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Labeling the Religious Self and Others: Reciprocal Perceptions of Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians in Medieval and Early Modern Times

**Edited by Hans Martin Krämer,
Jenny Oesterle and Ulrike Vordermark**



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**Labeling the Religious Self and Others: Reciprocal Perceptions of Christians,
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Hrsg. von Hans Martin Krämer, Jenny Oesterle, Ulrike Vordermark –

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Labeling the Religious Self and Others: Reciprocal Perceptions of Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians in Medieval and Early Modern Times: Introduction¹

Hans Martin Krämer, Jenny Oesterle,
Ulrike Vordermark

1.

*Seeing there are no signs nor fruit of religion but in man only, there is no cause to doubt but that the seed of religion is also only in man; and consisteth in some peculiar quality, or at least in some eminent degree thereof, not to be found in other living creatures.*²

When Thomas Hobbes thus began his chapter “On Religion” in his seminal 1651 *Leviathan*, he made use of the word “religion” in an abstract way that would have been impossible a century earlier. At roughly the same time, “religion,” which as a Latin or vernacular European word had been almost entirely synonymous with “Christianity,” was also for the first time applied to non-European phenomena described by European missionaries.³ To be sure, the conceptual shifts “religion” underwent at the very begin-

1 The contributions to this volume are revised and extended versions of papers first given at the workshop “Labeling Self and Other in Historical Contacts Between Religious Groups” held in Bochum on January 8th and 9th, 2010. The workshop was organized as part of the activities of the research consortium “Dynamics in the History of Religions Between Asia and Europe” based at Ruhr University Bochum and many of the insights and ideas reproduced in this volume and especially in the introduction stem from discussions held within the consortium since 2008. The editors express their gratitude to the consortium for the support received for the workshop and this volume.

2 T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, First Part, Chapter XII.

3 For an overview of early uses see J.Z. Smith, *Religion, Religions, Religious*, in: M.C. Taylor (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Chicago 1998, pp. 269–84, here: p. 270.

ning of the modern period were not simply the outcome of encounters with new (non-European) forms of religiosity. They were also the result of intra-religious, even polemical, differentiations within Christianity following the Reformation. From sociology, we know that “the more differentiated a group is, the easier it is for the group to appropriate foreigners and the foreign,” but that this greater flexibility is paid for by “increasing internal otherness” (*Binnenfremdheit*).⁴ Considering that the religious concept of Western provenance is closely tied to the history of Christianity, one must ask whether the experience and assimilation of “internal otherness” in the shaping of the late-Enlightenment concept of religion at the same time enabled the overcoming of religious alterity vis-à-vis groups coming from outside. This is suggested by the fact that the Western Christian term “religion” was transferred onto Islam and Judaism (and later other religions as well). The classification of Judaism and Islam as “religions” happens only in conjunction with an “internal otherness” resulting from the religious schism of the Reformation.⁵ While one thus might assume that intra-religious internal differentiations – such as are also the case in Islam between Shia and Sunna – are central to the development of religious concepts, this assumption is complicated by considering cases from East Asia. There, a situation of religious plurality without differentiation – at least if we understand this term to have its prototype in a religious schism such as that of the European Reformation – dominated in premodern times. In China, three major traditions (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism), which self-consciously defined themselves as distinct but displayed little tendency to engage in competition against each other, by and large coexisted peacefully,⁶ while in Japan combinatory practices of Buddhism and Shintō proliferated. Religious alterity was certainly easily overcome in East Asia, but it might have been less due to the degree of internal differentiation than to a long-established practice of assimilation that was applied to teachings in the broad sense (encompassing both religions and philosophies in today’s understanding).

When studying transfer processes of religion and knowledge up to the Enlightenment, it transpires that challenges posed by the contact with other religions contributed to processes through which a clear conceptual grasp of the religious field as something separate from other spheres of social action came about. In terms of the conceptual dimension, this means that in any given society or culture, something like a general concept of religion can be expected to have been formed after intensive contact with other “religions,” i.e., entities understood to be commensurate with the tradition(s) existing in that society or culture. The formation of religious concepts, especially of the concept “religion” itself,

4 J. Stagl, *Grade der Fremdheit*, in: H. Münkler (ed.), *Furcht und Faszination: Facetten der Fremdheit*, Berlin 1997, p. 99.

5 On the other hand, Christendom, Jewry, Islam, and paganism had been well-established categories of religion (albeit not yet called so) in Latin Europe since around 1000. See E. Sharpe, *The Study of Religion in Historical Perspective*, in: J.R. Hinnells (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, London 2005, pp. 21–45, here: p. 25.

6 See J. Gentz, *Die Drei Lehren (sanjiao) Chinas in Konflikt und Harmonie: Figuren und Strategien einer Debatte*, in: E. Franke/M. Pye (eds), *Religionen Nebeneinander: Modelle religiöser Vielfalt in Ost- und Südostasien*, Münster 2006, pp. 17–40.

thus cannot be regarded as an isolated process within one religious group or cultural environment, since transfer processes, translations of terms and concepts, and religious contact usually play an important role.

Still, the term “religion” and its equivalences in modern languages around the world today are of Western provenance, which fact forces us to reflect on the applicability of the language we use in speaking about the problem of the concept of religion in inter-religious comparison. The Christian Western shaping of the concept of religion presents a particular difficulty for the analysis of religious concepts in inter-religious comparison and contact. As with conceptual history in general, there is an “interlinkage of the history of things and the history of concepts”⁷ with reference to the history of the definition of religion. That is to say, the particular problems and experiences that gave rise to the modern concept of religion have inscribed themselves into this very concept. For this reason, the concept of religion cannot simply be carried over into the religious concepts of other cultures. Christoph Auffarth emphasizes that “[r]eligion, as can be gathered from the history of the term, is a concept of European religious history” and is formulated “out of the perspective of an occidental position of Christian Antiquity”; it is a term belonging to a “Christian object-language.” Auffarth concludes that the term is therefore clearly problematic as a comparative term of “religious studies metalanguage.”⁸

2.

A methodological aid in confronting this problem of intercultural and comparative studies is to resort to object-level language, i.e., to take seriously how societal actors themselves have historically referred to the practices they were involved in.⁹ It is not we historians who were the first to think about the commensurability and comparability of the term “religion” to non-European phenomena, but rather those non-Europeans themselves who were in contact with European languages. Historical actors in early modern and nineteenth-century India, China, Korea, Japan, and elsewhere had good reason to identify some of their traditions with this newly discovered European concept of “religion” but not to do so with others. While sociopolitical factors cannot be ignored in this story, there is also an intra-religious dynamic to explain why the majority of Chinese opinion leaders in the twentieth century came to the conclusion that Confucianism is not a religion, although Daoism is.¹⁰ The essays in this volume will carefully tread the

7 H. Homann, Religion, in: Wörterbuch der Religionssoziologie, Gütersloh 1994, p. 260.

8 C. Auffarth, Religion, in: C. Auffarth/J. Bernhard/H. Mohr (eds), Metzler Lexikon Religion, vol. 3, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 160–172, here: pp. 162–3.

9 On the methodological approach of the conceptual history of religious concepts see L. Hölscher, Religiöse Begriffsgeschichte: Zum Wandel der religiösen Semantik in Deutschland seit der Aufklärung, in: H. Kippenberg/J. Rüpkke/K. von Stuckrad (eds), Europäische Religionsgeschichte: Ein mehrfacher Pluralismus, Göttingen 2009, pp. 723–46.

10 Both attributions have been and still are contested. See, e.g., C. Meyer, ‘Religion’ and ‘Superstition’ in Introductory Works to Religious Studies in Early Republican China, in: Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung 33 (2009), pp. 103–25, here: pp. 113–4, 121.

ground between object-level and meta-level language in order to contribute to making a shared academic discourse possible that reaches across Europe and Asia and is sensitive to the European legacy of the term “religion,” while at the same time keeping the door open for comparative investigations across cultures. We will therefore not limit our analysis to the term “religion” in the narrow sense (i.e., only the European languages) but consider other umbrella terms used for “teachings” or “worldviews” that are part of the religious field in a broad sense. This will allow us to reconsider the widespread assumption that outside Europe there was no such thing as a general concept of religion in pre-nineteenth century societies.¹¹

The aim of our endeavor is to extend the history of the concept of “religion” by an intercultural perspective. We hope that the case studies presented in this volume show the relation between the rise of the general concept of “religion” (or other abstract concepts) and the processes of perception and understanding in religious contacts. Moreover, we ask whether it might be possible to gain further insights into the processes of translation and the export of religious concepts and maybe even into the limits of these exportations. Thus, we are interested both in the formation of the European concept of religion as well as in its transfer and spread and in the repercussions of these transfer processes on the European concept. In addition to these questions of the possibilities and limitations of the transcultural use of concepts of “religion,” this volume poses another question: It inquires not only into the application of the Western concept of religion in transcultural comparison but also reflects on how concepts of religion are organized and developed in different cultures and societies.¹²

Furthermore, we hope that the essays in this volume will not only be fruitful for the history of the concept of “religion” itself, but will also contribute to a history of perception. In current studies of the mutual perception of different religious groups in different historical contexts, the contemporary use of the term “religion” is often not taken into account.¹³ To make up for this lack of a conceptual dimension, we will focus on the question of how different religious groups tried to describe and “label” each other in situations of encounter and mutual perception. This “labeling” and the different attempts at grasping each other conceptually are important for the question of how one religious tradition saw the other. Whether a particular religious group recognized another group as a “religion” or whether it tried to distinguish itself from that group by labeling it as heresy, superstition, or even as something not belonging to the “religious” sphere at all

11 Over the last decade, this assumption has made its way from books such as T. Fitzgerald, *The Ideology of Religious Studies*, Oxford 2000, to introductory works to religious studies. See, e.g., John R. Hinnells's claim that there are “cultures’ that have no word for ‘religion,’ as in Sanskrit” (J.R. Hinnells, *Why Study Religions?*, in: J.R. Hinnells (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, London 2005, pp. 5–20, here: p. 7).

12 Daniel G. König's essay in this volume, for instance, draws on examples from Christianity and Islam to examine how descriptions of the Other become differentiated and more precise in the course of intensifying contacts.

13 A recent example is L. Grenzmann/T. Haye/N. Henkel/T. Kaufmann (eds), *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1: *Konzeptionelle Grundfragen und Fallstudien*, Berlin 2009, which deals intensively with the issue of mutual perception but mostly avoids the problem of the concept of religion.

is an essential part of a history of perception. We follow the scholar of religious history Barend ter Haar in assuming that labels “are used according to vague and often only implicit criteria, and are rarely based on close examination. [...] Contrary to analytical categories (or generic terms) in modern scholarship, labels are, therefore, not used to analyse or describe. [...] Labels form a kind of closed system, always accurate for those who apply them, and providing justification for actions against the labelled phenomena.” We differ from ter Haar, however, in not necessarily presupposing that labels always “are, or have been used to denounce certain phenomena.”¹⁴ To the contrary, value attributions associated with labeling can be rather ambiguous, as we will shortly show in our tentative sketch of the historical patterns undergone by religious othering (see Section 3 below). To define the parameters of our undertaking as outlined here and to give a sense of our methodological approach to the problems it poses, it is necessary to first clarify what we mean by a general concept of religion. The contemporary understanding of the abstract noun “religion” in the European languages (and those non-European languages that have coined a congruous term) encompasses several dimensions, three of which we will single out and identify for heuristic purposes. First, there is the (relatively old) generic meaning of one religion vs. others: “a particular system of faith and worship.”¹⁵ In this sense, European languages have allowed us to speak of several “religions” in the plural since about 1400.

From about this time onwards, “religion” started its career as a collective noun, becoming a key concept of European societies later on in the course of the Enlightenment. Beyond its usage in the plural distinguishing different religious traditions, the conceptual shift during this period made it possible to use the term religion in the singular, referring to something like an ubiquitous human ability and predisposition. Next to this understanding of religion as a universal phenomenon stands the borderline concept, in which “religion” is delineated from other, “non-religious” or “secular,” spheres of societal activity, such as law, politics, education, and so on.¹⁶ We find all these meanings overlapping in today’s “religion,” but they must by no means be actualized in one and the same word, and they have indeed developed separately in the European languages, where the first meaning is clearly the oldest one. The relationship between them, however, is not entirely contingent. In the European languages, again, it seems that the two more abstract meanings of the universal dimension and the borderline dimension actually developed out of the plural meaning. Although this may not be a necessary sequence found in all

14 B.J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*. Honolulu 1999, pp. 13–14.

15 Oxford English Dictionary, entry “religion,” meaning no. 4.

16 For the history of the European concept, see M. Despland, *La religion en occident: Évolution des idées et du vécu*, Montréal 1979; F. Wagner, *Was ist Religion? Studien zu ihrem Begriff und Thema in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Gütersloh ²1986; E. Feil, *Religio: Die Geschichte eines neuzeitlichen Grundbegriffs*, 4 vols., Göttingen 1986–2007; M. Hildebrandt / M. Brocker (eds), *Der Begriff der Religion: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, Wiesbaden 2008.

languages, there is in fact an area of overlap between the three in many European and non-European languages.¹⁷

Equally, it is by no means self-evident what one should understand under “contact” between “religions.” Indeed, in many cases it would be problematic to treat “religions” as meaningful entities that can have an encounter, and the contribution by Daniel G. König to this volume will spell out some of the problems incurred by such an approach. Again, however, by privileging the conceptual approach, it becomes clear that in many historical instances, social actors in situations of encounter do identify with a certain (religious) tradition, which they juxtapose to that of another. These contacts can be of a broad variety of types, encompassing, e.g., the actual meeting of individuals, situations of warfare, or theological debates conducted in the pages of books. In all of these instances of “contact” in the broad sense, issues of self-identity are negotiated all the while the Other is being defined.

3.

In a very abstract fashion, one could attempt to identify a common pattern that is by and large shared by many situations of encounter that take place over a longer span of time. While the following considerations do not represent a unilinear development, and while these phases overlap to a considerable degree, a number of actual historical cases from broadly diverging chronological and local backgrounds share the following modes of perception and description.

In the very early phase of a contact, with limited opportunities to get to more deeply understand that which is foreign, it is a common strategy to view what is foreign as a variant of that teaching or worldview with which one oneself identifies. Such a strategy has recently been described by anthropologist Gerd Baumann as the “grammar of encompassment”: “Encompassment means an act of selfing by appropriating, perhaps one should say adopting or co-opting, selected kinds of otherness.”¹⁸ This is precisely what can be seen in early contact between religious groups. Buddhism, e.g., was seen as a variant of Daoism when it was first introduced in China.¹⁹ As Antje Flüchter shows in her contribution to this volume, early modern Christian missionaries to India “discovered” traces of Christianity in the pagan religions they encountered there. When Buddhism began to spread in seventh-century Japan, the Buddhas were interpreted as identical to local deities, the *kami*, the first step in a complicated process leading to what has recently

17 The historical relationship between different meanings of religion seems to have been given little attention so far. For some preliminary suggestions, see J.Z. Smith, *Religion* (as in note 3), pp. 271 and 272, and E. Feil, *Religio: Die Geschichte eines neuzeitlichen Grundbegriffs im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2007, pp. 14–16.

18 G. Baumann, *Grammars of Identity / Alterity: A Structural Approach*, in: G. Baumann / A. Gingrich (eds), *Grammars of Identity / Alterity: A Structural Approach*, Oxford 2004, pp. 18–50, here: p. 25.

19 J. Gentz, *Buddhism and Chinese Religions*, in: P. Schmidt-Leukel (ed.), *Buddhist Attitudes to Other Religions*, St. Ottilien 2008, pp. 172–211, here: p. 176.

been called “combinatory religious practice.”²⁰ And the eighteenth-century Capuchin missionaries to Tibet were called “(white) lamas” by Tibetan Buddhists.²¹ The notion that the foreign religion is actually a sub-sect of the dominant religion with which one-self identifies can remain a valid option long after the initial encounter, as is apparent in the identification of Islam as a heretical sect of Christianity in early modern Europe²² or in Buddhist views of Christianity as an erroneous form of Buddhism, twisted into its deviant shape by the misguided teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.²³ The perception of the foreign is initially characterized by distance, a distance that can be spatial, temporal, or cultural. Standing in such a distance, the foreign largely evades conceptual definition or description: initially, it stands outside “habitualized knowledge.”²⁴

Distance, however, does not mean that one does not imagine the “Other” at all. On the contrary: As the contributions of Daniel G. König and Antje Flüchter to this volume show in great detail, travelers, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and ambassadors all conveyed knowledge of other religious traditions existing in other countries to their homeland. Even if conceptually marked as “religion,” the distance remains intact, yet what was previously foreign has now become the Other, finding its place within the accepted worldview. Nevertheless, the attempts to conceptually grasp other religious ideas as religion are never independent of self-perception and its conceptual frame. Face-to-face contact, along with the examination of writings of other “religions,” leads to deepened knowledge. As a result of getting to better know the foreign, identification increasingly becomes impossible as a means of dealing with it. A new terminology, however, often does not yet exist in this transitory phase; rather, foreign terms which do not become a fixed part of one’s own language are then used to refer to that which is foreign. At this stage, the epistemological status of this foreign element within one’s own worldview is still relatively unclear and open.

