in der Geschichte urbaner Plätze bahnte sich erst im 19. Jahrhundert an, mit einzelnen Vorläufern vor allem im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Damals geriet der Platz in eine funktionale Krise: Manche seiner Aufgaben gingen verloren, da Alternativen aufkamen – das betrifft vor allem seine Rolle als Marktplatz, als Ort gesellschaftlicher Kommunikation und auch als Ort öffentlicher Bekanntmachungen. Dafür wurde die Bedeutung des Verkehrs immer wichtiger, so dass viele Plätze zu Verkehrsräumen avancierten, deren wichtigste Funktion darin bestand, den stetigen Verkehrsfluss zu sichern. Die sich in der Mitte solcher Verkehrsplätze auftuende Bedeutungslücke wurde dann schnell gefüllt: mit Grünanlagen zum Flanieren oder mit Monumenten, die zur Historisierung und Ideologisierung der Plätze beitrugen. In genau dieser Zeit, als das funktionale Profil der Platzanlagen verflachte und sich neu auszurichten begann, kam es zur definitiven Trennung der Platzfläche in verschiedene Bereiche (Abb. 15): Straßen, Fußgängerwege, Verkehrsinseln, Grünflächen – und diese verschiedenen funktionalen Bedeutungen spiegelten sich dann in klar unterteilten Pflasterungen und Niveauhebungen ab. Die Einengung und Umorientierung des funktionalen Profils förderte also eine stärkere Reglementierung der Bewegungsstruktur auf den Plätzen, und diese Reglementierung wurde wiederum durch die Sektionierung der Fläche realisiert.



*Abb. 16:* Forum Romanum, Rekonstruktion der Situation im 4. Jh. v. Chr.

*Abb. 17:* Forum Romanum, Rekonstruktion der Situation im 2. Jh. v. Chr.



Kommen wir zum Forum zurück (Abb. 5–9). Erst wenn wir uns die Kulturgeschichte antiker und nachantiker Plätze bewusst machen, gelingt es uns zu erkennen, dass wir uns über die Strukturierung des antiken Forums mit seiner Trennung von Platzinsel und rahmenden Straßen mehr als wundern sollten. Wundern, weil diese Gestaltung der Platzfläche einzigartig in der Antike ist – und auch noch lange Zeit nach der Antike einzigartig bleiben sollte.

Nachdem wir den Schritt des Wunderns somit erreicht haben, bleibt es, nach einer Erklärung zu suchen, warum das Forum Romanum eine solch einzigartige Strukturierung seiner Platzfläche aufweist. Wobei wir die Frage genau genommen unterteilen müssen: 1) Warum wählte man eine solche Strukturierung? und 2) Warum war und blieb sie eine solche Ausnahme, sowohl in der römischen Antike als auch lange Zeit danach?

Bevor wir allerdings nach dem „Warum“ fragen können, stellt sich zunächst die Frage nach dem „Wann“: Wann kam es zu dieser außergewöhnlichen Gestaltung der Platzfläche auf dem Forum? Und aus welchem spezifischen historischen Kontext heraus müssen wir diese Maßnahme zu interpretieren versuchen? Klar ist, dass diese Strukturierung der freien Platzfläche nicht von Anfang an bestand (Abb. 16). Wie alle anderen gewachsenen Plätze in antiken Städten entstand auch das Forum an einer Kreuzung verschiedener Wege bzw. Straßen, die den Raum des künftigen Forums durchquerten. Und wie bei allen anderen antiken Plätzen kreuzten diese Straßen auch weiterhin die freie Fläche des Forums, schließlich war die Interaktion auf den Straßen ja ein wesentlicher Bestandteil für die Aktivitäten auf solchen Plätzen. Steril frei gehaltene Räume, um die das alltägliche Leben außen herumgeführt wird, gehören nicht zum Konzept alter, gewachsener Platzanlagen. Entsprechend müssen wir also auch für das Forum davon ausgehen, dass auch hier der freie Platz zunächst als einheitlicher und multifunktionaler Raum begriffen wurde – und dass entsprechend auch keinerlei Unterteilung verschiedener funktionaler Sektoren gesucht wurde bzw. gar mit einer unterschiedlichen Pavimentierung markiert wurde (Abb. 16, 17). Die Aufteilung der freien Platzfläche in Platzinsel und rahmende Straßen erweist sich folglich als ein sekundärer Eingriff, der irgendwann in das Forum hineingetragen wurde.

Als Zeitpunkt für diesen unerhörten Eingriff kommt dabei nur eine Epoche in Frage, die überhaupt das Erscheinungsbild des Forums massiv und nachhaltig veränderte (Abb. 18): die Herrschaft des Augustus, der von 30 v. Chr. bis 14 n. Chr. regierte, der Erbe Caesars und erster Kaiser in Rom. Augustus hat es während seiner Herrschaft geschafft, das Erscheinungsbild des Forums grundlegend zu wandeln: Zuvor war das Forum der



*Abb. 18:* Forum Romanum, Rekonstruktion der Situation nach der Umwandlung des Forums unter Augustus (30 v. Chr.–14 n. Chr.)

*Abb. 19:* Forum Romanum, Ansicht auf das von Augustus neu geschaffene Platzkonzept (Foto 2007)



Raum, in dem die verschiedenen Staatsmänner und Feldherrn untereinander konkurrierten und diesen politischen Kampf auch in Form aufsehenerregender Baustiftungen und Ehrenmonumente austrugen, so dass das Forum in seinem Erscheinungsbild eindrücklich die ruhmreiche Geschichte der führenden republikanischen Adelsgeschlechter widerspiegelte. Während das alte Forum somit als Repräsentationsplatz der untereinander konkurrierenden Adelsgeschlechter der Stadt fungierte (Abb. 17), radierte Augustus diese Vergangenheit aus, indem er alle rahmenden Bauten des Forums neu errichtete bzw. renovieren ließ, und dies in seinem Namen, im Namen seiner Familie oder von treuen Parteigängern, so dass nun alle Bauten am Forum einzig und allein auf die Macht des neuen Kaisers und seines Geschlechtes verwiesen (Abb. 18). Das Erscheinungsbild des Forums zeichnete somit eindrücklich den Wandel von den politischen Verhältnissen der römischen Republik hinüber zur Monarchie nach. An die Stelle eines geschichtsträchtigen Raumes, der überall die Vergangenheit präsent hielt, an die die Gegenwart anknüpfte, trat nun ein städtischer Raum, in dem die eigentliche Vergangenheit ausradiert war und lediglich die Gegenwart gefeiert und beschworen wurde.