Christian priests in sixteenth-century Japan, e.g., initially referred to by the Japanese words for “Buddhist priest” (such as *sō*), soon came to be called *bateren*, a word derived from an approximate pronunciation of the Portuguese word “padre.” This word, instead of referring to the function of the missionaries, emphasized their foreignness, and soon vanished from the Japanese language once the last missionaries left Japan in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The famous eighth-century inscription on the Nesto-

20 M. Teeuwen/F. Rambelli, Introduction: Combinatory Religion and the Honji Suijaku Paradigm in Pre-Modern Japan, in: M. Teeuwen/F. Rambelli (eds), *Buddhas and Kami in Japan. Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, London 2003, pp. 1–53, here: p. 7.

21 See I. Engelhardt, Between Tolerance and Dogmatism: Tibetan Reactions to the Capuchin Missionaries in Lhasa, 1707–1745, in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005), pp. 55–98. The same was true for the sole non-Capuchin missionary to Tibet, the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri; see T. Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri’s Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet*, New York 2010, p. 159. Ippolito also called himself “a Christian lama” (p. 120).

22 See the essay by Thomas Kaufmann in this volume.

23 See the essay by Hans Martin Krämer in this volume.

24 J. Osterhammel, Distanzerfahrung. Darstellungsweisen des Fremden im 18. Jahrhundert, in: H.-J. König/W. Reinhard/R. Wendt (eds), *Der europäische Beobachter außereuropäischer Kulturen: Zur Problematik der Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung*, Berlin 1989, pp. 9–42, here: p. 40.

rian Stele originally erected in Xi'an in China is a curious example of how religious language works in the transition period from (little-known) foreign to (more well-known) Other. The wording of the Chinese text on the tablet is so unspecific that it is difficult to tell at first glance that this is the description of a Christian group. The name of God is given in a phonetic rendering of the Syriac "Allaha," but is otherwise simply called by the generic name "true lord." Christianity is, however, referred to as *jingjiao*, i.e., as a proper name within the general framework of "teachings" (*jiao*) current in China at the time.²⁵ What was initially completely unfamiliar over a long term began step by step through the multiplicity of encounters to gain a recognizable contour and became integrated in those cultures' worldview, even if this happened by drawing borders; in other words, even if distance was maintained. The attempt to understand, classify, and grasp the foreign leads to its description. It is only through being described and narrated that the "foreign" progressively becomes the "Other," as Marina Münkler has argued.²⁶ Only then is the foreign fully appropriated by subsumption into one's own worldview. The terminological system is adapted accordingly, usually in such a way that the Other is clearly marked as such with a conventionalized set of phrases, or by modifying those words in use for one's own teaching by prefixes or attributes referring to the deviation it represents.

Islam, for example, was for a long time held by Latin Christians to be a heretical deviation from Christianity; it was only through the intensification of information due to travel writing and diplomatic accounts, as well as through the analysis of religious writings such as Petrus Venerabilis's translation of the Qur'an into Latin, that Islam emerged as a "self-standing" religion, even if a mostly polemical one at first glance. Another obvious example is *xiejiao*, the conventionalized Chinese label for heresies of all sorts, essentially meaning a deviation from the correct teaching (i.e., Confucianism) and applied to all teachings recognized as such but judged to be unorthodox, such as Christianity in the seventeenth century.²⁷ An opposite example is the title of the linguistic work of Nicolas Trigault, a seventeenth-century French missionary to China. His 1626 "Aid to the Eyes and Ears of Western Literati" (*Xiru ermu zi*) applies the label *ru*, typically used for Confucian scholars, to Jesuit missionaries, who were his intended audience.²⁸

It is only in this phase, when the foreign has become the Other, that another of the "grammars of identity/alterity" described by Baumann first becomes possible, namely that of "orientalizing," which Baumann himself has argued to be particularly prevalent "in contexts called 'religious.'" "Orientalizing," according to Baumann, is "a binary op-

25 See P. Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*. Ed. by A. Forte, Venice 1996.

26 M. Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2000, p.148. It is interesting to analyze in this context not only the perception of different groups such as merchants, missionaries, or diplomats but also their varying conceptual definitions of the Other. Certain systems of cultural contact might be more inclined to classify the 'Other,' to determine it, and to describe it with more verbal precision.

27 See the essay by Ya-pei Kuo in this volume.

28 On the *Xiru ermu zi* see L. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*, Cambridge (MA) 2007, p. 261. On the efforts of Jesuit missionaries to portray themselves as equals of the Confucian literati, see the essay by Ya-pei Kuo in this volume.

position subject to reversal,” i.e., something that makes possible not only the denigration of the Other but also a “cultural self-critique,”²⁹ exemplified by the modern urbanite who glorifies the way of life of primitive tribesmen. Orientalizing in this sense – becoming aware of one’s own shortcomings when facing the (still inferior) Other – may be seen in the case related by Thomas Kaufmann in his essay in this volume about Georgius de Hungaria, who spent two decades in Turkish captivity, yet in his account could not deny being impressed by various aspects of religious life in the Ottoman Empire, such as “the shining brightness of the *praxis pietatis*,” seemingly implying that such devotion had sadly been lost in Christian Europe. It is also visible in the fascination displayed by the Jesuit East Asia missionary Luís Fróis in his tract detailing cultural differences between Europe and Japan, e.g., when he describes the cleanliness of the Japanese, which is, he laments, so woefully lacking in his sixteenth-century Europe.³⁰

4.

A final theoretical consideration concerns the heuristic value of looking at how heresies and heterodoxies were defined. The construction of a category such as “religion” is not complete until it attains some type of negative foil. Logically, two models of opposition are thinkable: One is the labeling of deviant groups, which are, however, in the final analysis still seen to belong to the larger field identified as “religion.” In the case of heterodoxies or heresies (the labels actually used vary greatly), this is usually the case: The teachings of the Other may be of the devil and deserve to be attacked, yet they are still regarded as examples of the broader category of religion. In contrast, other groups may be judged to fall completely outside of the scope of the religious. This process is typical of modernity when “religion” is established in such a fashion as to exclude groups on either side of the conceptual spectrum: one, “superstitions,” which do not deserve to be included among proper religions and which are treated with indifference at best, although modern states would not infrequently undertake to dismantle them.³¹ On the other end of the spectrum is the border shared with science or agnostic *Weltanschauung*: In contrast to the treatment of “superstition,” the exclusion of philosophies, etc., from the modern category of “religion” did not necessarily entail a demotion in rank, as the example of Confucianism in modern China demonstrates.³²

29 G. Baumann, Grammars (as in note 18), pp. 20, 29.

30 L. Fróis (F. Schütte, ed.), *Kulturgegensätze Europa–Japan* (1585). *Tratado em que se contem muito susinta e abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças de costumes antre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão*, Tokyo 1955. An English translation is available as: R.D. Gill, *Topsy-Turvy 1585: 611 Ways Europeans and Japanese Were Contrary*, Key Biscane 2004.

31 The most extreme case would seem to be early twentieth-century China, where several hundred thousand local religious buildings were either destroyed or converted to secular use. See V. Goossaert, 1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?, in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, 2 (2006), pp. 307–36, here: pp. 307–8.

32 See Chen H., *Confucianism Encounters Religion: The Formation of Religious Discourse and the Confucian Movement in Modern China*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA) 1999, pp. 1–20.

By paying close attention, again, to object-level language, one may make out distinctions between labels such as “heresy” or “heterodoxy” (or “Ketzeri,” *xiejiao*, etc.), differences which are reflected on the sociopolitical level of having to deal with the Other in some concrete way. Not infrequently, the one theologically closer to oneself was regarded as more “heretical.”³³ To some degree, the history of the development of a general concept of religion is equivalent to the overcoming of denominational sensibilities. The acknowledgment of the equivalence of other religions implies the abandonment of one’s own superiority to a certain extent. While this is essentially a story of the modern age, the essays on premodern cases discussed in this volume represent the first steps of such a full-fledged acknowledgment.

5.

The cases presented in this volume, although coming from a variety of cultures, all involve Christians as one of the two sides engaging in contact. The concentration on Christianity out of the multiplicity of possible encounters between religions in world history is due on the one hand to the arbitrary configuration of the field of history in Western Europe (from which all the contributors come), but on the other hand to the fact that, historically, Christianity has been the most aggressive in reaching out to other religions, mostly with missionary intention. The wealth of historical materials produced out of the encounter of Christians with representatives of other religious traditions is therefore unmatched in world history.

The other side is represented here in this volume by Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians. While we have thus striven for breadth and while the cases come from a variety of cultures, the list is by no means exhaustive; the essays collected here can thus really achieve nothing more than to begin to address the many issues, questions, and problems raised in this introduction. Even when limiting the scope to Eurasia, some of the more prominent encounters are missing in our collection, most conspicuously perhaps that between Jews and Christians (referred to briefly by Antje Flüchter) and that between Jews and Muslims. Encounters between the latter two in the Islamic world were dense and took place on many different levels and occasions throughout the age of the caliphates. Important case studies for encounters and attempts to describe and conceive the Other are Islamic courts, where Jews often played an integral part, be it as

33 In this regard, early modern Europe, with its changing allegiances between Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Muslim states, is an excellent case in point. See the essay by Kaufmann in this volume. The polemics exchanged between the so-called spiritual Franciscans and their mainstream brethren are another typical case. In the rhetoric directed against each other, the label Antichrist was sometimes employed with more recklessness than when writing about Islam. See D. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*, University Park (Penn.) 2003, p. 227.

physicians, translators, or in administrative functions, and where interreligious dialogues took place.³⁴

A veritable goldmine for linguistically complex interreligious interactions in the premodern period was Mughal India. Just as Muslim–Christian contacts in the Mediterranean world frequently went far beyond simple labeling, in premodern South Asia, processes of appropriation such as translations of Hindu texts into Persian, the high language of Islam on the subcontinent, and of Muslim texts into the vernaculars of the region seem to have been dominant.³⁵ That the issue of labeling the religious Other extends even to less institutionalized groups has been demonstrated for the case of Mongolia, where the introduction of Buddhism since the sixteenth century has led to the reification and new categorizations of indigenous shamanistic practices.³⁶

The recent volume *Buddhist Attitudes to Other Religions* includes chapters on Buddhist relations towards Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, among others. Importantly, the volume sets out from the observation that, in contrast to common notions of Buddhism as generally accommodative or as indifferent to other religious traditions, “it can hardly be denied that the confrontation with, the critical discussion and the normative assessment of, rival views and of one’s own views in relation to other views has not only been present in Buddhism from its inception, but continued to be so.”³⁷ In light of the problems raised in the present introduction, however, the approach taken by the volume on Buddhism is self-declaredly “theological” and therefore by and large ahistorical. Moreover, only scant attention is given to issues of labeling, since it is “the question of whether we are not in danger of overestimating the impact of terminology. For whatever terms and categories we might choose, the basic problems and possible solutions indeed seem to be astonishingly similar.”³⁸

Such an approach indeed seems possible only if one is faced with fundamentally theological problems that are in need of solutions. For the historical reconstruction of encounters between religious traditions, however, it seems well advised to take semantics seriously. Not only are they indicative of perceptions and attitudes towards self and Other, but, in the final analysis, they are also a key to explaining social behavior in situations of religious contact.

34 H. Lazarus-Yafeh / M.R. Cohen / S. Somekh / S. Griffith (eds), *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, Wiesbaden 1999; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, New York 1970.

35 T.K. Stewart, *In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim–Hindu Encounter Through Translation Theory*, in: *History of Religions* 40, 3 (2001), pp. 260–87.

36 K. Kollmar-Paulenz, *Zur Ausdifferenzierung eines autonomen Bereichs Religion in asiatischen Gesellschaften des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Das Beispiel der Mongolen*, Bern 2007. Kollmar-Paulenz also gives examples of Tibetan Buddhist polemics against non-Buddhist religious groups (pp. 13–14).

37 P. Schmidt-Leukel / J. D’Arcy May, *Introduction: Buddhism and Its “Others,”* in: P. Schmidt-Leukel (ed.), *Buddhist Attitudes to Other Religions*, St. Ottilien 2008, pp. 9–22, here: p. 13.

38 P. Schmidt-Leukel / J. D’Arcy May, *Introduction* (as in note 37), pp. 11–12.

Muslim Perception(s) of “Latin Christianity”: Methodological Reflections and a Reevaluation

Daniel G. König

RESÜMEE

Grob gesprochen neigt die bisherige Forschung dazu, die Wahrnehmung der lateinischen Christenheit durch die arabisch-islamische Welt des 7. bis 15. Jahrhunderts auf eine desinteressierte und arrogante Haltung zu reduzieren. Im ersten Teil des Artikels verdeutlicht ein Variantenvergleich auf der Basis methodischer Überlegungen zur Quellengrundlage und zur Rekonstruktion von Wahrnehmungsmustern auf makrohistorischer Ebene, dass eine stärkere Nuancierung erforderlich ist. Im Rahmen einer exemplarischen Beweisführung widmet sich der zweite Teil der Frage, wie und auf welcher terminologischen Grundlage die „lateinische Christenheit“ in den Schriften arabisch-islamischer Gelehrter kategorisiert wird. Diese enthalten zwar keinen Begriff, der eindeutig eine „lateinisch-christliche“ Religionsgemeinschaft oder kulturelle Sphäre definiert. Dennoch wird deutlich, dass das Konzept eines facettenreichen christlich geprägten europäischen Kulturraums in diesen Schriften über die Jahrhunderte hinweg langsam an Kontur gewinnt.

Taking up this volume’s stated theme of examining the “labeling of self and other in historical contacts between religious groups,” the following article proposes to provide some thoughts on perceptions of Latin Christianity in the “medieval”¹ Arab-Islamic world of the seventh to fifteenth centuries. In this context, the analysis of labels is regarded as a tool which can contribute to understanding the phenomenon of intercultural perception. Consequently, the first part of the article is dedicated to methodological reflections on the reconstruction of perception and the role labels play therein, while the sec-

1 On the applicability of the term “medieval” or “Middle Ages” to the Islamic world, see T. Khalidi, Reflections on Periodisation in Arabic Historiography, in: *The Medieval History Journal* 1.1 (1998), pp. 107–24.

and part concentrates on the terminology used by Arab-Islamic scholars to circumscribe Latin Christianity.

"Latin Christianity" can only be regarded with certain reservations as referring to a "religious group": with respect to the late antique Mediterranean, the term connotes a specific form of Christianity represented by the exponents of patristic literature in Latin.² Concerning medieval Europe, it serves to label a specific form of Christianity centered, to a certain extent, on the pope in Rome.³ In a medieval context, "Latin Christianity" – used interchangeably with terms such as "the Latin West"⁴ – is also understood as a cluster of medieval European societies with common characteristics, including a specific form of Christianity. Rather than defining a community of people(s) adhering to a certain cult and belief system, it is treated as a "cultural sphere" or "civilization" in contrast to neighboring civilizations in time and space such as "Rome," "Byzantium," and "Islam".⁵ Thus, "Latin Christianity" is a scholarly construct: although we do find late antique and medieval texts which contain Christian forms of self-identification in Latin also referring to the Roman heritage, sources produced within the Latin-Christian orbit do not use a Latin equivalent of the term.⁶

The traditional way of beginning an article on Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity would be to state that the medieval Islamic legal distinction between "the abode of Islam" (dār al-islām) and "the abode of war" (dār al-ḥarb)⁷ must be regarded as the core of medieval Muslim perceptions of the non-Muslim world, including medieval Europe.⁸ Having

- 2 See A. Roberts / J. Donaldson / A. Cleveland Cox (eds), *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian* (Ante-Nicene Fathers 3), Peabody 1885 (reprint 1995); H. von Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Latin Church*, Stanford 1969, p. 179; P. Gemeinhardt, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung*, Tübingen 2007. Compare the biographies of Irenaeus of Lyon, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, and so on.
- 3 H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity Including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V*, 9 vols, London 1867; J. Heron, *The Evolution of Latin Christianity*, London 1919.
- 4 In German, the term "christliches Abendland" is often employed in older literature as well as in political debates, e.g., H. Loebel, *Europa: Vermächtnis und Verpflichtung*, Frankfurt a. M. 1957, p. 22. The terms "lateinische Christenheit," "lateinischer Westen" or "Lateineuropa" generally have a more neutral connotation, see J. Fried, *Die Formierung Europas 840–1046*, Munich 2007, p. 5. French scholars often use the term "Occident" or "monde latin," see J. Tolan / P. Jossierand, *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin: du milieu du X^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e siècle*, Rosny-sous-Bois 2000.
- 5 Scholars working on the history of Europe oppose medieval European civilization to Roman Antiquity and the beginnings of the Renaissance, e.g., J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, Malden 2007, pp. 4–5; P. den Boer / P. Bugge / O. Waever / K. Wilson / W. J. van der Dussen, *The History of the Idea of Europe*, London 1995, pp. 12–13, pp. 19–20; R. Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*, Durham 2007, p. 24. Medievalists tend to oppose "Latin Christianity" to "Islam" and "Byzantium," see: O. Mazal, *Byzanz, Islam, Abendland*, Vienna 1995; E. Pitz, *Die griechisch-römische Ökumene und die drei Kulturen des Mittelalters: Geschichte des mediterranen Weltteils zwischen Atlantik und Indischem Ozean*, Berlin 2001.
- 6 D. König, *Arabic-Islamic Historiographers on the Emergence of Latin-Christian Europe*, in: W. Pohl / C. Gantner (eds), *Visions of Community: Ethnicity, Religion and Power in the Early Medieval West, Byzantium and the Islamic World*, Aldershot 2010 (forthcoming).
- 7 On both concepts see A. Abel, *Dār al-Islām*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, Leiden 1965, p. 127; A. Abel, *Dār al-Ḥarb*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, Leiden 1965, p. 126.
- 8 B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York 1982 (reprint 2001), p. 171: "For the Muslim, religion was the core of identity, of his own and therefore of other men's. The civilized world consisted of the House of Islam, in which a Muslim government ruled, Muslim law prevailed, and non-Muslim communities might enjoy the toler-

thus defined an attitude of hostility and superiority as the prevalent view held by Muslims towards societies following another religion, one could bolster this assessment by citing scholars from all over the world, who – in spite of some nuances – claim in endless repetition that, from a “Muslim” perspective, medieval Europe constituted a barbarian hinterland in which comparatively primitive peoples adhered to a belief that had been superseded by Islam.⁹ These studies are often based exclusively on a selection of Arab-Islamic works of geography and historiography and do not consider the contributions of archaeology¹⁰ nor the bulk of textual corpora produced within eight centuries – not only in Arabic, but also in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and European vernaculars.¹¹ Generalization and a very selective approach to the sources thus allow the equation of

ance of the Muslim state and community provided they accepted the conditions. The basic distinction between themselves and the outside world was the acceptance or rejection of the message of Islam.” Translations of the book tend to emphasize the religious divide by expanding the original title. In German: *Die Welt der Ungläubigen: Wie der Islam Europa entdeckte*, Frankfurt a. M. 1983; in Italian: *Europa barbara e infedele: i musulmani alla scoperta dell'Europa*, Milan 1983.

- 9 Unfortunately, the rather important nuances cannot be treated here. In general, however, the studies in question tend to emphasize the existence of stereotypes rather than the abundance and diversity of information to be found on medieval Western Europe in Arab-Islamic sources: B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20.1 (1957), pp. 409–16; B. Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982) (as in note 8), pp. 6–9, pp. 80–81, pp. 91–92, p. 105, pp. 297–302; ‘A. al-‘Azma, *al-‘Arab wa ‘l-barābira. al-muslimūn wa ‘l-ḥadārāt al-uḥrā* (Arabs and Barbarians. The Muslims vis-à-vis Other Civilizations), London 1991; A. al-Azmeh, *Barbarians in Arab Eyes*, in: *Past and Present* 134.1/3 (1992), pp. 3–18, p. 7; A. al-Azmeh, *Mortal Enemies, Invisible Neighbours: Northerners in Andalusi Eyes*, in: S.K. Jayyusi, M. Marín (eds), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, vol. 1, Leiden 1992, pp. 266–70; T. Khalidi, *Islamic Views of the West in the Middle Ages*, in: *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 5 (1995), pp. 31–42; A. Thabit, *Arab Views of Northern Europeans in Medieval History and Geography*, in: D. Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700*, Cairo Papers in Social Science 19 (1996), pp. 73–81; M. J. Viguera Molins, *La percepción de Europa desde el ámbito araboislámico*, in: A. Vaca Lorenzo (ed.), *Europa, proyecciones y percepciones históricas*, Salamanca 1997, pp. 49–70; J. Waardenburg, *L'Europe dans le miroir de l'Islam*, in: *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* 53.1 (1999), pp. 103–28; J. Tolan / P. Josseland, *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin* (as in note 4), pp. 192–93; J. Waardenburg, *Muslims and Others: Relations in Context*, Berlin–New York 2003, pp. 152–53; D. Pipes, *In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power*, New Brunswick 2003, pp. 76–82; B. Turner, *Überlappende Gewaltträume: Christlich-islamische Gewaltwahrnehmung zwischen Polemik und Alltagsrationalität*, in: M. Braun / C. Herberichs (eds), *Gewalt im Mittelalter*, Munich 2005, pp. 227–28. A.K. Bennison, *The Peoples of the North in the Eyes of the Muslims of Umayyad al-Andalus (711–1031)*, in: *Journal of Global History* 2.2 (2007), pp. 157–74. The recent study on mutual perception in a crusader context was not accessible to me: A. Leclercq, *Portraits croisés: l'image des Francs et des Musulmans dans les textes relatifs à la première croisade (chroniques latines et arabes, chansons de geste françaises des XII^e et XIII^e siècles)*, Paris 2010.
- 10 See, for example, P. Sénac, *Quelques remarques sur l'historiographie récente de la frontière dans l'Espagne médiévale (VIII^e–XIII^e siècles)*, in: *FranceMed* (R. Abdellatif / Y. Benhima / D. König / E. Ruchaud), *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels. Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche*, Munich (forthcoming).
- 11 Since we lack Arab-Islamic sources for certain periods and places, e.g., the first two centuries of Islam or the raiding activities in Italy and Southern France, outside perspectives can help to reconstruct Muslim perceptions. The tenth-century historiographer Rodulfus Glaber, for example, informs us about how Latin Christians felt they were perceived by Muslims. In his chronicle he relates how “Saracen” raiders abducted Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, with the explicit aim of receiving a high ransom. During the abbot's captivity, one of the captors purposely trod on Maiolus's Bible with his foot. On account of Maiolus's protest, the transgressor was severely reprimanded by his fellow raiders, who criticized him for not showing the respect due to the prophets. This provides Glaber with the opportunity to comment on how the “Saracens” regarded the prophets of the Jewish and Christian tradition. See: Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. and trans. by J. France, in: *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. J. France / N. Bulst / P. Reynolds, Oxford 2002, p. 20.

the attribute "Muslim" with an unchanging, stereotyped perception of Latin Christianity and a decisively bipolar worldview. Such an approach adds fuel to a public debate about the relationship between "Islam" and "the West" which is not devoid of unquestioned assumptions of an ideological nature.¹² A macrohistorical approach to the sources – legitimate as such and inherent to the work of most historians – is not open to critique. The problem lies rather in the fact that most writings on the subject lack methodological reflection on how to deal with the phenomenon of perception on such a large scale.

1. Reconstructing Perception: Methodological Considerations

In contrast to natural scientists, philosophers, psychologists, and art historians,¹³ most historians analyze the phenomenon of perception on the basis of texts. Texts provide insight into perceptions on different levels:

1.1. Perception and its Documentation in Texts

On a first level, texts document the perceptions formulated by the author(s) of a specific corpus at the time of writing. The author can be defined as the "subject of perception" while the text contains elements that can be labeled as "objects of perception." A common method of distilling perceptions is to analyze the terminology employed by the author to identify certain objects of perception, such as individuals, groups, or institutions (e.g., "the pope," "infidels," "Franks") in a given text. If the geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) explains that "the pope is the leader of the Franks"¹⁴ or the geographer Abū 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) writes that "the Galicians [...] do not wash their clothes,"¹⁵ they make use of specific labels (pope or Galicians) which are linked to a definition. Yāqūt defines the term "pope" explicitly whereas Abū 'l-Fidā' defines "Galicians" by attributing a certain behavior and character to them. Yāqūt's definition is of a rather "factual" nature, while the description rendered by Abū 'l-Fidā' carries a judgment. In both cases, however, the combination of label and description provides insight into perceptions which – even if they are based on written or oral statements by others – seem to have been regarded as valid and thus shared by the authors of the respective text.

On a second level, the author of the text claims to reproduce the perception of others. In this case, the "subject of perception" in the text is distinct from the author. For example,

12 S. Bakr/B. Ezbidī/H. Kassab-Hassan/F. Karcic/M. Zaidi/D. J. Hassan, *Der Westen und die islamische Welt: Eine muslimische Position*, ed. Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) Stuttgart, Stuttgart 2004, p. 16, pp. 23–43, pp. 65–72, pp. 79–83.

13 Cf. B. Russell, *The Analysis of Mind* [1921], London/New York 1996, pp. 101–12; M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* [1945], London/New York 2003; H. Belting, *Florenz und Bagdad: Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks*, Munich 2008.

14 Yāqūt, *mu'ğam al-buldān* (Encyclopaedia of Countries), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1867 (Teheran 1965), Art. Bāšğird, vol. 1, pp. 469–70: "wa 'l-bābā ra'īs al-Afranğ."

15 Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-muħtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (An Abridgment of the History of Mankind), ed. Ḥ. Mu'nis/M. Zainuhum 'Azzab/Y.S. Ḥusain, 4 vols, Cairo 1998–99, vol. 1, p. 120: "lā yağsalūna ṭiyābahum."

al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 / 1283) purports to have received information about the city of Rome from travelers who had set out from Baghdad and whose description of the city he reproduces.¹⁶ Although it is often difficult to prove the veracity of the respective account, the documentation of external perceptions suggests that the author believed them to be of relevance to the public he addressed.

On a third level, the author provides information on the interaction of persons or groups without referring to the perceptions involved. This is the case, for example, when Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 / 1076) relates that ‘Abd Allāh, the son of the amīr ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān proceeded to flee until he reached Charles (Qārluh), the Frankish king.” We can infer from the text that the situation obviously entailed an encounter and mutual appraisal of two persons in a certain phase of Umayyad–Carolingian relations at the end of the eighth century. However, Ibn Ḥayyān’s description does not specify how the persons involved perceived each other, but rather leaves us with a vague notion of how a Muslim seeking political asylum at the court of a Christian ruler may have regarded his host.¹⁷ One could argue that this kind of imprecise evidence should be disregarded. However, in order to reconstruct bygone realities and to avoid eclipsing great parts of the past, it is not sufficient to restrict analysis to labels and explicit statements which grant direct access to the perceptions of authors and those cited by them. Implicit evidence contains relevant information on objects of perception as well as on the relationship between subjects and objects of perception. In many cases, it represents the only key to the perception of those whose vision of the world has not been immortalized in writing.

Approached in this way, source material concerning Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity gains considerable depth: in his “*risāla fī taḥrīm al-ḡubn ar-rūmī*,” a treatise on the interdiction of “Christian” cheese, the Maliki jurist aṭ-Ṭurtūṣī (d. 520/1126)¹⁸ informs a group of Muslim questioners in Alexandria that it is not advisable to eat cheese imported to Alexandria in ships by the “Rūm”, whom he may have regarded as merchants from the Latin-Christian sphere in this context.¹⁹ In the text, the jurist draws a clear dividing line between non-Muslim impurity and the demands of orthodox Islam, stressing that the cheese in question may have been produced or transported in an impure environment

16 al-Qazwīnī, *āṭār al-bilād* (The Monuments of Countries), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 399.

17 Ibn Ḥayyān, *as-sufr aṭ-ṭānī min kitāb al-muqtābis* (The Second Volume of the Book of Citations), ed. M. Makki, ar-Riyāḍ 2003, p. 97 (fol. 90 alif): “wa maḍā ‘Abd Allāh bin al-amīr ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ‘alā waḡhihi fāran, ḥattā intahā ilā Qārluh malik al-Faranḡ;” Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires Alḡakam I y ‘Abdarraḡmān II* (Al-muqtābis II-1), trans. and annotated by M. Alī Makki / F. Corriente, Zaragoza 2001, p. 20 (90r). The information provided is also corroborated by contemporary Latin-Christian sources, e.g., *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 797, ed. G. H. Pertz / F. Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 7), Hanover 1891, p. 13; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 797, ed. B. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), Hanover, Leipzig 1905, p. 82; on the context see: P. Sénac, *Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus* (VIII^e–IX^e siècles), Paris 2002, pp. 60–62.

18 A. Ben Abdeselem, *al-Ṭurtūṣī*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 10, Leiden 2000, p. 739.

19 The editor of aṭ-Ṭurtūṣī (d. 520 / 1126), *risāla fī taḥrīm al-ḡubn ar-rūmī* (Treatise on the Interdiction of “Christian” Cheese), ed. ‘A. at-Turkī, Fās 1997, p. 128, footnote 1, points to the fact that references to places in the text concern only Sicily and al-Andalus. Later geographers such as Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maḡribī (d. 685/1286), *kitāb al-ḡuḡrafiyya* (The Book of Geography), ed. I. al-‘Arabī, Beirut 1970, p. 170, as well as Abū ‘l-Fidā’ (d. 732/1331), *taqwīm al-buldān* (The Calendar of Countries), ed. J. Reinaud / W. MacGuckin de Slane, Paris 1848, p. 195, mention, however, that cheese and honey were exported to Alexandria from Cyprus, ruled by the Lusignan family since 1192.

soiled by pork fat or alcohol.²⁰ On the first level, the document allows us to understand the perception of its author. Although the text seems to indicate that aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī held a superior attitude towards representatives of Christianity, we must consider that he is not necessarily hostile to the merchants as such. He does not argue for a general boycott of their merchandise as others have done,²¹ but merely insists on the necessity of respecting Muslim norms of purity. On the second level, the document grants access to the perceptions of others: aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī reproduces the opinions of others, stating that he had taken considerable pains to gather the information necessary to form his opinion by asking several people involved about how the cheese in question was produced and transported.²² On the third level, the text implies that additional perspectives were relevant: it attests to the fact that this cheese had thus far been sold in Alexandria, thereby suggesting that a certain number of Muslims had not regarded buying, perhaps not even selling the product, as problematic.²³ Here the text encourages speculation: the traders who asked the opinion of the Malikī jurist may have had qualms about the commodity's ritual purity, as aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī claims.²⁴ It is equally imaginable, however, that they wished to clamp down on a rival product or ruin a rival trader by mobilizing religious arguments. Thus, the document proves that the import of Christian cheese was regarded differently by the various groups concerned. However, because of the implicit character of the textual evidence, it is not possible to define the exact nature of every perception relevant in this context.

1.2. Reconstructing Patterns of Perception on a Macrohistorical Scale

Having dealt with both the possibilities of and constraints on gaining access to perceptions via texts, it is now necessary to consider how to reconstruct patterns of perception on a macro-historical scale. By compiling, arranging, and summarizing appropriate statements, it is possible to define certain patterns of perception characteristic of certain individuals, groups, institutions, and other larger social organisms. However, the larger and the more persistent the social organism to which a certain pattern of perception is

20 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, *risāla fi taḥrīm al-ḡubn ar-rūmī* (as in note 19), p. 125 et passim. I would like to thank my colleague Yassir Benhima for having drawn my attention to this text. For further reading on the question of impurity, see: M. Cook, *Magian Cheese: An Archaic Problem in Islamic Law*, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47.3 (1984), pp. 449–67.

21 See, for example: V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Age: Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wanṣarīsī*, Madrid 1995, p. 194, fatwa no. 370.

22 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, *risāla fi taḥrīm al-ḡubn ar-rūmī* (as in note 19), pp. 128–30.

23 It may be noted in this context that – according to ecclesiastical documents damning the export of strategic material to Muslim societies – the latter never seem to have had any qualms about importing and using weapons and other military equipment imported from Christian Europe, see *Concilium Lateranense IV* (1215), § 71, in: J. Wohlmuth (ed.), *Konzilien des Mittelalters: Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512–1517)*, Paderborn 2000, pp. 270, 272–79; Raymond de Penyafort, *Summae*, vol. 3, *Responsiones ad dubitalia*, § 1–5, ed. X. de Ochoa/A. Diez, Rome 1976–78, pp. 1024–26; Guillelmus Adae, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, in: *Recueil d'Histoire des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, vol. 2, p. 523.

24 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, *risāla fi taḥrīm al-ḡubn ar-rūmī* (as in note 19), p. 125.

attributed, the more interpretative capabilities are needed. Selection and categorization can produce unacceptable distortions if they are applied without prior reflection.

This becomes apparent if one reconsiders the “traditional view” that Muslims of the seventh to the fifteenth centuries generally adopted a superior and hostile attitude towards Latin Christianity and its representatives. It is fairly easy to find material corroborating this assumption: one could cite passages from al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), according to which the Franks (al-Ifranġa) and other peoples of the north (ahl ar-rubaʿ aš-šamālī) “are large, their natures gross, their manners harsh, their understanding dull, and their tongues heavy. [...] Their religious beliefs lack solidity, and this is because of the nature of coldness and the lack of warmth. The farther they are to the north the more stupid, gross, and brutish they are.”²⁵ The works of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ comment on the primitive character of the Galicians (al-Ġalāliqa), a perfidious people who never wash,²⁶ while the cosmography of al-Qazwīnī lends itself to illustrating how Muslims looked down on the barbarity of judicial procedures in the innermost “Christian regions” (bāṭin ar-Rūm).²⁷ The Andalusian historiographer Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) describes how victorious Muslims near Barcelona in 97/812–13 called to prayer from above a pile of “infidel heads” (ruʾūs al-kufra) collected after a battle with Carolingian forces, defined as “Franks” (al-Firanġa) and “enemies of God” (aʿdāʾ Allāh).²⁸ Latin sources seem to confirm the general picture: Albert of Aachen (d. after 1158), for example, tells us that the “Saracens” urinated on crosses in full view of the Crusaders during the siege of Jerusalem.²⁹ Thus, selecting passages which characterize “an Other” in a negative way allows us to reconstruct a particular pattern of perception.

But it is self-evident that it is not legitimate to impose a single pattern of perception on all representatives of Islamic civilization at all times and in all places. The Arab-Islamic and the Latin-Christian worlds were not as homogeneous and static as the categories we use might seem to suggest. Speaking in macrohistorical terms, the nature of the “subject of perception” changed considerably between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries: new groups were constantly being integrated into the vast and diverse world of Islam, whose military, political, economic, religious, and social features displayed a certain degree of continuity but were at the same time subject to perpetual modification and change. Accordingly, prevalent perception patterns necessarily evolved all the time. In turn, the “object of perception,” i.e., “Latin Christianity,” can in no way be described as a monolithic, unchanging, and static entity prone to produce uniform impressions in the minds of outsiders.

25 al-Masʿūdī, *kitāb at-tanbīh wa ʿl-išrāf* (The Book of Instruction and Supervision), ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1893, pp. 23–24, trans. Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe* (as in note 8), p. 139.