Wie nachhaltig damals das alte Erscheinungsbild am Forum geändert wurde, zeigt sich auch darin, dass unter Augustus der Platz eine neue Ausrichtung erhielt (wobei unklar ist, ob diese Pläne nicht vielleicht auch schon von Caesar eingeleitet wurden). Das alte republikanische Forum war in seiner räumlichen Ausrichtung von der Lage der Rednertribüne bestimmt, von der die Redner zum Volk sprachen (Abb. 17, vgl. Abb. 6): Diese Rednertribüne lag vor der Curia, dem Tagungslokal des Senats, in der Nordwestecke des Forums. Von hieraus ergab sich eine Achse schräg über den freien Forumsplatz, der die primäre Achse der Wahrnehmung dieses Platzkörpers bildete. Und diese Achse wurde nochmals durch den Verlauf der wichtigsten alten Prozessionsstraße in Rom bekräftigt, der Via Sacra, der alten heiligen Straße, die hier schräg über die freie Forumsfläche verlief. Diese Ausrichtung des Forums wurde nun unter Augustus ebenfalls ausradiert und an ihre Stelle trat eine neue Ausrichtung in Ost-West-Richtung (Abb. 18, vgl. Abb. 6): Diese neue Ausrichtung wurde von zwei Polen bestimmt, die ebenfalls aufdringlich auf den neuen Herrscher verwiesen: 1) die neue Rednertribüne, die von der alten Stelle weg hinüber auf die Westseite des Platzes verschoben wurde – und auf welche 2) ein ebenfalls neuer Bau antwortete: der neue Tempel des vergöttlichten Caesar, des Dynastiegründers des neuen Herrschergeschlechtes, direkt gegenüber auf der Ostseite. Eingespannt zwischen diesen beiden neuen Polen, die zugleich die Fundamente der neuen Herrschaft des Augustus symbolisierten, versammelte sich nun das römische Volk auf dem Forum – und erlebte es von

jetzt an aus einer anderen Achse des Wahrnehmens, die um so nachdrücklicher gegen die Erinnerung an das alte Forum anarbeitete.

In dieses gesamte Paket der Neugestaltung des Forums fällt nun auch die Umstrukturierung der Platzfläche (Abb. 8, 9): Das Forum wurde damals neu gepflastert und dabei kam es zu der ungewöhnlichen Aufteilung in Platzinsel und rahmenden Straßen – und somit zugleich zur Erfindung einer für die Antike völlig ungewöhnlichen und einzigartigen neuen Strukturierung und Sektionierung des Forums. Warum aber kam es zu ihr? Warum wählte Augustus sie für sein neues Forum?

Der Grund kann nicht darin gelegen haben, dass die Wahrnehmung eines neuen Platzes unterstützt und die Erinnerung an den alten Platz ausradiert werden sollten. Denn dies erklärt lediglich das Interesse für einen Eingriff, nicht aber, warum man gerade auf diese Idee einer Sektionierung der Platzfläche kam, für die es, wie gesagt, keine Vorbilder gab. Aber auch für die Reglementierung des Verkehrs war die Anlage spezieller Straßenführungen nicht notwendig, wie dies bei den neuzeitlichen Plätzen der Hauptmotor für die Sektionierung der Plätze war. Denn jeglicher Schwerverkehr war von dem Forum verbannt, lediglich Fußgänger und Sänften bewegten sich über das Forum; das antike Forum kannte noch kein Verkehrsproblem und benötigte daher keine Reglementierung des Verkehrs, d. h. keine festgeschriebene Straßenführung am Rand des Platzes.

Es bleibt somit nur eine Erklärung: Der Anreiz lag nicht in den rahmenden Straßen, sondern vielmehr in der Heraushebung der Platzinsel (Abb. 7. 18, 19). Ähnlich wie bei den neuzeitlichen Platzanlagen zielte die Sektionierung darauf, den chaotischen und ambivalenten Charakter des Platzes zu konterkarieren: Die freie Fläche des Forums sollte nicht mehr so sehr als ein multifunktional genutzter Raum wahrgenommen werden – als ein Raum, in dem sich das römische Volk versammelte, auf dem es sich aber auch beliebig bewegte und den es auch durchquerte. Alles Bewegen und Durchqueren des Raumes wurde vielmehr nun an die Ränder verlegt, dort, wo die Straßen nun betont waren. Die Platzinsel hingegen sollte aus dieser multifunktionalen Nutzung herausgehoben und auf eine bestimmte funktionale Nutzung ausgerichtet werden: nämlich um als ehrwürdiger Versammlungsplatz des römischen Volkes zu dienen, direkt ausgerichtet auf die neue Rednertribüne des neuen Herrschers Augustus. Zum ersten Mal wurde somit das funktionale Profil des Forums auf seine Rolle als politischer Versammlungsplatz der römischen Bürgerschaft zugespitzt. Gleichsam wie ein Monument rückte Augustus dadurch das römische Volk ins Zentrum. Dies ist eine Form popularen Umwerbens, die in der Antike ihresgleichen sucht. Und die allzu gut zu den Strategien der Verschleierung passt, die der

erste römische Kaiser immer wieder wählte: Denn mit der Etablierung seiner Alleinherrschaft trat ein tiefgreifender Wandel im politischen System ein, bei dem nicht nur die alten Adelsfamilien ihre Machtstellung einbüßten, sondern auch das Volk nun endgültig in die Rolle eines passiven, applaudierenden Publikums verbannt wurde. Um diese politische Entmachtung des Volkes zu kompensieren, musste es symbolisch umso mehr aufgewertet werden und als scheinbarer Mittelpunkt der römischen Macht buchstäblich ins Zentrum der Stadt gerückt werden. Und genau darauf zielte die Heraushebung der Versammlungsstätte auf dem Forum, die mit der Schaffung der Platzinsel bewirkt wurde.

Aufgrund einer spezifischen historischen Situation wurde also für das Forum in Rom eine einzigartige Konzeption der Platzfläche gewählt, die nur hier und nur zu dieser Zeit ihren Sinn fand: als geschickte populäre Maßnahme des ersten römischen Kaisers zu einem Zeitpunkt, als die Alleinherrschaft in Rom erst gefestigt werden musste. So gesehen wundert es wenig, dass diese Konzeption keine Nachahmung in den anderen römischen Städten fand, bedurfte es doch dort nicht solcher Maßnahmen des politischen Umwerbens. Historisch gesehen erweist sich die Platzgestaltung des Forum Romanum somit als einzigartig. Hingegen strukturell betrachtet fügt sie sich allzu gut in den kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklungsprozess urbaner Platzanlagen ein: Ähnlich wie bei den Plätzen des 19. Jahrhunderts kam es auch beim antiken Forum zu einer einseitigen Zuspitzung im funktionalen Profil – und diese Konzentration auf eine primäre Funktion bedingte ihrerseits, dass die Fläche in verschiedene Funktionsbereiche aufgeteilt wurde und eine reglementierte Struktur der Benutzung und des Bewegens auf dem Platz festgeschrieben wurde. Während sich die Sektionierung der Platzfläche jedoch im 19. Jahrhundert als breite Tendenz durchsetzte, blieb sie im antiken Rom ein Sonderfall. Ein Sonderfall, der keine direkte Nachahmung fand – und, und das ist noch tragischer, der bald auch wieder in Vergessenheit geriet, spätestens dann, als das Forum in der Spätantike langsam, aber stetig unterging und verlief. Aber damit hat das tragische Schicksal dieser außergewöhnlichen Platzkonzeption noch nicht sein Ende gefunden. Als nämlich das Forum endlich im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert großflächig ausgegraben wurde und dabei erstmals seit vielen Jahrhunderten seine Platzstruktur wieder ans Licht kam, blieb deren Einzigartigkeit und historische Brisanz weiterhin unerkannt: Denn inzwischen sahen alle modernen Platzanlagen so aus wie das antike Forum, mit ihrer Trennung von Platzinsel und rahmenden Straßen. Dass das antike Forum in so ungewöhnlicher Weise seiner Zeit weit voraus gewesen war, sollte somit weiterhin unbemerkt bleiben. Das mag man als Ironie der Geschichte verstehen – aber auch als Lehre: So genial Eingriffe in urbane Strukturen auch

sein mögen (oder auch nicht), so tiefgreifend sie in das bestehende Bild des städtischen Raumes eingreifen und eigentlich unverzichtbare Elemente seiner Vergangenheit ausradieren – das grausame bzw. gnädige Schicksal des Vergessens und Übersehens lauert hinter jedem Plan urbaner Gestaltung. So gesehen mag man auch entspannt die weitere Diskussion um die Gestaltung des Berliner Schlossplatzes verfolgen – und mit ihrem Ergebnis leben, unabhängig, wie es aussieht. Drastischer und umwälzender als die Umgestaltung des antiken Forums, die die Zeitgenossen des Augustus erleben und ertragen mussten, wird es kaum ausfallen.



HOW JESUIT SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY  
SHAPED THE ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS  
DHRUV RAINA

The history of sciences in the non-West and the history of the Jesuit sciences are rapidly growing fields of research. Before addressing the specific theme of the Jesuit sciences in India, the historiographical context within which historians of science in India have been working for the last couple of decades shall be briefly discussed. The 1970s and 1980s were decisive decades for both the sciences and the social sciences in India, as India graduated to a new stage in what political theorists have considered its experiment in democracy. The 1970s more or less commenced with a major crisis in development thinking. This was simultaneously a difficult period for Indian democracy, while on the scientific and technological front a perceived dysfunction of the science system triggered a crisis of legitimacy. These distinct developments alongside the failure of percolation and trickle-down models to deliver on economic and social development prompted new forms of social activism, crystallizing in the birth of new social movements. Within the academic sphere, the cognitive dimension of these social movements found reflection in rethinking the social relations of science and social theory. The 1980s could more or less be labelled the decade of alternate modernities, alternate sciences and alternate technologies.

One of these responses took the form of a neo-Gandhian civilisational critique of the West and modern science, ushering in a new era in the social studies of science as anthropologists, sociologists and historians flocked to a field hitherto dominated by physicists and retired scientists. My own career commenced at the fag end of the 1970s with the study of the philosophical foundations of quantum physics: but I found the climate in the social studies of science was far more intense and debate infinitely more interesting – what is more, a colleague and I discovered a mathematical text by a nineteenth-century Indian mathematician who had discovered a new approach to elementary calculus. The fundamental problem immediately confronting us was that of engaging with the work of this

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mathematician without being drawn towards some form of Eurocentric history of science. We were inspired by the new, sociologically oriented history of sciences, and on the other hand by the work of Joseph Needham on *Science and Civilization in China*. The Needham river metaphor had initiated a great deal of discussion among scholars working on the non-Western sciences. Despite its ecumenical vision, the metaphor was found to be highly problematic. In the first instance, it more or less considered modern science to be paradigmatic of what was considered to be science; and secondly, it was oblivious of all those streams of knowledge that did not connect up with the river of modern science. Nevertheless, if not by the detail of Needham's historiography, many of us were certainly attracted by his ecumenical vision of science. In any case, the Needham question had opened the gates to scholars from third-world countries to enter the history of science – so he remained an inspirational figure.

If in the 1980s we took a stance vis-à-vis Eurocentrism in history and theory, the 1990s was the decade of the political ascent of Hindu nationalism. Hindu-centrism in the history of science dated back to the last decade of the nineteenth century, never seeming to occupy centre stage. In the 1990s, it coruscated into the open and several journals fell prey to the onslaught of papers that argued that science actually commenced in the Vedic past or that many of the insights and theories of contemporary science were prefigured in Indian antiquity. This was a trifle unsettling for some of us, who didn't wish to spend a lifetime battling one centrism or the other. In order to acquire a better understanding of what was at stake, I approached the subject matter of the historiography of sciences in order to understand how history of science was and could be done. My book *Images and Contexts* was a product of that engagement with how Indians wrote the history of science and the contexts that shaped their historical writing.

By the late 1990s, scholars within Northern STS, such as the feminist philosopher of science Sandra Harding, announced a historiographic revolution that challenged the integrity of European science. This revolution occurred in the history of sciences at the conjuncture of three cognitive movements: 1) post-Kuhnian science studies, 2) feminist philosophy of science and 3) postcolonial history of science. Based on Harding's discussion, I have tried to distil what she means by a postcolonial theory of science. Though some versions of postcolonial theory of science could well turn out to be mirror images of Eurocentric theory of science, the table below provides a frame for the development of a cognitively just theory, albeit it may not exist at the moment.

It was in 1997 that I commenced work on the French Jesuit astronomers in India and became acquainted with their efforts through the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, a collection of letters of French Jesuits who travelled to Latin America, India, China and other parts of the world between 1670 and 1761. This investigation took me to the Jesuit archives at Vanves, the Bibliothèque Nationale and a number of other libraries and archives. In the process I was pleasantly surprised to encounter an entire corpus of writing on the history of Indian mathematics produced by Le Gentil, Bailly, D’Alembert, Delambre, Laplace, Montucla, Biot, Chasles – all members of the Academie des Sciences, spread over a period of 70 years. The interest of these savants in Indian mathematics and astronomy needed to be understood. What approach was suited to the construction of this archive? While Raymond Schwab’s classic *Oriental Renaissance* provided a context to this archive I attempted to construct, there appears to have been a degree of consensus concerning the place of India and China in the eighteenth-century European imagination.

<i>Constitutive elements</i>	<i>Eurocentric theory</i>	<i>Postcolonial theory</i>
Theory of history	Isolationist	Multicultural
Theory of science	Transcendent	Contextual
Theory of transmission	Arrow of influence points outward – away from Europe	Multidirectional arrows of influence constituting a network

Clark and others had pointed out that the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment was fascinated by China as a Utopia of a different polity. On the other hand, the German Romantics, at variance with the ideology of the Enlightenment, were drawn towards Indian philosophy and metaphysics. This aperçu overlooked the engagement of leading French astronomers and mathematicians from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth with the mathematics and astronomy of India and China: an entire genealogy can be constructed that extends from Cassini I to Laplace, with whom ends a phase in the history of physics.

Scholars from Schwab to Said, from Cohen and Inden to Martin Bernal have chronicled the process that commenced in the closing decades of the eighteenth century as the period wherein the standard nineteenth- and twentieth-century Occidental representations of the Orient first began crystallizing. So much so that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the French gaze on India began to change from one of enchantment and fascination to one of

contempt. In an oft-quoted passage Said writes: “Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling it: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1978).