26 al-Bakrī, *kitāb al-masālik wa ʿl-mamālik* (The Book of Highways and Kingdoms), § 1530, ed. A. P. van Leeuwen / A. Ferre, Carthage 1992, p. 913; Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ, *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), vol. 1, p. 120.

27 al-Qazwīnī, *āṭār al-bilād* (as in note 16), pp. 410–11.

28 Ibn Ḥayyān, *as-sufr at-ṭānī min kitāb al-muḥtabis* (as in note 17), p. 136 (fol. 102 alif); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires* (as in note 17), pp. 51–52 (fol. 102r).

29 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana – History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, book 6.8, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edington, Oxford 2007, pp. 414–15.

The legitimacy of propagating the notion of a single "Muslim" perception is even more questionable if one acknowledges the existence of "third spaces" and "hybrid phenomena" in the contact zones of both cultural spheres.³⁰ Describing his visit to Sicily, the tenth-century geographer Ibn Ḥawqal criticizes a group of Muslims called "al-Muša'midūn" for having found a religious compromise with their Christian wives (naṣrāniyya). Their sons grew up as rather slack Muslims while their daughters remained attached to the Christian faith.³¹ Ibn Ḥawqal's critical attitude could be regarded as representative of the stance taken by Muslim orthodoxy towards such creative forms of Christian–Islamic cohabitation. One should bear in mind, however, that polemics and juridical measures against hybrid phenomena do not prove merely that boundaries existed, but also that they were transgressed regularly. The group "al-Muša'midūn" obviously perceived things differently, but did not put down their vision in writing and are only known to posterity because they were criticized. Along with others – e.g., Muslim women who married Christian men,³² Muslim children and adults who opted for Christianity,³³ and Muslims who helped the Crusaders (al-Farānġ) to vanquish their coreligionaries³⁴ – they represent a "product" of Christian–Muslim relations whose perception necessarily failed to conform to the normative order proposed by religious orthodoxy on both sides.

It is necessary to acknowledge that several centuries of contact in an area reaching from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East inevitably produced a diversity of relations between a multitude of subjects and objects of perception.³⁵ The character of relations was not only dependent on the ever-changing geopolitical situation but also on the specific context. Different contexts can only be categorized or distinguished from each other with difficulty, and the large array of differing constellations makes an exhaustive enumeration impossible. It should be considered, however, that military, political, economic, intellectual, religious, personal, emotional, and other forms of relations were maintained by actors fulfilling various roles: soldiers, diplomats, merchants, scholars, believers, siblings,

30 On this see, for example, D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004), pp. 65–94; S. Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400*, Baltimore 2006; M. Mersch/U. Ritzerfeld (eds), *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen: Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, Berlin 2009.

31 Ibn Ḥawqal, *kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* (The Book on the Configuration of the Earth), ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, p. 129.

32 In *Muslim al-Andalus of the Ninth Century: Eulogius, Memoriale Sanctorum*, book 8.12, ed. I. Gil (Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum 2), Madrid 1973, p. 412; in a Crusader context: Fulcherus Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 3.37, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, p. 748.

33 In *Muslim al-Andalus of the Ninth Century: Eulogius, Memoriale Sanctorum*, book 7.2 (as in note 32), p. 406; *ibid.*, book 8.3, p. 409; *ibid.*, book 8.12, p. 412; *ibid.*, book 10.1, p. 416; *ibid.*, book 10.3, pp. 416–17; in a Crusader context: Raimundus de Aquilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, § 170b, ed. J. Hugh/L. Hill, Paris 1969, p. 55; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, book 5.3 (as in note 29), p. 342; Ibn Ḡubayr, *riḥlat Ibn Ḡubayr* (The Voyage of Ibn Ḡubayr), Beirut, probably 1964, p. 281.

34 Ibn al-Aṭir, *al-kāmil fī 't-tārīḫ* (The Complete History), ed. C. Tornberg, Beirut 1965–67, 12 vols, AH 505, vol. 10, p. 489; The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, trans. D.S. Richards, Aldershot 2006, vol. 1, p. 158.

35 Every manual on the topic will confront the reader with the diverse character of relations between different actors (individuals, groups, institutions, etc.) regarded as representative of both cultural spheres, see, for example: Tolán/Josserand, *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin* (as in note 4).

and lovers, to name only a few, personify a different range of “functional” behavior. It is impossible to determine such behavior, which is necessarily dependent upon individual constellations. Furthermore, it is evident that defining a context according to corresponding roles does not automatically determine a specified set of perceptions, as if applying a mathematical formula. However, generating such an – admittedly artificial – typology forces us to consider a broader range of possible perceptions than the simple and selective analysis of a textual corpus containing explicit statements on, or a specific terminology characteristic of, “the Other.”

1.3. Comparing Variants of Perception

With this in mind, it is possible to approach the sources from a different point of view. A method used to master the intricacies of early medieval Latin hagiography,³⁶ i.e., the comparison of variants, serves to elaborate similarities, differences, and even contradictions in order to gain insight into a wide range of different possible perceptions.

The juxtaposition of three examples taken from Latin and Arabic sources produced in Muslim al-Andalus between the eighth and the tenth centuries may illustrate how different “subjects of perception” – i.e., a Muslim governor, a marriage-minded Muslim woman, and Muslims involved in the trade of slaves – perceived, from differing perspectives, a specific “object of perception,” in this case Christians under Islamic rule. The *continuatio hispana*, a Latin-Christian chronicle written around 754, roughly one generation after the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, points to the fact that there was a fiscal dimension to perception. It describes the measures taken by the Muslim governor al-Ḥurr (who ruled 715–19) to establish a working fiscal system in the newly conquered territories, as well as his initiative to restore property to Christian subjects with the aim of raising government revenues in land and property taxes.³⁷ Sketching the biography of a Muslim woman who ran away from her family to marry a Christian man and to raise Christian children, the ninth-century priest Eulogius of Córdoba implies that Christianity could hold a certain attraction for some Muslims.³⁸ A manual for solicitors written in Córdoba by the tenth-century scholar Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār treats representatives of Latin Christianity as “merchandise” whose functional characteristics and value are of primary importance: the manual contains a standard sale contract for a female slave (*mamlūka*) of Galician (*ḡaliqiyya*), Frankish (*ifranḡiyya*), and other origin, followed by a juridical commentary. Among other things, the contract provides for the name of the slave, a comparatively exact physical description, as well as the price paid. The commen-

36 F. Prinz, *Aspekte frühmittelalterlicher Hagiographie*, in: F. Prinz, *Mönchtum, Kultur und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zum Mittelalter*, Munich 1989, p. 183; F. Lotter, *Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 229.2 (1979), pp. 339–40.

37 *Continuatio hispana*, § 80–81, ed. Th. Mommsen (MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11), Berlin 1891, p. 356. For an interpretation of this passage see K.B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, Cambridge 1988, p. 137, footnote 119; R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797*, Oxford 1989, p. 46.

38 Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*, book 8.12 (as in note 32), p. 412.

tary not only implies that prices differed for slaves of different ethnic origin, but also treats problematic questions: e.g., what happens in cases where the seller has lied about the slave's ethnicity, or what is to be done if the woman is pregnant, thus causing the owner trouble and expense.³⁹ It follows that Muslims from al-Andalus perceived Latin Christians differently in accordance with their respective "functional" roles and the general context of encounter.

But if passages are selected in which the "functional roles" are comparable, perceptions vary according to context. The juxtaposition of three different Latin-Christian narratives provides insight into the range of perceptions applicable to a specific "subject of perception" – i.e., Muslim authorities – in contact with a specific "object of perception" – i.e., Latin-Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land: Traveling in greater Syria between 724 and 726, the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibald was first arrested on the grounds of being a spy, then acknowledged as being a harmless pilgrim, eventually equipped with travel documents, and subjected to rigorous customs control before leaving the region via the port of Tyre.⁴⁰ Traveling in the late ninth century from Rome via Bari and Egypt to the Holy Land, the monk Bernard became the victim of administrative oppression and was forced to pay for travel documents several times.⁴¹ The *Annales Altahenses* and Lambert of Hersfeld (d. before 1085) report how a large group of pilgrims fell prey to brigands on their way to Jerusalem in 1065, but were saved and escorted to ar-Ramla by troops sent by the responsible Muslim authorities.⁴²

Finally, a comparison of different passages describing a specific, in this case, military context, opens up another range of perceptions concerning Latin Christians regarded with a view to their strategic utility, the booty they provided, their strategic and technical skills, as well as their fighting spirit. Relating how the Muslim invaders of the Iberian Peninsula captured a group of vinedressers (*karrāmīn*), slaughtered and cooked one of them, pretended to eat his flesh, and then sent the other vinedressers back home, the ninth-century Egyptian historiographer Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) illustrates how Latin Christians were used as tools serving the strategic aim of demoralizing the military opponent.⁴³ Dwelling extensively on the topic of looting, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam also insinuates

39 Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *kitāb al-waṭāʾiq wa ʿs-sağğalāt* (The Book of Documents and Archives) – formulario notarial hispano-árabe, ed. P. Chalmeta/F. Corriente, Madrid 1983, pp. 33–36. It has been argued during the discussion of this paper that a "Frankish" female slave's adherence to Christianity must be regarded as a pre-condition for her status as a slave. However, Islamic law, multifarious and inconsistent, did not automatically regard Christians as potential slaves, and even contains legislation that exempts the "people of the book" such as Christians and Jews from slavery. As always, reality was much more complex, so that even Muslims were occasionally enslaved by their coreligionaries. See: W.G. Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*, Oxford and New York 2006, pp. 36–48, under the title "A Fragile Sunni Consensus". For further reading, see J.C. Miller, *Muslim Slavery and Slaving: A Bibliography*, in: *Slavery and Abolition* 13 (1992), pp. 249–71.

40 Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, § 4, ed. O. Holder-Egger (MGH *Scriptores in folio* 15), Hanover 1887, pp. 94–95, pp. 100–101.

41 *Bernardus Itinerarium*, § 2, ed. J.-P. Migne (*Patrologia Latina* 121), col. 569; *ibid.*, § 5–7, col. 570–71.

42 *Annales Altahenses maiores*, a. 1065, ed. E. von Oefele (MGH *SS rer. Germ. in us. schol.* 4), Hanover 1891, pp. 68–70; *Lampertus Hersfeldensis, Annales*, a. 1065, ed. O. Holder-Egger (MGH *SS rer. Germ. in us. schol.* 38), Hanover 1894, pp. 94–98.

43 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ miṣr wa aḥbārīhā* (The History of the Conquest of Egypt), ed. C. Torrey, Cairo 1999, p. 206.

that Latin Christians were regarded from an economic perspective as a population that provided booty.⁴⁴ In certain passages, the historiographers Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) and Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) focus on the military techniques and strategies employed by the enemy. Ibn Ḥayyān describes how “Christian forces” (ḡalā’ib an-naṣrāniyya) in Northeastern Spain protected themselves from Muslim attack in 200/816 by making use of the terrain, i.e., a steep river gorge and several small inlets, which they secured with beams and trenches,⁴⁵ while Ibn al-Aṭīr describes how the Crusaders (al-Faraṅḡ) constructed a solid wooden tower with a protective covering against fire and stones during the siege of Sidon in 504/1110.⁴⁶ The historiographer Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268), in turn, cites a letter in which Saladin heartily criticizes Muslim inertia, opposing the Muslims’ apathy to the religious zeal of the Franks (al-Faraṅḡ), which made the latter sacrifice their property and lives for their religion (millatihim).⁴⁷ Finally, Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406) explains that some rulers of the Maghreb tended to employ European Christian mercenaries (ṭā’ifat al-Ifrāṅḡ fī ḡundihihim) in their internal wars because of the latter’s ability to fight in closed formation.⁴⁸

Thus, confronting and comparing the testimonies of several texts concerning specific “subjects” and “objects” of perception permits us to identify the various differing contexts and context-dependent relationships that necessarily produced many different variants of perception.

Even if only a single subject of perception is concerned, we cannot automatically conclude that one specific perception is dominant. Although we seem able to confirm the existence of individuals whose perception of a specific phenomenon remained consistent over the course of time,⁴⁹ it is necessary to acknowledge that human perception is rather flexible and prone to change. This is easily forgotten, considering that perceptions are “locked into position” when formulated and documented, thus conveying the impression that they are static. The impression that a categorical and stereotypical way of thinking was prevalent is reinforced by the fact that, in the context treated here, the majority of extant texts were written – on *both* sides – by (religiously trained) scholars,

44 Ibid., p. 209: He describes how the population of Sardinia prepared for an attack in 110/728, hiding their valuables by burying their gold- and silverware in the waters of a local port and by building an additional roof on one of their churches, storing their money in between both roofs.

45 Ibn Ḥayyān, *as-sufr al-ṭānī min kitāb al-muqtabas* (as in note 17), p. 139 (fol. 103 alif); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires* (as in note 17), pp. 54–55 (103r).

46 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-kāmil* (as in note 34), AH 504, vol. 10, pp. 479–80.

47 Abū Šāma, *kitāb ar-rawdatayn fī aḥbār ad-dawlatayn* (The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two States), ed. and trans. B. de Meynard, in: *Recueil d’histoire des Croisades*, hist. or. 4, Paris 1898, pp. 429–30.

48 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *tārīḥ* (History), ed. S. Zakkār/H. Šahāda, 8 vols, Beirut 2000–2001, vol. 1, pp. 338–39; see: S. Barton, *Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300*, in: R. Collins / A. Goodman (eds), *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, Basingstoke, New York 2002, pp. 23–62.

49 See: A Muslim Theologian’s Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya’s *Al-Jawab al-Sahih*, ed. and trans. T.F. Michel, Ann Arbor 2009, pp. 73–74: “Viewed in retrospect from the standpoint of *Al-Jawab al-Sahih*, Ibn Taymiyya’s attitude towards Christianity developed very little during his lifetime. The course of his life was not like *Al-Ghazali*’s, with dramatic shifts of position and direction. He demonstrates, rather, a consistent theological synthesis, which he applied in all situations from early in his life as teacher in the Hanbali madrasa in Damascus until his final years when he was imprisoned in the citadel of the same city.”

who thought and wrote conceptually, often stressing the existence of an "Other" in legal, social, economic, political, ethnic, dogmatic, or other terminology. But even in such texts, perceptions change in accordance with the reception and intellectual processing of available information by the respective author in a specific context. In some cases, the available source material obviously influenced the way in which a specific phenomenon was perceived and depicted. As mentioned above, the polymath al-Mas'ūdī defines the Franks (al-Ifrānġa) as northern barbarians who have not, due to the climate they live in, developed the intellectual facilities characteristic of civilized peoples.⁵⁰ This passage in his historiographical work *kitāb at-tanbih wa 'l-išrāf* (The Book of Admonition and Revision) is clearly based on theories formulated much earlier in ancient Greek ethnography and geography.⁵¹ In his ethno-geographical work "*murūġ aḍ-ḍahab wa ma'ādin al-ġawhar*" (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), in turn, al-Mas'ūdī depicts a comparatively favorable image of the Franks as a powerful and well-organized people.⁵² This description is, as he himself explains, based on a Frankish chronicle which became accessible to him in the Egyptian town of al-Fuṣṭāṭ in 337/947 and probably conveyed a more positive image of the Franks.⁵³

We can also observe that the context and topic of writing affected the way an author depicted a specific phenomenon: written in the pre-Crusade era, the work of al-Mas'ūdī contains no invective against the Franks at all and thus differs considerably from later works written during the period of Latin-Christian expansionism in the Middle East, such as the travel account of Ibn Ḡubayr (d. 614/1217). As somebody deeply disturbed by the loss of Muslim territory to Latin-Christian expansionism, Ibn Ḡubayr curses the Franks (al-Ifrānġ) more than once.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the lovely bride which he saw on the occasion of a Frankish wedding (*'ars ifranġī*) in Tyre,⁵⁵ the Genoese captain (*ra'isuhu wa mudabbiruhu ar-rūmī al-ġanawī*) who expertly steered the ship used by the traveler,⁵⁶ as well as King William of Sicily (*malik Ṣiqilliya Ġulyām*), who saved Christian and Muslim passengers from shipwreck and even surrounded himself with Muslims at court, escape his invective.⁵⁷ Juxtaposing the statements of a single subject of perception thus

50 al-Mas'ūdī, *kitāb at-tanbih* (as in note 25), pp. 23–24.

51 According to Ibn Ḥaldūn, *tārīḥ* (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 109, in his chapter on "The influence of climate upon human character," al-Mas'ūdī referred back to Galenus. In his *murūġ aḍ-ḍahab* (§ 191, § 1319–1328), al-Mas'ūdī mentions several Greek scholars of geography, e.g., Ptolemy. For the Greek origin of the theory see K. E. Müller, *Perspektiven der Historischen Anthropologie*, in: J. Rüsen (ed.), *Westliches Geschichtsdenken: Eine interkulturelle Debatte*, Göttingen 1999, p. 57.

52 al-Mas'ūdī, *murūġ aḍ-ḍahab wa ma'ādin al-ġawhar* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), § 910, ed. B. de Meynard, P. de Courteille, and C. Pellat, Beirut 1966–79, Paris 1962–97, p. 145 (Arab. ed.), p. 343 (French trans.): "*wa aḥsanahum niẓāman wa inqiyādan li-mulūkihim wa aḳṭarahum ṭā'atan*."

53 al-Mas'ūdī, *murūġ aḍ-ḍahab*, § 914 (as in note 52), p. 147 (Arab. ed.), p. 344 (French trans.). For further reading on al-Mas'ūdī's description of the non-Islamic world see: A. Shboul, *al-Mas'ūdī and his World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims*, London 1979.