The writings of the French savants on the history of astronomy and mathematics of India provided an opportunity to extend the critique of Orientalism to the least likely case: the history of science and mathematics or, to put it dramatically, the history of the a priori in particular as one other site for the institutionalization of Eurocentrism. Was this late eighteenth-century transformation that Said speaks off observed in the histories of mathematics, from the Enlightenment to the post-Enlightenment periods? The exploration of this corpus of writing revealed the unfolding of the standard historiography of mathematics of the non-West and India, beginning with the antediluvian theories of the origins of astronomy proposed by Jean-Sylvain Bailly. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, the binary dichotomies of the history of mathematics were well in place. This stabilized in the distinction drawn between Western and Indian mathematics as follows:

<i>Western Mathematics</i>	<i>Indian Mathematics</i>
Attentive to theoretical foundations	Developed for pragmatic ends
Geometric	Algebraic
Deductive	Intuitive

In this frame of the history of mathematics, the idea of proof was to be of prime significance in deciding whether a tradition had qualified for the status of being genuinely mathematical. The absence of deductive proofs in the Indian mathematical tradition was reflected in the historical construction of Indian mathematics as devoid of mathematical proof and the presentation of the idea that the tradition was essentially an algorithmic one. Later in the early nineteenth century, when Colebrooke published his translations of the works of Bhaskara and Brahmagupta, mathematical demonstrations were discussed, but these demonstrations were not considered proofs in the Euclidean sense.

The French savants who produced the first histories of mathematics and astronomy did not base their histories on original Sanskrit texts, but on the reports and a couple of man-

uscripts sent by the French Jesuits stationed in India. Abbe Guerin's translation of the *Surya Siddhanta* was the first French translation of a Sanskrit astronomical text, while the British Orientalists had obtained and translated a few mathematical and astronomical texts before the end of the eighteenth century. The French savants did read the English translations of these works and in the first decades of the nineteenth century expressed their strong disagreement with the interpretation of the British Orientalists. When and where do we begin to see a transformation of the manner in which European scholars looked at Indian and non-Western mathematics? In asking myself this question, I decided to resist the temptation to find any singular explanation for this transformation of the European imagination.

In the remaining portion of this essay, I briefly summarise some of my findings by returning to the sources of the Enlightenment and the beginnings of modern history and the history of science writing. This requires understanding why and how histories of science were written in the late eighteenth century. Evidently, this was a period of the most rapid institutionalization of science, and the sciences in turn were characterized by disciplinary differentiation. General histories of science were written in the early half of the eighteenth century, while towards the last decades of the eighteenth century specialist or disciplinary histories of the sciences began to be produced. These histories targeted multiple audiences: patrons who had to be convinced of the utility of the developments in the newer disciplines and colleagues in order to legitimate the new disciplines by stressing their antiquity and more importantly to demarcate the boundaries of new disciplines, e. g. where did astronomy begin to differ from mathematics. Since these histories were written by practicing savants, they also served as scientific review papers surveying the developments in the discipline, from a constructed antiquity and in a reverse teleological schema telescoping into their own work.

These histories of science were enconced within the ideology of progress or unending improvement; and this was most evident in the strong claims to novelty made in favour of the recent developments in the sciences. The history of science as a Voltairean narrative of progress was marked by the discounting of the past with respect to the future; this itself was an additional incarnation of the long battle between the ancients and moderns that had raged since the previous century. The claims to novelty and originality in historical discourse were reflections of the new institutional features of science; nevertheless, there were other aspects quite specific to the history of mathematics in post-revolutionary France. Lorraine Daston has pointed out that there was a decline in the standing of the notion of cal-

culation in post-revolutionary France. Calculation, which had hitherto been considered a prodigious mental feat, was by the end of the eighteenth century considered a lower-order, mechanical activity. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the circle of Laplacians had gone into decline, and the sibling rivalry between the geometers and algebraists saw the ascent again of the geometers. However, in the history of mathematics writing, the geometers and the algebraists had very different assessments of Indian mathematics and its procedures. Laplace had written in the previous century, “The ingenious method of expressing every possible number using a set of ten symbols (each symbol having a place value and an absolute value) emerged in India. The idea seems so simple nowadays that its significance and profound importance is no longer appreciated. Its simplicity lies in the way it facilitated calculation and placed arithmetic foremost amongst useful inventions. The importance of this invention is more readily appreciated when one considers that it was beyond the two greatest men of Antiquity, Archimedes and Apollonius.”

The appendix at the end of Laplace’s *Exposition* dealt with the history of celestial mechanics from Antiquity to his own work. This historical narrative is deeply indebted to the history of Bailly, as I have pointed out elsewhere. Though by the time the *Exposition* was published Voltaire and Laplace, who were open to Bailly’s hypothesis that astronomy had possibly originated in India though the Indians had inherited it from another people, were now disgusted with his obsessiveness. Also evident were certain anxieties generated by the disruption of the narrative of progress – in other words, Le Gentil would take note of algorithms he encountered in the Indian mathematical tradition that predated Kepler by more than three hundred years. Furthermore, there were series representations of trigonometric functions and approximation procedures that fascinated Laplace and D’Alembert. These disruptions had to be accommodated within the narrative of progress that was emblematic of the history of science standing in for the history of human intelligence.

Do we observe similar changes towards the end of the eighteenth century in the historiography of Chinese and Arab mathematics? François Charette’s work suggests a similar transformation of the historiography of Arab mathematics produced by practicing European mathematicians, when the Arabs no longer were seen as the “maîtres” of the European mathematicians and became mere repositories of the legacies of the different mathematical traditions of the ancient world. There is a departure from the Saidian picture with the rise of British history of Indian mathematics. British Indologists such as William Jones, Ruebens and others were deeply inspired by Bailly’s antediluvian theory but subsequently departed from the spirit of his *Traité* and *Histoire*. In fact the histories of Montucla and

Delambre that subsequently followed the work of Bailly disagreed strongly not just with Bailly but with the spirit of the new Indology. This disagreement played itself out in the form of a controversy between the French savants and the English and Scottish mathematicians, such as John Player and Leslie. As I traced the controversy, I found that I was heading towards the beginnings of the modern disciplinary history of sciences or the history of the modern history of sciences. The concern of this essay is the sources employed by Enlightenment savants in reconstructing the history of the mathematics and astronomy of India. I have argued that the sections of Diderot's project dealing with the sciences and mathematics of India are inflected by the Jesuit historiography of the sciences of India. Furthermore, the writings of the savants transmute the ethnographic reports of the Jesuits in India into a diachrony of mathematical reason. A related question that has concerned historians of science working on the non-Western sciences concerns the influence of textual collections and manuscripts on non-Western mathematics and astronomy on the historiography of the non-Western sciences. The question could in fact be turned around and it could be proposed in an anti-inductivist fashion that there existed a prehistory that shaped the collections themselves.

As pointed out earlier, the sources for D'Alembert, Diderot and Bailly's histories of Indian science and mathematics were the Jesuit reports, though in all fairness it must be pointed out that Diderot did not know that. When the Académie des Sciences became interested in producing a history of the sciences of India, Diderot insisted that these accounts be uncontaminated by Christian prejudice and Jesuit sources. When the astronomer Le Gentil landed in India on an expedition to observe the transit of Venus, his *Memoirs* and *Voyages* refer to encounters with Indian astronomers who lived on the coast of Pondichery. It is evident that his interlocutors were none other than those of the Jesuits and that he was familiar with the Jesuit sources.

This brings us to the last but not longest part of the present exposition dealing explicitly with the French Jesuits in India. The first set of Portuguese Jesuits set out from Lisbon and arrived in Goa on the western coast of India in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Under the *padraodo* system, they embarked on a form of evangelization of the local population that Županov has called "slash-and-burn evangelization". By the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, French and Italian Jesuits arrived in India via Lisbon and proceeded to the eastern coast of India, the Coromandel coast. Very soon national rivalries within Europe surfaced as differences in the Jesuit order. The most telling of these controversies broke out over the liturgy of conversion. Roberto de Nobili of the Madurai mission prescribed accommodation to local ways as a

route to conversion. The ways of this Tamil-speaking Sanskrit-quoting sanyasi were contested by the Portuguese Jesuits. But in the end, the Collegio Romano ruled in Nobili's favour and *accomodatio* became the path of the French and Italian Jesuits in India. With the passage of time, French and Italian Jesuits set out for India from Lorient in France.

However, the Jesuits arriving in India from the 1670s onwards were schooled in what the French traveller François Bernier – a student of Gassendi – wrote about Mughal court. Bernier's travelogues had set the aesthetic and more or less created the dominating images of Mughal India amidst the seventeenth-century French reading publics. But the first contingent of French Jesuits arrived from Siam following a political upheaval in the region. They landed then in the town of Pondichery in 1680. Some of these Jesuits were gradually enrolled into Cassini's grand cartographic project that had in turn been inspired by Louis XIV's visionary minister Colbert. The task set for the French Jesuits in India and China was to make a set of astronomical observations and calculate latitudes and longitudes that would enable the construction of an accurate map of the world. The second task was to probe the local astronomical traditions for celestial observations of past events that would facilitate the fine-tuning of astronomy in Europe – a project that today goes by the name of historical astronomy.

Evidently, in 17<sup>th</sup>-century France, astronomy and hydrology were Jesuit specialties – a tradition seeded by Pieresc de Tondutti. Had this not been the case, Cassini would not have tried to persuade a reluctant Colbert to enlist the Jesuits stationed outside France in his project. The tradition of Jesuit astronomy has been discussed in detail in Heilbron's book *The Sun in the Church*. Between 1680 and 1761, French Jesuit astronomers wrote letters and reports on their proto-ethnographic encounters with so-called Indian astronomers, built astronomical observatories, performed calculations, proceeded in delegations to the courts of astronomer-kings and debated with court astronomers. Based on these reports and letters, practicing French astronomers would revise their calculations or do them afresh in their attempt to resolve the problems left unresolved by Newton. Le Gentil, Bailly and others would transform the ethnography of Indian astronomy into a diachrony of astronomical and mathematical reason.

The first Europeans to probe the astronomy and mathematics of India in the eighteenth century were the French Jesuits. French Indology, according to Filliozat, emerged in the early decades of the eighteenth century, when the king's librarian asked Etienne Fourmont, of the Collège Royale, to draw up a list of works of note from India and Indo-China, to be purchased for the king's library. By 1739, a catalogue of about 250 Sanskrit works



had been prepared, and copies of the Vedas, epics, philosophical and linguistic texts and dictionaries had been procured. Curiously enough, very few, if any, scientific texts were included in the cargo to the king's library. In the words of Filliozat: "The Indian astronomical systems were among the first scientific or even cultural achievements of India studied by Europeans." (Filliozat, 1957). Of the 250 Sanskrit mathematical manuscripts sent to the Bibliothèque Royal in Paris, only about 8 were mathematical or astronomical manuscripts. The list of astronomical and mathematical works included in the collection is given below:

Siddhianta-Manzar

Zatak-arnava

Bhassuati

Jiôti-pradipa,

Suddhi-dipika

Krama-dipica

Samaï-pradipa

Sat-kritia-dipica

None of the texts included above were considered major scientific texts in the Indian mathematical tradition. Why the Jesuits didn't converge on a major Siddhantic work remains a mystery. Important manuscripts in other fields were collected, copied and cargoed, but this was not the case with any mathematical or astronomical manuscripts. And yet the Jesuit reports generated a great deal of interest in Indian sciences and mathematics.

According to Sylvia Murr, the eighteenth-century accounts of India penned by the Jesuits and the *philosophes* comprise combinations of three representations of India. In these representations, India figured as an *être-ailleurs*, as a Utopia and as *l'ici de l'autre*. As *être-ailleurs*, India simply designated the geographical reality of a place in time. In this optic, "here" was France, and "elsewhere" was a purely instrumental elsewhere. But, as elsewhere, India was transfigured by the climate, the supposed fertility of an Edenic country, the sagacity of the gymnosophists, the antiquity of its sciences and arts, the stoicism of its ascetics. These stereotypes were transformed into a "fantasmatic elsewhere" for the French – a sort of Utopia. And as *l'ici de l'autre*, the here of the Other – India was a place that can become here on the condition that the alterity of the other could be abolished. According to Murr this meant that the Indians were an ancient people with a language, religion, social

organization and customs that were different from those of the French, thus making it elsewhere. The eighteenth-century *philosophes* postulated that all differences were explicable, for difference was unimportant when encountering the unity of human nature and the universality of reason. These three representations were found superposed within the same discourse, whether it is in the correspondence of Voltaire or the letters of the Jesuit missionaries.

In order to appreciate why these Jesuit reports were considered authoritative, it is essential to explore the Jesuit writing practices or the narratology of the Jesuit reports and letters. Amongst other objectives, one of the motives for publishing the Jesuit letters was propagandistic; they served as publicity material to attract funds for the Society. The demand for funding and legitimacy increased as pressure mounted against the Jesuit order in Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century. The *Lettres* were also responding to the expectations and addictions of the reading public back in France. These expectations included “digressions and amplifications containing descriptions of foreign lands and peoples, peppered with eye-witness exaggerations, pious pathos and heroic adventures”. Furthermore, from the early to the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the mounting criticism of the Jesuit order in France generated self-justificatory tropes that included the representation of their endeavours abroad as successful and their members as virtuous and untainted by idolatrous practices.

Beyond these influences that structured Jesuit writing was the prescribed form of Jesuit writing that Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order, set down especially for those stationed outside Europe. Županov reminds us of the four components of Jesuit written composition and correspondence that were to be cast in a specified narrative form. The first included accounts of kings and nobles, and these were to be recorded as dramatic, theatrical vignettes. The second component covered the lives, habits and customs of the common people, and these virtually took the form of ethnographic descriptions. Thirdly, disputes within the order, when reported, were to be couched in dialogical or polemical terms. And finally, the individual ambitions of the Jesuits were to be sublimated in the rhetoric of sainthood and utopianism.