54 E.g., his description of Frankish Acre: Ibn Ḡubayr, *riḥla* (as in note 33), pp. 276–77.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 278–79, p. 282.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 295, pp. 297–98.

points to the fact that it is also necessary to differentiate concerning the perceptions and opinions formulated by a single person.

It should have become obvious that limiting Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity to a single perception pattern is reductionist. It cannot be taken for granted that every Muslim living in the period between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia generally held a condescending view of Latin Christianity, or held such a view at every point of his or her life. It is equally difficult to organize perception patterns into a hierarchy, claiming that religious and cultural arrogance always dominated and thus downgraded the importance of other perception patterns. While it seems perfectly possible that such a hostile and superior attitude influenced and even dominated perception and behavior in certain contexts, it seems undeniable that other concerns and attitudes were of greater importance under other circumstances. Radically put, a fixed pattern of Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity did not exist. Rather, different contexts produced different relationships, which, in turn, gave rise to different perceptions. What we can reconstruct are ranges of perception that apply to specific “subjects of perception” as regards their – by no means consistent – views on a well-defined “object of perception” in a given moment or period, place, and context.

Approaching “Muslim perceptions” of “Latin Christianity” from this angle produces different results and opens up additional perspectives, as will be demonstrated in the following section. Focusing on the evolution of terminology used to circumscribe “Latin Christianity,” it will deal with the question how Muslim scholars writing in Arabic between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries perceived and conceptualized this religious and cultural sphere in the north and northwest of the Islamic world.

2. A Concept of “Latin Christianity” in Medieval Arab-Islamic Scholarship?

2.1. The Lack of an Appropriate Terminology

When referring to Christians, early Islam, as represented by the Qur’ān, already used a differentiated terminology⁵⁸ that was then enriched in the ensuing generations of interpretation.⁵⁹ In the Qur’ān, Christians are occasionally defined toponymically as “Nazareans” (an-naṣārā).⁶⁰ When the common adherence to revealed scripture and the existence of a shared spiritual past is emphasized, they are regarded as “people of the book” (ahl al-kitāb), together with the Jews.⁶¹ When dogmatic differences are highlighted or con-

58 For further reading see Ğ. Qazzī, *naṣārā al-Qur’ān wa masīḥiyyūhu* (The Christians and the Messiah as Depicted in the Qur’ān), Diyār ‘Aql 2002; Ğ. Qazzī, *masīḥ al-Qur’ān wa masīḥ al-muslimīn* (The Qur’ānic and the Muslim Messiah), Diyār ‘Aql 2006; I. Arsel, *Juden und Christen im Koran*, Norderstedt 2006; M. Bazargan, *Und Jesus ist sein Prophet: Der Koran und die Christen*, Munich 2006.

59 T. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, Cambridge MA 2001.

60 Qur’ān 9:29; also see: J. M. Fiey, *Naṣārā*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 7, Leiden 1993, p. 970.

61 Qur’ān 2:105; 2:109; 3:64–65; 3:69–75; 3:98–99; 3:110–113; 3:199; 4:123; 4:153; 4:159; 4:171; 5:15; 5:19; 5:59; 5:65–68; 5:77; 29:46; 33:26; 57:29; 59:2; 59:11; 98:1–6.

demned, Christians are included among the "unbelievers" (al-kuffār)⁶² and are identified as the ones who have "said that God has begotten a son"⁶³ or who have "taken their scholars of scripture, the monks and the Messiah, the son of Mary, as their lords."⁶⁴ However, the Qur'ān fails to distinguish between different forms of Christianity. Being a seventh-century text whose essence was formulated in a historical context that predates the Arab-Islamic expansion⁶⁵ and thus the earliest regular contacts of Muslims with Christians from the northwestern hemisphere, the text is not concerned with a specific form of "Latin Christianity."

It is evident from contemporary Latin and later Arabic sources that representatives of "Arab-Islamic" civilization were directly brought in touch with various phenomena of "Latin Christianity" during the Muslim expansion into the periphery of the western Mediterranean in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁶⁶ In view of the fact that the earliest Arab-Islamic accounts of the expansion date from the ninth century, reconstructing contemporary Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity raises methodological difficulties. It should be considered, however, that – as concerns Western Europe – the geographical horizon of these accounts is restricted to Mediterranean islands, the Iberian Peninsula, and the "lands of the Franks." This stands in stark contrast to the information provided by geographical works of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, which include other regions further afield such as the British Isles⁶⁷ and proffer more details, e.g., on the city of Rome.⁶⁸ Thus, it seems as if the early historiography on the expansion is based on impressions collected earlier and reproduces the limited but expanding worldview of a bygone period.

The early accounts tend to use ethnic and toponymic terms to define the inhabitants of those western regions that had been subject to raids, conquest, or had simply entered the geographical horizon of the expanding forces. In many cases, the fact is acknowledged that these inhabitants adhered to the Christian faith. The Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), for example, refers to a dispute between the last king of the Visigoths (al-Qūṭiyūn), Roderic (Luḍrīq), and the Christian populace, the bishops, and deacons of his

62 Qur'ān 2:109.

63 Qur'ān 2:116: "wa qālū ittahaḡa 'llāhu waladan (...)."

64 Qur'ān 9:30: "ittahaḡū aḡbārahum wa ruḡbānahum arbāban min dūni 'llāh wa 'l-masiḡ ibn Maryam (...)."

65 This claim has been questioned by scholars such as J. Wansbrough and P. Crone. For a refutation see F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton 1998, pp. 22–63.

66 D. König, *The Christianisation of Latin Europe as Seen by Arab-Islamic Historiographers*, in: *Medieval History Journal* 12.2 (2009), p. 435 including footnote 9.

67 Ibn Ḥurraḡabih (late ninth cent.), *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (The Book of Highways and Kingdoms), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1889, p. 231; Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), *kitāb a'lāq an-nafisa* (The Book of Precious Valuables), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, p. 130; al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *murūḡ aḡ-ḡahab*, § 188 (as in note 52), p. 99 (Arab. ed.), p. 75 (French ed.).

68 Ibn Ḥurraḡabih (late ninth cent.), *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (as in note 67), pp. 113–15; Ibn al-Faḡīh al-Hamaḡānī (d. after 290/902), *muḡtaṡar kitāb al-buldān* (Abridgement of the Book of Countries), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1885 (reprint 1967), p. 149–51; Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), *kitāb a'lāq an-nafisa* (as in note 67), p. 128–30; al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *murūḡ aḡ-ḡahab*, § 128 (as in note 52), p. 74 (Arab. ed.), p. 55 (French trans.); *ibid.*, § 722, p. 35 (Arab. ed.), p. 271 (French trans.).

realm (an-naṣrāniyya wa 'š-šamāmiya wa 'l-asāqifa).⁶⁹ The Egyptian historiographer Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) describes how Muslim raiders uncovered the hidden treasures of Sardinia's populace (ahl as-Sardāniyya) in a church.⁷⁰ Possibly referring to Christian artwork, the Iraqi scholar al-Balāḍurī (d. 279/892) mentions that Muslim raiders found "idols of gold and silver studded with pearls" in Sicily (Siqilliya), which were sent to India in order to receive a higher price for them.⁷¹ The so-called pact of Tudmīr, a rare example of a written agreement between Muslim conquerors and a subjected Christian population in the Western hemisphere, documented in many later sources, guarantees the inviolability of churches and grants a community on the Iberian Peninsula the right to freely exercise their religion (dīnīhim).⁷² The examples imply that the expanding Muslims did not regard the Christians they encountered in Western Europe as representatives of a specific faction of Christianity which encompassed the entire Western hemisphere and was distinct from Oriental forms. In fact, the extant texts on the topic suggest rather that Muslim scholars of the seventh and early eighth centuries still lacked the necessary knowledge and conceptual tools that appear in later writings.

An early form of categorization, the Arabic term for Europe (Awrūfa) can be found in Arab-Islamic geographical texts of the ninth century which go back to Greek geography. In later centuries, the category "Europe" was not used anymore. Instead, European toponyms and ethnonyms were positioned within the northwestern quadrant of the inhabited world or classified according to their position within one of seven climate zones.⁷³ A combined religious and geographical definition as in the term "Latin Christendom" does not seem to have existed.

Muslim refutations of Christianity, which were produced in large numbers over the centuries,⁷⁴ never define Latin Christianity as an entity in its own right. This is valid even for those scholars who can be considered the theologians nearest to the Latin-Christian orbit. In his treatise entitled "Detailed Critical Examination of Religions, Heresies, and Sects," Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who was directly involved in polemic discourse with Christians from Córdoba, has recourse to the "classical" categories known from other theologians from the Eastern parts of the Islamic world.⁷⁵ Besides mentioning defunct

69 Ibn Ḥabīb, *kitāb at-tārīḥ* (Book of History), ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, p. 140.

70 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ miṣr wa aḥbārīhā* (as in note 43), p. 209.

71 al-Balāḍurī, *kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* (The Book on the Conquest of Countries), § 275, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866 (reprint Frankfurt 1992), p. 235.

72 See the version of the pact in a work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century: al-Ḥimyarī, *kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fi ḥabar al-aqtār* (The Book of Fragrant Gardens Concerning Information on Regions), ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1975, pp. 131–32. On the document see L. Molina, Tudmīr, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 10, Leiden 2000, p. 584.

73 See König, *Arabic-Islamic Historiographers* (as in note 6).

74 For an extensive but incomplete list of Muslim theological writings on Christianity, see M. Accad, *The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Exegetical Inventorial Table* (Part 1), in: *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14.1 (2003), pp. 68–69. Even more extensive, but also including material which is irrelevant in this context: M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig 1877 (reprint Hildesheim 1966).

75 Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq, *ar-radd 'alā 't-taṭlīt* (Response to the Trinity), § 11–13, in: D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 60, pp. 70–73; aṣ-Ṣahrastānī, *Le livre des religions et sectes* (*kitāb al-milal wa 'n-nihāl*), trans. D. Gimaret / G. Monnot, 2 vols, UNESCO 1986, vol. 1, p. 627.

historical forms of Christianity, he divides the Christians of his time into the groups Melchites (al-malkāniyya), Nestorians (an-naṣṭūriyya), and Jacobites (al-ya'qūbiyya).⁷⁶ An anonymous Imam from Córdoba (early thirteenth century) does not care to categorize different forms of Christianity in his book on the corruption of Christianity and the merits of Islam but rather attacks various fundamental Christian concepts in response to the anti-Islamic Christian apologetic literature written in the Iberian Peninsula of his age.⁷⁷ Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 / 1328), who seems to have been in direct contact with the Crusader kingdom of Cyprus,⁷⁸ also concentrates on the early dogmatic formation of Christianity as well as fundamental Christian concepts in his treatise "The Right Answer to Those Who Manipulated the Messiah's Message," and thus refrains from defining a specific form of Christianity practiced by the Crusaders.⁷⁹

Historiographical, geographical, and ethnographical texts written in various regions from the late ninth century onwards repeatedly define various peoples of Europe as Christians, suggesting that Muslims were increasingly aware of the fact that the European continent had been christianized.⁸⁰ If they care to do so at all, their authors employ the classification used by the theologians mentioned above. They define eminent personalities, institutions, or peoples from the orbit of Latin Christianity such as the Frankish king Clovis (Qulūdūwih) and his wife Chrodechild (Ġuruṭild), the Frankish king Charles the Bald (Qarluṣ b. Luḍwīq), the pope (al-bābā), the Franks (al-Ifranġ), or the inhabitants of Northern Spain (al-Ġalāliqa) as Melchites, along with certain groups of Oriental Christians in Byzantium and the Middle East.⁸¹ Thus, a specific form of Christianity does

76 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣl fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'n-niḥal* (Detailed Critical Examination of Religions, Heresies and Sects), ed. M. I. Naṣr / 'A. 'Umaira, 5 vols, Beirut 1985, vol. 1, pp. 109–111; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 2–77. On Ibn Ḥazm's involvement in Christian-Muslim discourse see: A. Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Leiden, Boston 2003; for further reading: M. Asín Palacios, *Abenhāzam de Córdoba y su Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols, Madrid 1928–32; S.-M. Behloul, *Ibn Ḥazm's Evangelienkritik: Eine methodische Untersuchung*, Leiden 2002.

77 al-Qurṭubī, *kitāb al-i'ṭlām bi-mā fi dīn an-naṣāra min al-faṣād wa 'l-auḥām wa iẓhār maḥāsin dīn al-islām* (The Book of Instruction Concerning the Corruption and Errors in the Belief of the Christians as well as the Demonstration of Islamic Religion's Superiority), ed. A. Ḥiġāzī as-Saqqā, Cairo 1980, p. 43; On the author and his involvement in contemporary polemics between Christians and Muslims see T.E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, c. 1050–1200, Leiden 1994, p. 71 (including footnote 118), 77, pp. 80–84.

78 A Muslim Theologian's Response (as in note 49), pp. 71–78.

79 Compare the insubstantial comments on the pope in Ibn Taymiyya, *al-ġawāb aṣ-ṣaḥiḥ li-man baddala dīn al-masīḥ* (The Correct Answer to Those Who Manipulated the Messiah's Message), ed. 'A. bin Ḥassan bin Naṣir / 'A. al-'Askar / Ḥ. al-Ḥamdān, Riyāḍ 1999, vol. 2, p. 343; *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 500; *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 423. Also see *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 77, with the traditional distinction between Melchites, Nestorians, and Jacobites. On the work's general argument see: A Muslim Theologian's Response (as in note 49), p. 99–135.

80 See D. König, *Christianisation of Latin Europe* (as in note 66), pp. 453–65, on the Christianity and Christianization of Visigoths, Galicians, Basks, Franks, the inhabitants of the British Isles and Ireland, the Normans, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Germans, Lombards, Venetians, Genoese, and the inhabitants of Rome, as described in Arab-Islamic sources.

81 al-Mas'ūdī, *murūġ aḍ-ḡahab*, § 917–19 (as in note 52), p. 150 (Arab.), p. 346 (French transl.); al-Mas'ūdī, *kitāb at-tanbīh* (as in note 25), p. 147; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis min abnā' ahl al-Andalus* (Citations by the Progeny of the People of al-Andalus), ed. M. Makki, Beirut 1973, pp. 130–31; al-Bakrī, *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (as in note 26), § 567–68, pp. 340–41; al-'Umārī, *kitāb masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār* (The Book on the Routes of Vision in the Realms of Great Cities), in Celestino Schiaparelli, *Notizie d'Italia estratte dall'opera Sihāb ad-dīn al-Umarī*, intitolata *masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār*, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 285, s. 4, vol. 4, sem.

not seem to have been regarded as a defining feature that clearly distinguished medieval Europe from other Christian places and groups classified as Melchite.

2.2. A Notion of Cultural Unity? The Franks, the Pope, the Emperor

The emergence, rise, and specific character of “Latin Christianity” seems to have been acknowledged in terms which are not essentially religious. From the tenth century onwards, one comes across certain works of a historiographic, ethnographic, and geographic nature which imply that the northwestern hemisphere was increasingly regarded as a separate entity: al-Iṣṭaḥrī (tenth century) and Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) included the Franks (al-Ifranġa) and the Galicians (al-Ġalāliqa) in their description of Byzantine territory (balad ar-Rūm), claiming that all three peoples formed a united realm (wa'l-mamlaka wāḥid) and practiced the same religion, even though they differed in language.⁸²

Writing in the same period, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) informs us that this unity had broken up during his lifetime. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the city of Rome had been ruled by Constantinople long before the rise of Islam. Although the governor of Rome did not have the right to wear a crown or to hold the title of king (malik), he felt strong enough around the year 340/951–52 to usurp the insignia of power reserved for the emperor in Constantinople. The troops sent out to put down the rebellion by the ruling Byzantine emperor, Constantine, were vanquished, forcing the latter to plead for peace. al-Mas'ūdī continues to report that all other Frankish peoples (sā'ir al-aġnās al-ifranġiyya) – the Galicians (al-Ġalāliqa), the people of Jáca (al-Ġāsaqas), the Basques (al-Waškans), most of the Slavs (aṣ-Ṣaqālība), the Bulgars (al-Burġar) – and other peoples adhered to Christianity (an-naṣrāniyya) and recognized the authority of Rome's ruler (ṣāḥib Rūmiyya). Rome, he claims, had always been the capital of the Frankish realm (dār mamlakat al-ifranġiyya), from ancient times up to the present.⁸³ This anecdote about the “secession” of the Western hemisphere from Byzantium was reproduced with slight variations by the Andalusian scholar Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), who exchanged the ethno-

2 (1888), pp. 306-07; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *tārīḥ* (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 292; al-Qalqaṣandī, *kitāb ṣubḥ al-a'aṣā* (The Book of the Daybreak for the Disoriented), ed. M.'A. Ibrāhīm, 8 vols, Cairo 1915, vol. 8, p. 42. Also see Ibn Taymiyya, *al-ġawāb aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ* (as in note 79), vol. 4, p. 77, who defines the Melchites as the largest and most prevalent form of Christianity in all territories under Christian rule (“wa maghab 'ammātān aḥli kulli mamlakat an-naṣārā”). On the Arab-Islamic equation of “Byzantine” and “Melchite” see N. el-Cheikh/C.E. Bosworth, Rūm, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, Leiden 1995, p. 601. On the Oriental-Christian self-definition in connection with the epithet “Melkite” see: S.H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton 2008, pp. 137–139. A sketch of the Melchites' history in the Middle East has been written by H. Kennedy, *The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy*, in: H. Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Aldershot 2006, pp. 325–43.

82 Thus, both authors seem to reflect the shared Roman heritage of Byzantium and the Western successors of the Roman Empire: al-Iṣṭaḥrī, *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1927, p. 9; Ibn Ḥawqal, *kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* (as in note 31), p. 14; see A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, 3 vols, Paris 2001, vol. 1, p. 269.

83 al-Mas'ūdī, *kitāb at-tanbīḥ* (as in note 25), pp. 181–82: “Rome is and has always been the capital of the great Frankish kingdom” (“wa Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-ifranġiyya al-'uẓmā qadīman wa ḥadīṭan”).

nym "Franks" with the term "Latins" (al-Laṭīniyyīn).⁸⁴ Roughly one and a half centuries later, in a work clearly aware of European expansionism as manifest in the Norman conquest of Sicily, the "Reconquista," and the Crusades,⁸⁵ the Syrian historiographer Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) repeated the story of secession and again used the ethnonym Franks (al-Ifranġ), explaining that the latter rose to such power after the secession that they were able to conquer the Levant at the end of the eleventh century and even take over Constantinople in 601/1204,⁸⁶ an explanation repeated later by Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406).⁸⁷

In spite of the large variety of European ethnonyms documented in contemporary Arab-Islamic sources,⁸⁸ historiographers reporting on the Crusades tend to use the ethnonym Frank as a generic term applying to a broad range of peoples from the northwestern hemisphere.⁸⁹ However, it should be emphasized that there is neither a terminological consensus nor a systematic equation of "Franks" with "Latin Christians" or "Europeans" in the many volumes that constitute the corpus of Arab-Islamic sources on the Crusade period.⁹⁰ That "the Franks" were regarded as Christians who followed the authority of

84 Šā'id al-Andalusī, *kitāb ṭabaqāt al-ummam* (Book on the Classification of Nations), ed. Ḥ. Bū'alwān, Beirut 1985, pp. 98–99.

85 See the passage in which Ibn al-Aṭīr links the conquest of Toledo 1085 with the Norman conquest of Sicily and the beginnings of the Crusades: Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-kāmil* (as in note 34), AH 491, vol. 10, p. 272; *ibid.*, AH 505, vol. 10, p. 490.

86 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-kāmil* (as in note 34), vol. 1, pp. 338–39.

87 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *tārīḥ* (as in note 48), vol. 5, p. 209.

88 See, for example, Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

89 In the works of Usāma ibn Munqid (d. 584/1188) and Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233), for example, the term Franks is used to describe the Crusaders regardless of their origin, even though other ethnic terms are employed as well: Usāma bin Munqid, *kitāb al-i'tibār* (The Book of Contemplation), § 8, ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1930, p. 132; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-kāmil* (as in note 34), AH 497, vol. 10, p. 372. The earliest sources on the Franks, dating from the end of the ninth century, hardly mention more than the fact that they constitute the northeastern enemy to the Muslims of al-Andalus or that they live in the northern regions: Ibn Ḥurraḍābi, *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (as in note 67), p. 90, p. 155; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ miṣr wa aḥbārīhā* (as in note 43), pp. 216–17; al-Balāḡūrī, *kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, § 270 (as in note 71), p. 231; al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīḥ al-Ya'qūbī* (The History of al-Ya'qūbī), ed. 'A. al-Muḥannā, 2 vols, Beirut 1993, vol. 1, p. 199. Later sources of the pre-Crusade period mostly refer to Merovingians, Carolingians and early Capetingians: al-Mas'ūdi, *murūḡ aḡ-ḡahab*, § 914–16 (as in note 52), pp. 147–48 (Arab.), pp. 344–45 (French transl.); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis min abnā' ahl al-Andalus* (as in note 81), pp. 130–31; al-Bakrī, *kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (as in note 26), § 567, p. 340. However, the term Franks already seems to acquire the character of a generic term in the tenth century: al-Mas'ūdi, *kitāb at-tanbih* (as in note 25), p. 182. On the terminological development also see: F. Clément, *Nommer l'autre: qui sont les Ifranj des sources arabes du Moyen-Âge?*, in I. Reck and E. Weber (eds), *recherches 02. De mots en maux: parcours hispano-arabe*, Strasbourg 2009, pp. 89–105. The fact that the Crusaders – in spite of their different origin – were regarded as "Franks" by the Muslims is also confirmed by Raimundus de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, § 168b (as in note 33), p. 52: "inter hostes autem omnes Francigenae dicebantur"; see: T. Haas, *Kreuzzugschroniken und die Überwindung der Fremdheit im eigenen Heer*, in: M. Borgolte/A. Seitz/J. Schiel/B. Schneidmüller (eds), *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Berlin 2008, pp. 86–95.

90 In a chapter on "The peoples who entered the Christian religion," the historiographer and geographer Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20, for example, distinguishes between 'Germans' (al-Almān), Burgundians (al-Burġān), Genoese (al-Ġanawīyya), Venetians (al-Banādiqa), Hungarians (al-Baṣqird) and Franks (Ifrañġ) – the latter including the inhabitants of France (Faransa), Sicily (Ṣiqilliya), Cyprus (Qubruṣ), Crete (Iqritīṣ) and other Mediterranean islands as well as the conquerors of Muslim al-Andalus. In the middle of the chapter, he defines the Rome as "the residence of their caliph who is called the pope," without explaining exactly whose caliph the pope actually is. See Yāqūt, *mu'ḡam al-buldān* (as in note 14), "Rūmiya," vol. 2, p. 867,

the pope in Rome is clearly expressed in a letter written by Saladin around 586/1191–92 and documented by the historiographer Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268). Saladin contrasts “Frankish” unity and religious zeal with the Muslims’ factionism and lack of religious enthusiasm, claiming furthermore that the pope in Rome (al-bābā allādī bi-Rūmiyya) had threatened the Franks with excommunication if they refused to contribute to the deliverance of Jerusalem. If this “damned one” (al-mal’ūn) set forth, no one would dare to stay behind: Every Christian, defined here as “everyone who claims that God has a family and children” (kullu man yaqūlu anna ‘llāha ahlan wa walad) would accompany him.⁹¹

The pope, described as the late antique patriarch of Rome (baṭraḥ Rūmiyya)⁹² and local authority⁹³ in ninth- and tenth-century sources, is clearly acknowledged as an internal Christian authority from at least the eleventh century onwards.⁹⁴ However, he is not necessarily regarded as the leader of a specific Christian faction. If this is the case, he is defined as “patriarch of the Melchites” (baṭriyak al-Malikiyya) and “the one who manages the affairs of the Melchite Christians in the city of Rome” (al-qā’im bi umūr dīn an-našārā al-malikāniyya bi madīnat Rūmiyya), e.g., by al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418).⁹⁵ In the passages of the latter’s manual for secretaries that are dedicated to the correct way of addressing the pope in official letters, al-Qalqašandī lists several papal titles in Arabic. These titles – “Mighty One of the Christian religious group” (‘aẓīm al-milla al-masīhiyya), “paragon of the community of Jesus” (qudwat at-ṭā’ifa al-‘isawiyya), “refuge of patriarchs, bishops, priests, and monks” (milād al-baṭārika wa ‘l-asāqifa wa ‘l-qusūs wa ‘r-ruhban), “follower of the gospel” (tālī al-inḡīl), “the one who informs his community about what is forbidden and what is permitted” (mu‘arrif ṭā’ifatihi bi ‘t-taḥrīm wa ‘t-taḥlīl) – depict the pope as being an authority among Christians in general and not only as the spiritual leader of a certain Christian faction.⁹⁶ The terms *milla* and *ṭā’ifa*, which both denote groups (of a religious and confessional nature, among others) forming part of a larger whole, are never linked to a specific “Latin-Christian” attribute. Equally, al-‘Umārī (d. 749/1349) asserts that Rome, residence of the “greatest idolator/tyrant/rebel” (ṭāḡūtihi al-akbar) and the largest agglomeration of “worshippers of the crucifix” (‘ubbād aṣ-ṣalīb), can claim the allegiance of every Christian.⁹⁷

who claims that Rome, the residence of the pope, is in the hands of the “Franks” and ruled by the “king of the Germans” (malik al-Almān).

91 Abū Šāma, *kitāb ar-rawḍatayn* (as in note 47), p. 480: “wa qāla man lā yatawaḡḡahu ilā al-Quds mustaḥlišan fa-huwwa ‘indī muḥarrām (...) wa idā nahada ḥadā al-mal’ūn fa-lā yaq’udu ‘anhu aḥadun, wa yašilu ma’hu bi-ahlihi wa waladihi kullu man yaqūlu anna ‘llāha ahlan wa walad (...)”. Also compare another letter by Saladin on p. 429 which also emphasizes the Franks’ religious zeal.

92 E.g., al-Ya’qūbī (d. after 292/905), *tārīḥ al-Ya’qūbī* (as in note 89), vol. 1, p. 198.

93 Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), *kitāb al-lāq an-naṣifa* (as in note 67), p. 128: “madīnat Rūmiyya wa hiyya madīna yudabbir amrahā malik yuqāl al-bāb”.

94 On descriptions of the pope in Arab-Islamic sources see D. König, *Zur Ausstrahlung des Papsttums in die mittelalterliche arabisch-islamische Welt: Eine Evaluation der arabisch-islamischen Berichterstattung zum Bischof von Rom*, in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 90 (2010) (forthcoming).

95 al-Qalqašandī, *kitāb ṣubḥ al-a’šā* (as in note 81), vol. 8, p. 42; *ibid.* vol. 5, p. 472.

96 al-Qalqašandī, *kitāb ṣubḥ al-a’šā* (as in note 81), vol. 5, p. 472; *ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 42. For an alternative translation see Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe* (as in note 8), pp. 178–79.

97 al-‘Umārī, *kitāb masālik al-aḥṣār* (as in note 81), p. 306: “wa bilād Rūma wa hiyya mamālik ‘ubbād aṣ-ṣalīb (...)”.

It is tempting to declare the form of address used in a letter written by the Almohad caliph Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Murtaḍā' to Pope Innocentius IV in 648/1250 as an acknowledgement of Latin Christianity on the part of the Muslim ruler. He refers to the pope as "the one obeyed by the Christian rulers and most revered by the dignitaries of the Roman nation/people" (muṭā' mulūk an-naṣrāniyya wa mu'aẓẓam 'uẓamā' al-umma ar-rūmiyya).⁹⁸ But since in Arabic the adjective rūmiyya can be applied equally to the Romans, the Byzantines, and the city of Rome,⁹⁹ one cannot be sure if al-Murtaḍā' really distinguished between Latin and other forms of Christianity. Unfortunately, we do not have recourse to other letters to the popes in Arabic. The titles used in Latin translations of letters sent by Muslim rulers to the pope during the thirteenth century tend to depict the pope as the leader of all Christians, using titles such as "Pope of all Christians in the world" (papa omnium per orbem terrarum Christianorum).¹⁰⁰

Occasionally, however, the pope is depicted as holding a special position of power among the "Franks." Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) calls him "leader of the Franks" (ra'īs al-Afranğ)¹⁰¹ and Ibn al-Aṭīr "ruler of the Franks in Rome" (malik al-Faraṅğ bi Rūmiya).¹⁰² According to al-Qazwīnī, all Franks obey the pope.¹⁰³ Abū 'l-Fidā' and Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) refer to him as "caliph of the Franks" (ḥalīfat al-Faraṅğ),¹⁰⁴ the latter claiming that, "in

wa fi madīnat Rūma maqarr ṭāğūthim al-akbar wa mağma' 'adīdihim al-aḫṭar yaḥḍa' laḥā kullu ṣāḥib ṣalīb wa ṣalbūt" (Italian translation on p. 312).

98 For the Arabic original text and an alternative (French) translation see E. Tisserant/G. Wiet, *Une lettre de l'Almohade Murtaḍā au pape Innocent IV*, in: *Hespéris* 6.1 (1926), pp. 30 and 34: "souverain incontesté des rois de la chrétienté, respecté des princes de la nation romaine."

99 See N. El Cheikh/C.E. Bosworth, *Rūm* (as in note 81), p. 601; R. Traini, *Rūmiya*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, Leiden 1996, p. 612.

100 K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Città del Vaticano 1981: a) May 1234, Konya, 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kaiqūbāğ to Gregory IX: "Sanctissime et angelis equalis (...) archiepiscopo magne Rome et magne papa omnium per orbem terrarum Christianorum" (ibid., p. 133); b) June 1245, Cairo, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Nağm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Presentie pape nobilis, magni, spiritualis, affectuosi, sancti, tertii decimi apostolorum, universalis loquele Christianorum, manutinentis adoratores crucis, iudicis populi Christiani, ductoris filiorum baptismatis, summi pontificis Christianorum" (ibid., p. 151); c) December 1245, Homs, al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Nağm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Sancto, illustri, puro, excellenti, temporalium contemptori, dei cultori, venerabili, sublimi, scienti, magno, capiti secte Christiane et duci filiorum baptismatis, sedenti super sedem Symonis, ornatum habent intellectum sanctis theologicis, pape Rome" (ibid., p. 159); d) December 1245, Homs, al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Nağm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "sancti, gloriosioris, magni inaccessibilis contemptoris mundi, colentis deum et ei gratias agentis, principis legis Christiane, prepositi filiorum baptismi, sedentis super cathedram Symonis Petri, pape Rome" (ibid., p. 166); e) August 1246, Salt, Faḥr ad-Dīn in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Nağm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Sedis altissime domino, excelsio, reverendo, sancto, spirituali, beato, qui est fiducia sacerdotum et religiosorum, pape excellentissimo [...] scriptura largissime sedis et altissime domini regnantis, spiritualis, beatissimi, iusti, sancti, abstinentis, venerabilis et honorabilis, regis patrum sanctorum, sustinentis filios obedientie, refugii gentis Christiane, victorie legis Christi, auxilii prelatorum et clericorum" (ibid., pp. 173–74).

101 Yāqūt, *mu'ğam al-buldān* (as in note 14), *Art. Bāšğird*, vol. 1, pp. 469–70.

102 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-kāmil* (as in note 34), *AH* 623, vol. 12, p. 465.

103 al-Qazwīnī, *āṭār al-bilād* (as in note 16), p. 397.

104 Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarriğ al-kurūb fi aḥbār banī Ayyūb* (The Dispeller of Sorrows on the History of the Ayyubid Dynasty), ed. H.M. Rabī'/S.'A. 'Āṣūr, 4 vols, Cairo 1972, *AH* 626, vol. 4, p. 248; Abū 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), *al-muḥṭaṣar fi aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

their legal system” (fī šarī‘atihim), all affairs are administered by the pope.¹⁰⁵ This kind of terminology is also employed in two letters addressed to the pope by Muslim rulers which only survive in Latin translation. Here the pope is defined as “the one who rules the necks of the Franks” (*dominanti cervicibus Francorum*) and as “glory of the multitude of Franks” (*gloria multitudinis Francorum*).¹⁰⁶

While Arab-Islamic scholars increasingly applied the ethnonym Frank to persons and groups of different European origin and linked the pope with the “Franks,” they also introduced a new term into their writings from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁰⁷ Beginning with Ibn Sa‘īd al-Mağribī (d. 685/1286), several authors use and explain the term “emperor” (*al-inbarādūr*, *al-inbarātūr*), defined – always in a European context – not only as ruler of “Germany” (*al-Lamāniya*),¹⁰⁸ “ruler of princes” (*malik al-umarā*),¹⁰⁹ potentate at the head of forty rulers (*arba‘īn malikan wa sulṭānuhā*),¹¹⁰ and “ruler of rulers” (*malik al-mulūk*),¹¹¹ but also as “ruler of the Franks” (*malik al-Faraṅğ*).¹¹² It is Ibn Ḥaldūn who combines the three elements of the Franks, the pope, and the emperor, explaining that the pope urges the Franks to submit to one ruler called “emperor” whose function it is to calm factionalism (*al-‘aṣabiyya*) among them.¹¹³ Looked at from this point of view, it seems justified that Franz Rosenthal, in his translation of Ibn Ḥaldūn’s *Muqaddima*, chose to render the word Franks (*Ifraṅğā*) as “European Christians,” or, alternatively, “Latin Christians.”

Conclusion

The present article on Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries demonstrated that Muslim perceptions cannot be reduced to a single pattern of perception characterized by a “Muslim” attitude of superiority and

105 Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarriğ al-kurūb* (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 249.

106 Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (as in note 100): a) November 1245, Baalbek, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl to Innocentius IV: “Presentie excelse, sancte, dominative, apostolice, venerabili, honorabili, dominanti cervicibus Francorum, ductori capistorum legis Christiane, vivificatori secte Christianitatis” (*ibid.*, p. 155); b) August 1246, Salt, an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Dāwūd to Innocentius IV: “domini pape, reverendi, magni, religiosi, credentis, temperantis, animosi, virtuosus, honorabilis, Innocentii, qui est honor orthodoxorum et patriarcharum, continens loquelam Christianorum, gloria multitudinis Francorum, corona gentis crucis, maior predecessorum sedentium in cathedra apostolica Rome” (*ibid.*, p. 171).

107 See H. Gottschalk, *al-anbaratūr/Imperator*, in: *Der Islam* 33 (1958), pp. 31–36.

108 Ibn Sa‘īd al-Mağribī, *kitāb al-ğugrāfiyya* (as in note 19), p. 193; Abū ‘l-Fidā’, *taqwīm al-buldān* (as in note 19), p. 202.

109 Abū ‘l-Fidā’, *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), AH 624, vol. 3, p. 175.

110 Ibn Sa‘īd, *kitāb al-ğugrāfiyya* (as in note 19), p. 193; Abū ‘l-Fidā’, *taqwīm al-buldān* (as in note 19), p. 202.

111 *Ibid.*

112 Abū ‘l-Fidā’, *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār* (as in note 15), AH 624, vol. 3, p. 171. Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarriğ al-kurūb* (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 250, depicts the emperor as the elected *primus inter pares* among Frankish kings (*mulūk al-Faraṅğ*).