In this tightly cast and evidently doctored form, much of Jesuit writing was subject to freeloading and plagiarism (two anachronistic terms for the times). The advantage of location and engagement with local populations conferred on their descriptions of the new and old worlds a concrete authority that made them vulnerable to rampant literary piracy. In the case of the French Jesuit Coerdoux, stationed at Pondichery, this was doubly so. The

first time was at the hands of Abbé Dubois, whose classic *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* was later discovered to be a plagiarized version of Coerdoux's work. The second time he was plagiarized, but less perniciously so, by the French astronomer Le Gentil. Two cognitive instruments in the Jesuit repertoire conferred their reports with an enviable robustness. These included, on the one hand, the natural faculties of reasoning, and personal experience, and, on the other, a healthy empiricism. Again, as Županov reminds us: "The other, the foreign, the strange was seen as a 'factum' to be surveyed, enumerated, described, explained, catalogued. The data thus produced and collected ... remain a witness of various experiments in the methods of conversion, persuasion, surveillance and social engineering." (Županov, 1999, 22)

From the time of Nobili onwards, the Jesuits more or less considered the Brahmins interlocutors for Indian civilization. This legacy of the Jesuits was to survive in French Indology, and as Roland Lardinois has shown, the genealogy persisted well into Louis Dumont's work *Homo Hierarchicus*. One of the central preoccupations of the French Jesuits in the late seventeenth and nineteenth centuries was with Hindu chronology. It could even be suggested that a version of the antediluvian theory of Bailly was an inheritance of the Jesuit historiography that grappled with Hindu chronology to accommodate a non-Christian people into a Christian conception of time. Murr identifies the central propositions around which the Jesuit project of *accomodatio* was organized: 1) All the descendants of Noah had the same monotheistic religion. 2) Christendom had inherited the tradition of true religion from the Jews. 3) Like the Jews, the Indians were the recipients of the same heritage from Noah. 4) But contrary to the Jews, the Indians lost the true religion and tumbled into idolatry. The second stage of this process involved a historiographical operation that consisted in the invention of two tropes that I have elsewhere called the tropes of forgetting and disfigurement. These two tropes appear reformulated in the Enlightenment historiography of sciences of India; the table below attempts to summarise these perspectives.

<i>Historiography</i>	<i>Trope of Forgetting</i>	<i>Trope of Disfigurement</i>
Jesuit historiography of l'Inde carnatic	The Brahmins had forgotten the original true Noahic religion from which they had descended and fallen in to idolatry	The religion of the Brahmins had been disfigured over the centuries as they had tumbled into idolatry and superstition
Enlightenment historiography of Indian astronomy and mathematics	The Brahmins had forgotten the intelligence of the astronomical methods that had been their legacy from an ancient people	The Brahmins had disfigured the core of an ancient science that they had inherited from an ancient people

This Jesuit invention, in the hands of the Enlightenment historians, enabled the accommodation of historical episodes from non-Western contexts that disrupted the narrative of progress. From Bailly and Delambre via Cantor to Neugebauer and van der Waerden, these two tropes are constantly encountered in the study of the history of ancient and medieval Indian mathematics and astronomy. In a work published as recently as the 1980s, van der Waerden evokes, on lines similar to Bailly and Delambre, an earlier ancient mathematical wisdom that was apparently forgotten by the Indians. For van der Waerden, this wisdom was Euclid's algorithm: "I also suppose that *their methods of calculation were copied, without proof* ... Jayadeva could learn the method of composition of solutions and of eliminating common factors of the 'roots'  $x$  and  $y$ , but the idea underlying the cyclic procedure, namely *the periodicity of the Euclidean algorithm, got lost*." (van der Waerden, 1983, 154, italics added)

The Jesuit mystery, namely their inability to collect and send back Indian texts on astronomy and mathematics, needs explication. Over the last couple of decades, it could be suggested that the Jesuit historiography in South Asia has undergone a great deal of radicalization from within the Jesuit order. This maybe true for other parts of the world as well, but I know South Asia best. The Jesuit Francis Xavier Clooney recently published a biography of the eighteenth-century French Jesuit savant Bouchet (cartographer, astronomer, linguist and philologist), who lived in India. The biography undoes libraries of hagiography surrounding the life of Bouchet. Clooney begins by asking why the Jesuits left no signature on the mind of leading Tamil intellectuals of the time who lived in and around

the same region where Bouchet and members of the Jesuit order operated. For example, there is no mention of the Jesuits in the writings of a leading intellectual of the time, Vedanta Mahadesikan. It appears then that the Jesuits mixed with socially and politically important people, but rarely with scholars and certainly not scholars of the mathematical and astronomical high tradition. This became evident to me when I tried to discover the sources employed by the Jesuit Duchamp, whose manuscript, called the “Xavier manuscript”, was an important source in the eighteenth century. It is clear that Duchamp had only met the *panchangamistes*, the calendar or almanac makers, not the Siddhantic astronomers; in fact he was possibly unfamiliar with the existence of the latter tradition.

In any case, both in historiographical terms and in their proto-ethnographic reports, the French Jesuits played a central role in structuring the history of Indian mathematics and astronomy and possibly even the history of Chinese mathematics, though it may well be premature to push the latter inference. The diversity of Western approaches to the study of the object called non-Western mathematics and astronomy and the optics available for their study suggest the existence of a more nuanced episteme than can be subsumed under the rubric of Orientalism. This would suggest that our view of the power relations between East and West and the discourse about the Orient need to be modified to accommodate the distinct nature of different kinds of knowledge-generation activities. The nested theses concerning the cosy relationship between knowledge and power are a bit too persuasive for one to declaim the end of the Orientalist episteme. And yet a more nuanced historical approach, wherein imperial domination of East by West is “only one of a number of factors in the East-West equation”, would open windows onto the plural knowledge practices of varied communities. One of the merits of post-colonial scholarship has been to reveal the “... suppressed historical origins and ... hidden ideological agendas” of the Occidental discourse about the Orient. The irony of the Enlightenment history of non-Western science was that the savants recognised that the Jesuit accounts of India might be clothed in Christian prejudice. They however failed to see that other prejudices could filter through scientific reports that they considered neutral and value-free. Those prejudices were possibly not of a religious nature, but were disguised by some of the ideological assumptions that underpinned their historical project.

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07CONSTITUTIONALISTS@WIKO-BERLIN.DE:  
ATTEMPTING AN EXOTERIC COMMUNICATION  
ALEXANDER SOMEK

Full-time members of the focus group *Constitution Beyond the Nation State*: Petra Dobner, Dieter Grimm (convener), Martin Loughlin, Alexander Somek, Gunther Teubner; part-time members: Bogdan Iancu, Fritz Scharpf, Rainer Wahl.

No Model Constitution of Europe

The theme of our group was the constitution beyond the nation state. From a lawyer's perspective it can hardly get more exciting. In their routine work, lawyers look to the future only in order to determine what the law has to say about past events. Even to that end they need to explore the relevance of past decisions. The group's theme, by contrast, promised to unchain the legal imagination. It affected the prospective composition of our politics, in particular at a time when it has become common wisdom that nation states are either intrinsically problematic or, at any rate, no longer capable of addressing challenges emerging in a globalised world. A grand opportunity thus presented itself to venture into more or less uncharted territory.

Interestingly, the members of the group – even the participating political scientists – did not conceive of their work in this vein. Indeed, never did it cross their mind that it might be incumbent on them to determine what a transnational constitution should look like. I surmise that, if anyone, then our fellow Fellows from other disciplines – some “harder”, others even softer – may have suspected that this is what a group with such a weighty sounding appellation must be up to; nonetheless, not in their wildest dreams did it occur to its members that the group should adopt as its project to produce a “Berlin draft” of, say, the European, or any other transnational constitution. They did not even engage in a debate about what might conceivably go into such constitution, for example, whether it should contain a unitary executive branch, a list of social rights, judicial review of legislation or any other features traditionally associated with modern constitutional law.