113 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *tārīḥ* (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 292. See the differing translations: Ibn Khaldoun, *Les prolégomènes d’Ibn Khaldoun*, trans. W. MacGuckin de Slane, Paris 1863, p. 47–77; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah* VI.18, trans. F. Rosenthal, 3 vols, New York 1958, vol. 1, p. 481; Ibn Khaldoun, *Discours sur l’histoire universelle (Al-Muqaddima)*, trans. V. Monteil, 3 vols, Arles 1997, vol. 1, p. 467.

hostility towards the Christians of Europe. Hence, the first section elaborated on the possibilities of reconstructing different vantage points held by various "Muslim subjects of perception" regarding a large number of "Latin-Christian objects of perception." On the one hand, this was done by presenting different examples of the large variety of terms used to designate Latin Christians. As could be observed, the terminology ranges from single words including personal names, functional titles, "socioonyms," ethnonyms, and terms of religious invective to elaborate descriptions and definitions. This terminological variety proves the existence as such of varying patterns of perception. On the other hand, juxtaposing several passages concerning the same or comparable objects of perception served to prove that various aspects of Latin Christianity were approached from many different angles. Differing terminology conveying various shades of judgment was employed for one and the same "object of perception." The pope, to cite just one more demonstrative example, could thus be classified as "the damned one" (*al-mal'ūn*)¹¹⁴ by one source and as "caliph of the Franks" (*ḥalīfat al-Faraṅḡ*)¹¹⁵ or "friend of kings and sultans" (*ṣādiq al-mulūk wa 's-salāṭīn*)¹¹⁶ by another. The first section therefore argued that the eventful and complex history of relations between the Arab-Islamic and the Latin-Christian world can only have produced a multitude of varying patterns of perception.

The second part of the article set out to illustrate this hypothesis by tracing the conceptual terminology used by Arab-Islamic scholars to refer to the religious and cultural sphere of Latin Christianity as a whole. The expansion during the seventh and eighth centuries had confronted Muslims with various Christian peoples in the West. However, Arab-Islamic scholars still seem to have lacked the intellectual tools to conceptualize the "Latin West." Until about the tenth century, certain historiographers seem to have regarded the common Roman heritage uniting Byzantium and the West as more important than the separation of both spheres. This is not so surprising if one considers that a cultural sphere characterized by a "Latin" form of Christianity only slowly emerged between the seventh and the eleventh centuries as a result of several important processes, inter alia, the spread of Christianity beyond the northern and eastern frontiers of the former Roman Empire from the late seventh century onwards,¹¹⁷ the Roman bishops' dissociation from Byzantium from the eighth century onwards,¹¹⁸ and the church reform of the High Middle Ages with its aim of ecclesiastical unification and standardization on a "European" scale.¹¹⁹ Thus, the character as well as the boundaries of Latin-Christian

114 Abū Šāma, *kitāb ar-rawḍatayn* (as in note 47), p. 480.

115 Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarriḡ al-kurūb* (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 248; Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-bašar* (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

116 al-Qalqašandī, *kitāb ṣubḥ al-'ašā'* (as in note 81), vol. 8, pp. 42–43.

117 D. König, *Bekehrungsmotive. Untersuchungen zum Christianisierungsprozess im römischen Westreich und seinen romanisch-germanischen Nachfolgern*, Husum 2008, p. 19.

118 F. Hartmann, *Hadrian I. (772–795). Frühmittelalterliches Adelspapsttum und die Lösung Roms vom byzantinischen Kaiser*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 15–96. For further reading see: H. Chadwick, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church – From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, Oxford 2003.

119 See, e.g., H. Fuhrmann, *Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanae ecclesiae*. Randnotizen zum Dictatus pape, in: K.-U. Jäschke/R. Wenskus (eds), *Festschrift Helmut Beumann*, Sigmaringen 1977, pp. 263–87;

Europe shifted continuously in this period.¹²⁰ In addition, different forms of Christianity, especially those on the Iberian Peninsula and in the zones bordering the Byzantine sphere of influence, made it difficult for Arab-Islamic scholars to form an image of a European continent united through religion and distinct from other Christian regions because of a specific and standardized form of the Christian faith.¹²¹

Nonetheless, Merovingian and especially Carolingian rule had already created a polity that encompassed great parts of the European heartland. Reaching beyond the early medieval “Francia,” it included parts of the Spanish Levant, the Apennine Peninsula as well as vast territories east of the Rhine. The Carolingians not only contributed to the northern orientation of the Holy See in the Early Middle Ages,¹²² they also cultivated diplomatic and commercial contacts with Muslim al-Andalus, North Africa, and the Middle East,¹²³ successfully projecting an image of themselves as the most important political players of the northern hemisphere in the Muslim world. Medieval Arab-Islamic scholars seem to have acknowledged this situation to a certain degree, consequently imposing the ethnonym “Franks” on other European Christians, even more so as soon as the notion of a “united Christian Europe” was reinforced by European expansionism in the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean islands, North Africa, and the Middle East from the eleventh century onwards. As a result, the ethnonym “Franks” became a generic term for several Christian peoples of Europe who were closely associated with the pope in Rome and, occasionally, with an institution known as the “emperor.” In varying constellations, written references to these institutions served to circumscribe a larger religious, cultural, and political sphere that can to a certain degree be regarded as being approxi-

O. Hageneder, *Die Häresie des Ungehorsams und das Entstehen des hierokratischen Papsttums*, in: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 20 (1978), pp. 29–47.

120 Sicily, for example, belonged to the Byzantine zone of influence up to the ninth century, was under Islamic rule up to the eleventh century, and was integrated into the orbit of Latin Christianity with the Norman conquest in the second half of the eleventh century, see A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, Edinburgh 2009, pp. 10–16, pp. 93–108.

121 On cultural “transit zones” see M. Borgolte / J. Schiel, *Mediävistik der Zwischenräume – eine Einführung*, in: M. Borgolte et al. (eds), *Mittelalter im Labor* (as in note 89), pp. 16–17; M. Mersch, *Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, in: M. Mersch / U. Ritzerfeld (eds), *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen* (as in note 30), pp. 8–12.

122 R. Schieffer, *Die Karolinger*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 63–64.

123 Diplomatic exchanges occurred from the eighth century onwards, see M. Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Munich 1976; M.M. aš-Šaiḥ, *dawlat al-Faranġa wa ‘alāqatihā bi’l-Umawīyyīn fi l’-Andalus: ḥattā awāḥir al-qarn al-‘āšir al-milādī (138–366 AH/755–976 AD)* (The Frankish State and its Relations with the Umayyads in al-Andalus: To the End of the Tenth Century AD), Alexandria 1981; H. Walther, *Der gescheiterte Dialog. Das Ottonische Reich und der Islam*, in: A. Zimmermann and I. Craemer-Ruegenberg (eds), *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, Berlin 1985, pp. 20–44; P. Sénac, *Contribution à l’étude des relations diplomatiques entre l’Espagne musulmane et l’Europe au X^e siècle: le règne de ‘Abd Ar-Rahmān III (912–961)*, in: *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985), pp. 45–55; P. Sénac, *Les Carolingiens et le califat abbasside (VIII^e–IX^e siècles)*, in: *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002), pp. 37–56; ‘A. al-Ḥaġġī, *‘alāqāt ad-diblūmāsiyya al-andalusiyya ma’ Ūrubbā al-ġarbiyya ḥilāl al-muddat al-ummawīyya (138–366 AH/755–976 AD)* (The Diplomatic Relations of al-Andalus with Western Europe in the Umayyad Period), Abū Ḍabbī 2004; M. McCormick, *Pippin III, the Embassy of Caliph al-Mansur, and the Mediterranean World*, in: M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751, Münster 2004*, pp. 221–41; A. Mohr, *Das Wissen über die Anderen: Zur Darstellung fremder Völker in den fränkischen Quellen der Karolingerzeit*, Münster 2005, pp. 251–59, etc.

mately equivalent to our contemporary notion of "Latin Christianity," or, perhaps even better, "Latin Christendom."

Arab-Islamic scholars may well have understood that ethnic, political, institutional, cultural, and even religious ties existed between the various peoples of Europe. But even if there are exceptions to the rule (the occasional scholar specifically describes Latin-Christian cult phenomena in detail),¹²⁴ they do not seem to have regarded "Latin Christianity" as a religious entity to be distinguished from the rest of the Christian world. Betimes, differences between "Eastern" and "Western" Christians seem to have been acknowledged: An Ayyubid letter written to the pope in 1245 deals with, among other questions, Roman efforts to incorporate Eastern churches into the folds of the Latin *ecclesia*.¹²⁵ The Egyptian historiographer al-Maqrīzī reports on dogma-related negotiations between Rome and Constantinople during the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439.¹²⁶ In general, however, Arab-Islamic scholars seem to have attached more importance to the political and ethnic divide between Western and Eastern Christianity than to its religious dimension – for several reasons, as follows.

"Latin Christianity" was not as conspicuous and interesting as Christianity itself. Muslim theologians did not really need to refute a specific form of the Christian faith if fundamental aspects of this religion – the gospels, the dogma of the Trinity, the cult of saints, etc. – were regarded as sufficiently assailable. The fact that they regularly treat the early ecumenical councils extensively in their writings while ignoring later developments suggests that the intricacies of internal Christian debates mainly interested Muslim theologians if they were of relevance to understanding the emergence of basic Christian dogma. Not even the pope was always recognized as a "Frankish" alias "European" authority by historiographers. This probably has to do with the papacy's range of activity. During Late Antiquity, the patriarch of Rome had been part of a Roman Empire centered on the Mediterranean. During the Crusades, the pope sought to unite Christians under Rome's spiritual sovereignty, thus promoting the Holy See's influence in Europe, the entire Mediterranean, the Latin East, and among Oriental Christians.¹²⁷ The inconsistent terminology in Arab-Islamic sources as regards the pope's "sphere of responsibility" attests to the

124 See König, Christianisation of Latin Europe (as in note 66), p. 442 (veneration of Peter and Paul in Rome), pp. 442–43 (cult of Saint Jacob in Santiago de Compostela), p. 464, n. 126 (religious customs in Rome).

125 In a letter written to Innocentius IV in December 1245 in Homs, the Ayyubid governor al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm assures the safety of the pope's Christian "personnel" in the realm of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naḡm ad-Dīn Ayyūb and states that he will not interfere in agreements between the personnel and the Greeks. Only a Latin version of the letter is extant, in which al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm writes: "Et nos non negamus concordiam, que facta est inter ipsos et Grecos, et non prohibemus de hoc neque irritabimus," see Lupprian, Beziehungen (as in note 100), pp. 166–67.

126 al-Maqrīzī, *as-sulūk li ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* (A Guide to Understanding Sovereign Polities), ed. S. A. 'Āṣūr, Kairo 1973, AH 843, vol. IV.3, pp. 1179–80, writes that the Council of Ferrara-Florence was convoked because the duke of Milan had proposed to the pope in Rome that the priests, monks, and important people from among the Byzantines and Franks meet to reach an agreement on dogmatic issues concerning their religion ("maḥall yaḡtama'a fi-hi al-qasīsūn wa 'r-ruḥbān wa 'ayān ar-Rūm wa 'l-Faranḡ, li-yattafiqū ḡami'an 'alā amr dīnī ya'qudūhu [...]").

127 K.E. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 4 vols, Philadelphia 1976–1984; A. Hettinger, *Die Beziehungen des Papsttums zu Afrika*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 1993.

fact that Muslim scholars were not in agreement on how to classify an institution whose activities had never been confined to the European continent.

In view of the complex history connecting the European continent with the Mediterranean sphere in late antique and medieval times, Arab-Islamic scholars were not capable of developing a precise terminology, either to define a cultural sphere or “civilization” in and beyond the north and northwest of the Mediterranean, or to define a religious group linked to this sphere and subject to the pope in Rome. Although Arab-Islamic scholars had a notion of “Latin Christianity,” this notion seems to have been as vague and imprecise as their “Latin-Christian” contemporaries’ sense of cohesion.¹²⁸

128 On this sense of cohesion see T. Haas, *Kreuzzugschroniken* (as in note 89), pp. 86–95.

The Christian Perception of Islam in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation

Thomas Kaufmann

RESÜMEE

Das 15. und 16. Jahrhundert waren durch die äußere Bedrohung durch das Osmanische Reich in mentalitätsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht mannigfach verbunden. Dies kam auch darin zum Ausdruck, dass sich die Reformatoren einige mittelalterliche Texte zur Wahrnehmung des Islam (Georg von Ungarn, Robert v. Kettons Übersetzung des Koran u.a.) aneigneten, sie erneut oder erstmals publizierten, aber auch zum Zweck der binnenchristlichen Polemik aktualisierten. Die Muster in der Wahrnehmung der „türkischen Religion“ pluralisierten sich; neben traditionell häresiologischen spielten Wahrnehmungsweisen eine verstärkte Rolle, die die „Unwahrheit“ des Islam anhand des Koran selbst zu erweisen versuchten. Die Turkisierung der innerchristlichen Gegner trug dazu bei, religionskulturelle Wissensbestände über die fremde Religion präsent zu halten und zu popularisieren.

It has become increasingly commonplace to conceptually oppose “the Islamic world” with “the European world.” While this dichotomous semantic configuration has its immediate origin in recent Western perceptions of militant Islamic fundamentalism, it is rooted in a history that goes back much farther than the current debates. It was in direct historical connection with the fall of Constantinople in 1453¹ that the later Pope Pius II coined the phrase “Europa, id est patria,” thus underscoring the prevalence of the con-

1 See D. Mertens, “Europa id est patria, domus propria, sedes noster ...” Zu Funktionen und Überlieferungen lateinischer Türkenreden im 15. Jahrhundert, in: F.R. Erkens (ed.), *Europa und die osmanische Expansion im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Berlin 1997, pp. 39–58; J. Helmrath, Pius II. und die Türken, in: B. Guthmüller/W. Kühlmann (eds.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 79–138; J. Helmrath, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.) – ein Humanist als Vater des Europagedankens?, in: R. Hohls/I. Schröder/H. Siegrist (eds.), *Europa und die Europäer: Festschrift für Hartmut Kaelble*, Stuttgart 2005, pp. 361–9. The reflections concerning the Turks and the Christian commandment to do battle with them which the Pope engaged in his *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt* (critical ed. A. van Heck, Vatican City, 1984) are readily available

cept of Europe as the last remaining homeland of Christians in the ideological defense against the Ottomans. The recent conceptual configuration of a “European” versus an “Islamic” world therefore clearly developed out of the intellectual struggle of “Christianity” against the Ottoman super power. The experience of an external threat also fundamentally linked the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²

At the same time, the anxiety about the Ottomans distinguished the epoch from the preceding early and high medieval history of relations between *christianitas* and the “Islamic World,” a history strongly influenced by processes of mutual perception and labelling that involved a plurality of actors, including the Muslim world (itself to be differentiated), the Catholic Church, Lutheran Reformers, and the Reformed churches. This paper will focus on Lutheran modes of perception of Islam in the late Middle Ages and the Reformation³ within the noted complex multilateral relationship. Lutheran modes of perception were shaped, I will argue, by the steadily increasing experience of an external

in German translation in: E.S. Piccolomini, *Commentarii: Ich war Pius II: Memoiren eines Renaissancepapstes*, selected and trans. by G. Stölzl, Augsburg 2008, pp. 76–80 (Book 2; esp. re the Council of Mantua).

- 2 K.-P. Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond: Die Geschichte der Türkenkriege*, Düsseldorf et al. 2004, esp. pp. 76–104; instructive as a counter perspective to the too strongly Christian view on the European Middle Ages in its effort to treat the three major religions equally, although the argument is not fully persuasive in my opinion, is the recent publication: M. Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen: Die Erben der Antike und der Aufstieg des Mittelalter 300–1400 n. Chr.*, Munich 2006; on the relationship of the Ottoman Empire to all the Christian states see esp.: G. Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade: Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris 2004; H. Schilling, *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen: Internationale Beziehungen 1559–1660*, Paderborn et al. 2007, pp. 201–15; C. Kafedar, *The Ottomans and Europe*, in: T.A. Brady/H. A. Oberman/J.M. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, 1400–1600, vol. 1, Leiden et al. 1994, pp. 594–636.
- 3 The arguments developed in this contribution are closely related to reflections in my recent monograph: T. Kaufmann, “Türkenbüchlein”: Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung “türkischer Religion” in Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Göttingen 2008. Further sources and bibliographic details are referenced in the bibliography included there. The abbreviations I have used follow the list of abbreviations in the encyclopaedia: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG), 4th ed. Tübingen 1998–2007; “MF” refers to the collection of sixteenth-century pamphlets edited by Joachim Köhler. The lively debates on continuity and rupture have rarely tackled the Turkish question, especially not where the writing of church history is concerned. See, e.g., B. Hamm, *Von der spätmittelalterlichen reformatio zur Reformation: Der Prozess normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, in: ARG 84, 1993, pp. 7–82; B. Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays*, ed. R.J. Bast, Leiden et al. 2005; B. Hamm, *Die Emergenz der Reformation*, in: B. Hamm/M. Welker, *Die Reformation: Potenziale der Freiheit*, Tübingen 2008, pp. 1–27; a less interesting position concerning the eventfulness of the Reformation is taken by V. Leppin, *Die Wittenberger Reformation und der Prozess der Transformation kultureller zu institutionellen Polaritäten*, Stuttgart/Leipzig 2008; see also: T.A. Brady (ed.), assisted by E. Müller-Luckner, *Die deutsche Reformation zwischen Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, München 2001; H. Schilling, *Reformation: Umbruch oder Gipfelpunkt einer Temps des Réformes?*, in: B. Moeller (ed.), *Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als Umbruch*, Gütersloh 1998, pp. 13–34 (reprinted in: *ibid.*, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur europäischen Reformations- und Konfessionsgeschichte*, ed. L. Schorn-Schütte/O. Mörike, Berlin 2002, pp. 11–31; T. Kaufmann, *Die Reformation als Epoche?*, in: *Verkundigung und Forschung* 47 (2002), pp. 49–63; S. Ehrenpreis/U. Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, Darmstadt 2002, pp. 17–29. The fact that the category of the Reformation, which was and is central in the context of German history, becomes relativized and marginalized to a greater extent within the horizon of European and global historical scholarship perspectives (see, e.g.: C. Fasolt, *Europäische Geschichte, zweiter Akt: Die Reformation*, in: T.A. Brady (ed., cited above), pp. 231–50; see also: R. Dürr/G. Engel/J. Süßmann (eds), *Eigene und fremde frühe Neuzeiten: Genese und Geltung eines Epochenbegriffs*, Munich 2003), lies in the choice of “perspective” but not in the “nature of things,” however it is styled. I have most recently presented my view on these matters in my book: *Geschichte der Reformation*, 2nd ed. Frankfurt a. M. 2010.

threat to Europe that I mentioned above. The labelling of others, whether they were Reformed, Catholic, or Muslim, cannot be understood except against the background of the Ottoman political threat, which allowed for a range of possible political reactions and alliances. Options included, for instance, uniting with the Catholics against the Muslims or siding with the Muslims against the Catholics.