The explanation for the group's lack of interest in debating any of these issues is twofold. First, the members found themselves in profound disagreement over whether it makes sense to apply the concept of the constitution to transnational governance arrangements, present or future. Second, even those believing in the possibility of the constitution beyond the nation state readily conceded that a constitution of this type would certainly be different from what we are acquainted with in the national context. Intriguingly, both matters gave rise to an "overlapping consensus", which was never challenged. For all members, it appeared to be more or less self-evident that a constitution beyond the nation state, if it could amount to anything, cannot result from kicking received constitutional models upstairs.

Hence, in lieu of arriving at the "Berlin draft", the group indulged mostly in debating attempts made by others to identify constitutionalisation processes beyond the nation state, always against the background of the most elementary question of whether it makes sense to apply the concept of the constitution to transnational arrangements. The range of scholarship studied was wide. For example, the group covered rational-choice-based approaches to politics (e. g., work by Scharpf's Cologne associates) as well as highly sophisticated specimens of social systems theory (e. g., Ladeur) and radical French thought (e. g., Mouffe) and went from more recent European governance literature (e. g., Sable and Simon) all the way to global administrative law (e. g., Kingsbury and Krisch). Intermittently, the group members indulged in intense debates about their own work. Occasionally, guests were invited to present their ideas. Finally, the group, led by Martin Loughlin, conducted an international workshop at the Wiko, whose proceedings are most likely to appear in print.

### The Point of Contention

At first glance, the reluctance to apply the concept of the constitution to transnational governance arrangements may strike one as unnecessarily capricious. Why shouldn't one view the United Nations Charter as the constitution of the community of states? Why shouldn't one concede that modern public international law, not least owing to the growing importance of human rights, has acquired, even if slowly and incrementally, a constitutional dimension? Aren't these merely questions of terminology?

However, more than mere capriciousness is at stake here. Certain descriptive and normative features of modern constitutional law counsel in favour of being watchful before carrying constitution talk to the next level.



At its core, the justification for watchfulness lies in the function of norms themselves. Norms do not merely regulate human conduct. They are also constitutive of cultural meanings. For example, certain utterances, if made under the relevant conditions, count as marriage vows. Formal legal norms governing matrimonial relationships allow for the idealisation of certain facts. They make it possible to make them expressive of a cultural idea, in this case, the institution of marriage.

This is trivial. It may be an equally trivial point that idealisations can also conceal. Again, we are all familiar with how this works in private law. The wealthy capitalist concludes an agreement with the penniless labourer. Evidently, such a situation is marked by unequal bargaining power. Nonetheless, through the lens of classical private law the situation is presented as though it involved two agents who are both equally free. The economic inequality is immaterial to the application of the norm pursuant to which both actors are to be counted as free and equal persons entering voluntarily into an agreement. The underlying social facts become neutralised and rendered irrelevant, owing to the influence of normative idealisations.

Against this background, the question arises whether the transfer of the language of constitutionalism to a level beyond the nation state might not also obscure the underlying reality.

When one compares the national and the transnational context, one encounters salient differences, of course. For example, many would argue that in the transnational context there is no constituent power, and if there is any it consists of member state governments acting jointly, and not the people acting through constitutional conventions and processes of ratification. Moreover, transnational governance arrangements never amount to comprehensive regulations of the exercise of public authority. They are at best partial. Finally, not only do transnational arrangements offer very few opportunities for democratic control, they have definitely not been designed to facilitate self-government.

Hence, the question arises whether applying the term “constitution” with all that it connotes, normatively understood, to arrangements that do not fulfil certain criteria might give rise to ideological distortions. In other words, the language of constitutionalism may well end up sugarcoating troublesome realities. I mention in passing that much could be said, when it comes to this, about the failed European constitutional project.

Nothing minor is at stake, simply because in a post-metaphysical age the constitution has come to play the role of the core instrument mediating the exercise of legitimate authority. Neither natural law nor exigency, economic or otherwise, can legitimately provide

the basis for one man ruling another, but only an instrument that is both expressive and constitutive of acts of collective self-determination. Not surprisingly, with the demise of this instrument, “ruling” itself falls into disrepute and is substituted by responses to perceived necessities. They are constrained, if at all, by intuitive appeals to the natural law associated with human rights. When the constitution becomes superfluous, the appeal to constitutionalisation increasingly comes to have an ironic ring to it.

### Two Views of Transnational Constitutional Law

It makes much sense, then, to approach claims about transnational constitutional law with a healthy *Ideologieverdacht* (suspicion of ideology). This is *not* tantamount to presuming such claims to be ideological. On the contrary, existing claims about transnational constitutional law can be viewed as attempts to rebut the suspicion of being ideologically complicit with either economic liberalism or administrative elitism.

Not by accident, this is how the group came to examine the more alluring accounts of transnational constitutional law. Indeed, I think these accounts can be construed, most fruitfully, as though they were formulated already in reply to the reproach charging them with fostering ideological delusion. I should like to sketch, briefly, what I believe to be two most promising examples of such a reply.

First, it is argued by some – not by members of the group, to be sure – that once the state and its constitution become disempowered, public international law needs to take over and to perform a compensatory role. Some authors attempt to identify emerging “constitutional features” of the international legal order, such as higher-ranking obligations that are owed by states to the international community as such and not merely towards particular members. Some even address this development as a paradigm change, the advent of a second political modernity, which is about to replace the first. The relevant contrast is drawn as follows: while the first modernity was based upon sovereignty and individual freedom, the second modernity revolves around subsidiarity and human dignity.

The second promising view of transnational constitutional law is closely associated with societal constitutionalism. From the outset, this approach has a different story to tell. The function of the modern constitution was not simply to constrain state authority or to facilitate self-government. Rather, it was supposed to stabilise functional differentiation, that is, the articulation of societal rationalities within different problem-solving subsystems, such as the economy, religion, politics, health, education etc. At the time that modern con-

stitutions were emerging, the political system was believed to occupy the position at the centre of society. Politics appeared to be the medium of societal self-determination. Hence, it was expected to play a key role in either disrupting or protecting the integrity of emerging functional differentiation. The regulation of its operation had to address the concerns of functional differentiation vis-à-vis the political system, mostly by guaranteeing basic rights. When politics loses its central role, however, the constraining role of constitutional legality recedes to the level of the differentiated systems themselves. Consequently, all social systems then require the type of self-limitation formerly associated with the political system. Political constitutionalism thus becomes transformed into societal constitutionalism. Since the differentiated subsystems of world society do not recognise a fatherland, societal constitutionalism emerges on a global scale. Still absent are the legal rules that would allow for the resolution of invariable collisions between and among the subsystems' respective rationalities.

It emerges clearly, I think, that both positions can be cast in a manner in which they already reply to *Ideologieverdacht*, for they embed their conception of transnational constitutionalism in an account of the disintegration of its national predecessor. Therefore, it would be unfair to claim that they are guilty of masquerading new realities with venerable normative language, for they do in fact try to account for what they perceive to be profound alterations of constitutionalism's basic context of operation and how the constitutional project might nonetheless be continued.

If there is still anything wrong with these positions, it comes to the fore in two fallacies that stem from misapprehensions of what is desirable about traditional constitutional law, namely its emancipatory thrust.

The first position, compensatory or public international law constitutionalism, is disposed to commit what might be called the *fallacy of informality*. The latter amounts to dissolving the normativity of constitutional norms into the flow of open-ended legal expert discourses that exhibit a remarkably casual attitude towards legal sources. Making a long story short, public international law – adjurations of *ius cogens* and *erga omnes* obligations notwithstanding – is constitutionally deficient. This is the case, as has been long observed by H. L. A. Hart, because the secondary “rules” governing the creation of customary law are highly indeterminate. If anything, only a few principles indicate the conditions under which various patterns of state conduct are said to coalesce into a rule of law. The constitutional deficiency is even more aggravated in the case of those norms that are taken to be of prime constitutional significance. The scope and precise normative import of allegedly

“higher” public international law is very much in flux. By contrast, it has been one of the great achievements of modern constitutional law to clarify – or even formalise – the conditions under which not merely laws, but also constitutional law can be created. As a consequence, citizens can rely on the norm’s pedigree in order to determine what claims to have legitimate authority over them. This has a liberating effect, in particular vis-à-vis the judiciary and the pretension inherent in any common law that the law’s artificial reason invests judges with superior insight into which laws are deemed to be truly fundamental. This disciplining effect of a written constitution on the artificial reason of the law now threatens to become a casualty, as a result of which the purported constitutionalisation of international law may effectively arrive at a “public-international-law-ised” version of constitutional law. The assimilation of the latter to the constitutional deficiency of the former leads to a deformed constitutional law. This, in turn, creates confidence that bold assertions of law will indeed be recognised as law provided they are made by someone who is believed to have either the requisite political power or sufficient epistemic authority to do so.

Societal constitutionalism, on the other hand, may be susceptible to the *fallacy of mapping*. Owing to its sociological candour, it remains closely tied to actual processes of social self-regulation. But, again, addressing these processes in terms of constitutionalisation may strip the idea of constitutional law of its emancipatory thrust. Constitutionalisation is a normative process. Instead of mapping existing structures and investing them with the authority of higher law, it constitutes structures of agency. Ironically, owing to its commitment to mapping, societal constitutionalism inherits from the statist tradition a most elementary naïveté. A constitution takes the state as it is and submits it to the discipline of law. However, this is an inaccurate account of what a constitution does. A constitution takes a king and constrains his power by confirming the rights of parliament. A constitution bestows upon parliament the right of legislative override in order to contain an overconfident constitutional tribunal. In a word, constitutions establish countervailing forces in order to constrain agents and processes that already exist or whose presumptive predominance needs to be contained. By contrast, transmuting the constitution into a mapping exercise robs it of its normative edge. In the case of societal constitutionalism, constitutional theory may end up endorsing more or less free-floating system self-reproduction. Clearly, this is only a small step away from romanticising administrative realities.

More generally, the mapping fallacy is manifest in the belief that constitutions attempt merely to render more transparent or even more accessible already existing realities. Rath-

er, what constitutions do – beyond introducing transparency, accountability and responsiveness (which are virtues of modern *administrative* law) – is to *create* responsibility for matters that people would experience as being beyond their control, were it not for constructions of agency. They introduce visibility not by illuminating machinations with a flashlight but by pushing responsible agents into the limelight of the political realm.

### Persistent Vocabularies

The most wonderful thing about academic discourse is that it allows the cultivation of disagreement and the bringing of contending views into sharp relief. The group's weekly procession of disagreement was reinforced by the shared perception that it has become difficult to imagine profound alterations to the world we inhabit. Under the condition of political demobilisation, disagreement over the political world can be treated as though it were a matter of "mere theory".

The debates were not conducted in a vacuum. On the contrary, they were frontloaded with already existing vocabulary and dominated by established paradigms. The predominance of state theory, on the one hand, and systems theory, on the other, made it difficult to grasp the larger transformation from which these established vocabularies themselves cannot claim an exemption. It takes a while to pin down why the antagonism between political modernity and systems theory may even obscure the intermingled manifestation of both continuity and change.

The protagonists of political modernity – state theory, for that matter – insist on the relevance of sovereignty for the political realm. Undeniably, they have a point. But the focus on sovereignty serves as a detractor with regard to the point that should be made by those taking modernity seriously. It is revealed in the abiding relevance of administrative processes. From the European Union to the OECD and the WTO, we see administrators at work co-ordinating their efforts on the international level. Regardless of how one would like to capture transnational governance in a more elaborate theoretical format, it definitely lends itself to description in terms of bureaucratic rationality. In a sense, what one encounters is the continuation of the modern state beyond the nation state. Unfortunately, as of yet this has been only very little understood.

The continuity with political modernity should not blind us to a striking discontinuity, too. It affects mediatisation of the constitutional project vis-à-vis those administrative processes. What we encounter in the field of market integration and risk-regulation is inter-

national co-operation that avails itself of its own procedures and maybe even avenues of judicial appeal (with the practice of relevant tribunals notoriously reflecting the overall bias that inheres in the regime). Most remarkably, in still rare instances, the administrative rationality of such regime becomes superimposed on constitutional traditions. As a consequence, these become, again, more informal, softer, more flexible or, euphemistically speaking, more experimental.

### The Elephant in the Room and the *Methodenstreit*

And what happens to democracy? Nobody seems to know, and, even worse, not too many seem to care. While it is quite clear, on the one hand, that it is hopeless to expect the emergence of something resembling global parliamentary democracy, it is, on the other hand, highly doubtful whether the establishment of more deliberative engagement with civil society actors would suffice to recreate democratic structures within the disembedded arenas of international organisations, let alone networks.

When people speak openly about “post-democracy”, we are still inclined to react with indignation. The point is moot, however, whether we have already adjusted to the imperatives of a post-political world where everyone focuses on personal success and is more than happy to delegate the regulation of risks to experts, at any rate so long as one can be reasonably confident of seeing fundamental rights protected.

The vision of a post-democratic world is not substantively neutral. It is congruent with a world where the distribution of goods and services is the business of markets. Maybe the dream of a constitution beyond the nation state is merely the neo-liberal dream pushed to another level? It may well be the case that, dialectically speaking, a partial ideology is about to come to itself in what purports to be the constitution beyond the nation state.

The work of the group ended with the realisation that its debate may have been in large part refraction, on a descriptive level, of a tacit *Methodenstreit*. Whether you see constitutionalism in demise or in transformation depends, ultimately, on what it takes to describe emerging legal realities accurately. This much can be learned from the Weimar debates.

I surmise that future progress depends on clarifying the normative presuppositions that are invariably involved in describing social realities. In this respect, the question of law and ideology persists. It is intertwined, to be sure, with the deeper question whether society needs to be described on the basis of the assumption that humans have the power to change it. This is not a theoretical issue. It affects the question whether or not, as Kant and Fichte

believed, practical reason takes precedence over theory and whether or not our social world is to be described in a manner that does not render it impossible for us to appear in this world as reasonable, and reasonably powerful, actors.