These varying options were in turn related to different semantic strategies of dealing with the Other. The spectrum of terms used to mark “Islam” in late medieval and early modern German and Latin texts is relatively broad. On the one hand, heresiological terms such as “lex” (law), “secta” (sect), or “haeresis” (heresy) are common, often in combination with adjectives like “mahometisch,” “sarazenisch,” or “heidnisch” (heathen). On the other hand, the pejorative term “superstitio” (superstition) or the neutral concepts “fides” (faith) or “religio” (religion) can be found to mark “Islam,” although both usually are used to name Christianity or the Christian faith as the single and true “religion” or “faith.” Concerning the followers of “foreign religion,” the terms “Heiden” (heathen), “Sarazenen” (Saracens), “Ismaelitae” (Ismaelites), “Agareni” (sons of Hagar), “Mahumetismae,” or “Muselmanen” are customary. These terms have been common since early and/or high medieval times. From the fifteenth century onwards, the phrases “turci” (Turks, Ottomans) or “türkische Religion” (“Turkish religion”) dominate all other terms. The epistemic view cast on “Islam” vacillates between the heresiological stance, commonly accepted since Johannes Damascenus, and the late medieval perspective developed by Roger Bacon and Vinzenz de Beauvais, who dealt with “Islam” as a “foreign religion” such as paganism or Judaism. Martin Luther’s terminology, which will be the main focus of this paper, has to be interpreted against the background of this previous tradition. He speaks of the “religion of the Turks and Muhammad,” a religion far more brilliant than “ours” in respect of ceremonies and manners. Moreover, he states that “Christian religion” differs from “Turkish” or “papal” religion in that the latter have to do with moral attitudes and “good works” while true Christian religion is focused on faith alone. “Religion” is thus used to announce the *genus proximum* of Christendom and Islam while the *differentia specifica* is expressed by “national,” “ethnographic,” or “nominal” (e.g., Mahometic) predicates.

I.

For reasons not elaborated here, the Reformation can be seen as the most profound rupture experienced within the Latin European history of Christianity. Here, I would like to look into the question if and to what extent the continuous “threat” posed by the Ottomans is connected to the evolution of a fundamental rift in Christianity within Europe. In view of ritual practices, one continuity from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries cannot be overlooked: The tolling of the Turks’ Bell, introduced in 1456 by Pope Cal-

lixtus III⁴ and made mandatory by Imperial law in 1523,⁵ was taken up by the Protestant Church Order.⁶ Consequently, the Turks' Bell remained in use, although Jakob Andreae of the Tübingen collegiate church protested: "[...] I hold it that this Turks' Bell has power/ to chime as well for weather and for death/ for the greater part [of people] use it for their idolatrous prayer [...]/ the other part have their mockery/ and all devotion ceases with the bell. But dear friends, besides the Turks' Bell/ we have to ring/ another storm bell in our heart/ namely true repentance."⁷

But the continuity from the fifteenth into the sixteenth century would be underestimated in its complexity if one followed the line of the Andreae quotation and assumed a continuity of cultural practices that was purely external. In the late sixteenth century, no lesser instance of Lutheran orthodoxy than the Faculty of Theology of Wittenberg advocated common prayer with the Papists against the "hereditary arch enemy of common Christianity," the Turk – at least when such a prayer was not connected with the grace of indulgence and with the invocation of saints on the side of the Catholics.⁸ Community with members of the Roman Church, for which an analogy is hard to find in the confessional era, was regarded as possible – in prayer against the common enemy. A further note of caution against the idea of a *merely external continuity* between the fifteenth and

4 See L. Freiherr von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zur Wahl Pius II*, vol. 1, 12th unrevised edition, Freiburg/B. et al. 1955, pp. 721–3, including footnote 1.

5 On the mandate of the 1523 regiment of the Holy Roman Empire, see: DRTA J.R. 3, p. 58, pp. 21–23. The mandate stipulated the midday "sonder glocke geleut" (special ringing of the bells); it admonished Christians to prayer, which would achieve military victory as well as fend off God's wrath. For the broader context, see: K. Schreiner, *Kriege im Namen Gottes, Jesu und Mariä. Heilige Abwehrkämpfe gegen die Türken im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: K. Schreiner (ed.), *Heilige Kriege: Religiöse Begründungen militärischer Gewaltanwendung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam im Vergleich*, Munich 2008, pp. 151–92.

6 The midday tolling, which occurred daily from 1457 onwards, was intended as a reminder to pray for help against the Turks and is found in numerous Protestant church orders; see P. Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, Waltrop 1999 [reprint of the 2nd ed., Göttingen 1937], pp. 226–7; E.W. Zeeden, *Katholische Überlieferungen in den lutherischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *ibid.*, *Konfessionsbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 113–91, here: p. 159; see, e.g., the church order of Osterode (Herzogtum Preußen, 1576), in: E. Sehling (ed.), *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 4, Aalen 1970 [reprint of first edition, Leipzig 1911], p. 151; or that of Danzig (1612), in: *loc cit.*, p. 203.

7 "[...] ich halt dass diese Türkenglocke ebenso ein große Kraft hab/ als zum Wetter- oder Totenläuten dann der größer Teil braucht es zu seinem abgöttischen Gebet [...]/ der ander Teil hat sein Gespött/ und gehet also fast alle Andacht mit der Glocken aus. Wir müssen aber liebe Freund/ neben dieser Türkenglocken ein andere Sturmlocken unseres Herzens/ nämlich ein wahrhaftige Reue." J. Andreae, *Dreyzehnen Predigen vom Türken*: In wölchem gehandelt würdt von seins Regiments Ursprung, Glauben und Religion ..., Tübingen, Morhart 1569; VD 16 S 2614; Ex. MF Bibl. Palat. E 543/544, p. 370; to Andreae's Turkish sermons, see S. Raeder, *Die Türkenpredigten des Jakob Andreae*, in: M. Brecht (ed.), *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen 1977, pp. 96–122; S.R. Boettcher, *German Orientalism in the Age of Confessional Consolidation: Jacob Andreae's Thirteen Sermons on the Turk, 1568*, in: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24/2 (2004), pp. 101–14; for the historical context see T. Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein" (as in note 3), pp. 118–9.

8 *Consilia Theologica Wittebergensia/ des ist Wittenbergische Geistliche Ratschläge*, Frankfurt a. M. J.A. Endter, W. D. J. E. 1664, Teil 2, Tit VI, Nr. 4 ("Ob Lutheraner mit den Papisten in einer Kirche wieder den Türcken beten können?," Wittenberg, 2.1.1640, pp. 172–3, here: p. 172). On the context of confessional and religio-cultural cohabitation and its limits, see: T. Kaufmann, *Religions- und konfessionskulturelle Konflikte in der Nachbarschaft. Einige Beobachtungen zum 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in: G. Pfeleiderer/ E.W. Stegemann (eds), *Religion und Respekt: Beiträge zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis*, Zürich 2006, pp. 139–72, in particular p. 170.

the sixteenth centuries is sounded by the fact that when Luther wrote a prophetic saying of the fifteenth century on the wall of his study with chalk, he quoted the Logion of Johann Hilten: “Anno millesimo sexcentesimo veniet turcus, totam germaniam devastaturus.”⁹

II.

In view of the Turkish question, the internal coherence between the sixteenth and the fifteenth centuries becomes especially evident at the level of tradition, reception, and distribution of relevant texts and value patterns. Luther opens the line of pre-Reformation scripts on Turks when he re-edited the *Libellus de ritu et moribus turcorum* of a certain former Transylvanian by the name of Georgius de Hungaria in early 1530, immediately after the siege of Vienna.¹⁰ He justified the publication of this text, which had first been published in Rome around 1470,¹¹ by arguing that it was related to the “religio” and the “mores” of the “mahometistae” in a more thorough and impartial way than two other texts which were known to him at that time: the *Confutatio Alcorani* by the Dominican Ricoldo de Montecrucis from the thirteenth century and the fifteenth-century *Cribatio Alcorani* by Nicholas of Kues.¹²

- 9 Luther, Weimarer Ausgabe (WA) 48, notes to p. 284 on pp. 133–44d; see J. Ficker, Eine Inschrift Luthers im Lutherhaus, in: Theologische Studien und Kritiken 107 (1936), pp. 65–68; according to a witness from the late sixteenth century, the inscription could be found on the wall “behind his Bible, written with his own hand, not long before his death. A tablet was specially made which one could push back to reveal his handwriting.” Qtd. in WA 48, notes to p. 133; in the logion transmitted by the Franciscan Johann Hilten, as he was imprisoned in Eisenach, the Turks were expected to conquer Germany (or Italy, according to a variation of the text transmission) in 1600; on this point see: T. Kaufmann, Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus in der 2. Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts, Tübingen 2006, pp. 435–41 et passim (see Hilten); also see my supporting material in: T. Kaufmann, “Türckenbüchlein” (as in note 3), pp. 193–4, 223–8, 230.
- 10 WA 30 II, pp. 205–8 (edition with Luther’s preface); an edition of the German translation of the preface by Sebastian Franck with idiosyncratic interpolations can be found as a reprint in: C. Göllner (ed.), Chronica und Beschreibung der Türkei: Mit einer Vorrede D. Martini Lutheri, Cologne, Vienna 1983, pp. 1–8; on Franck’s translation, see C. Dejung, Sebastian Franck, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 1: Frühe Schriften: Kommentar, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 2005, pp. 407–12; a “dogmatically correct” Lutheran translation of the preface was added by Justus Jonas to his translation of Paolo Giovius Turcicarum rerum commentarius (see T. Kaufmann, “Türckenbüchlein” (as in note 3), p. 123 (footnote 36)): Ursprung des Türkischen Reichs/bis auf den itzigen Solymän/durch D. Paulum Jovium ... verdeutschet durch Justum Jonam [no place, no date]; VD 16 G 2051; Ex. SUB Göttingen 8 H Turc 715(2), U3r-X4v; at the beginning of January 1530, Luther announced the publication of the Latin edition, see WA Briefwechsel 5, pp. 215,5–7; see also: J. Ehmann, Luther, Türken und Islam: Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515–1546), Gütersloh 2008, pp. 324–7; on Luther’s Turkish circulation see also: A.S. Francisco, Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics, Leiden/Boston 2007.
- 11 Concerning the history and the history of the text, consult as a seminal study: R. Klockow (ed.), Georgus de Hungaria, Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum: Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken, 2nd ed., Cologne et al. 1994; on the printing occasioned by Luther (Wittenberg, Johannes Lufft, 1530; Ex. SUB Göttingen 8o H Turc 103) see loc. cit., p. 67, no. 8.
- 12 On Ricoldus’s writings (and Luther’s later edition of Ricoldus): J. Ehmann (ed.), Ricoldus de Montecrucis Confutatio Alcorani (1300): Martin Luthers Verlegung des Alcoran (1542). Annotated Latin-German edition, Würzburg/Altenberge 1999; for an excellent bilingual edition of Nicholas of Kues’s writings, see: L. Hagemann (ed.), Nikolaus von Kues, Sichtung des Korans, vols. 1–3, Hamburg 1989–1993; further references to recent research

In fact, Georgius rendered insights into the conditions in Turkey and the territories occupied by the Turks which were drawn from life. For when he was a youth, he had been taken captive by the Turks in Mühlbach in 1438,¹³ and for two decades he had lived as a slave with various Turkish masters, had learned the language of the country and gained deeper insights into the life world of the Turks than any Westerner before him. Georgius describes the charm of worshipping, the impressive discipline of the women living in polygamous marriages, the rituals of everyday life, the shining brightness of the *praxis pietatis*, the dances of the Dervishes, the great architecture of the mosques, but also the misery of the Christian slaves, who were kept like cattle or humiliated as objects of sexual lust.¹⁴ Georgius succeeded in fleeing to Rome, where he found peace of mind by joining the order of the Dominicans. He had written his memoirs while awaiting an Ottoman invasion of Italy, which was acutely feared to take place between summer 1480 and spring 1481. His intention was to communicate to his fellow Christians some insights into the power of fascination of the other religious culture, as he himself had at times surrendered to the fascination of “Turkish religion” and had converted to it. In the face of the Ottoman occupation, he wanted to protect Christians from a fall into apostasy as he himself had experienced it.¹⁵ However, as he made clear to his readers again and again: the fascination of “Turkish religion” came from the devil, the master of beautiful illusions.¹⁶ As an *expers*, somebody who related on the ground of his own *experiential*,¹⁷ Georgius was acceded a greater reliability by Luther than the scholarly confutatores of the Qur’an, who judged solely on the basis of questionable written sources and rumors.¹⁸ Georgius’s script belongs to the best-known pre-Reformation texts on Turks in general. Until 1514, it had also been reprinted in Urach, Cologne, and Paris – seven times in

on Nicholas of Kues’s perception of Islam can be found in: T. Kaufmann, “Türckenbüchlein” (as in note 3), p. 134, footnote 102.

13 For the biographical details, see R. Klockow (ed.), Georgius de Hungaria (as in note 11), pp. 11–29.

14 See R. Klockow (ed.), Georgius de Hungaria (as in note 11), pp. 179–85, 200–9, 230–6, 280–6.

15 At the beginning of his proem, the writer from Siebenbürgen refers to a lapse of faith: “[...] et in meipso expertus didici [i.e., that the Muslims convert captive Christians to Islam], qui cum multo mentis gaudio expectabam mortem pro fide Christi subire [i.e., at the defence of Mühlbach]; et tamen [...] de igne semivivus extractus et vite redditus per successum temporis detentus in manibus eorum veneno erroris eorum quasi infectus de fide Christi non modicum dubitavi et, nisi misericordia dei mihi affuisset et me custodisset, turpiter eam negassem.” R. Klockow (ed.), Georgius de Hungaria (as in note 11), p. 146. The newly won freedom, which he achieved when he was allowed to leave his land with the help of a charter made out in the name of the Sultan (littera imperiali auctoritate confecta; see pp. 206–7), made him a “verum etiam illius cruentissime secte diabolica infectione absolutus liber” (loc. cit., p. 410). For evidence which speaks for Georgius’s temporary affiliation with the Order of the Dervish, see R. Klockow, loc. cit., pp. 21–22.

16 “Nam tanta est potentia diaboli in eis [i.e., the Muslim ascetics], ut videantur potius diaboli incarnati quam homines.” R. Klockow (ed.), Georgius de Hungaria (as in note 11), p. 272; see p. 270; p. 284, where Georgius ascribes to the Turks Paul’s proverb about the devil changing into an angel of light (2 Corinth. 11, 14). In this respect, Luther is fully dependent on Georgius’s view, see for example WA 30 II, p. 186, 31–34; p. 187, 1–17; pp. 205, 29–206, 2.

17 See phrases such as “in me ipso expertus” (R. Klockow (ed.), Georgius de Hungaria (as in note 11), p. 146); “do-centur experiential” (loc. cit., p. 148); “expertam in me ipso” (ibid.), as well as the final aphorism that one should “in rerum humanarum dubiis” give more credence to the greater experience (“maiori experientie fides”) than to those who usually report on the Turks (loc. cit., p. 406).

18 WA 30 II, p. 205, 4–28.

total.¹⁹ And with Luther's edition of 1530, a history of circulation began that dwarfed all earlier distribution. Luther's edition was the basis for a translation by Sebastian Franck and more than a dozen complete editions as well as countless Latin and German partial printings of "Turks' booklets" of all kinds.²⁰ Additionally, Franck's partly very idiosyncratic translation²¹ is the first explicit source of his spiritualism²² and his distancing from the emerging reformatory town and territorial churchdoms which he saw as "Turkish," albeit cloaked in the Christian faith.²³ No sixteenth-century text had a stronger impact on the image of Turks in the Old Empire than this tract. Publishing the *Tractatus of Georgius*, however, meant that Luther and Franck published a text containing, from a theological point of view, numerous offensive issues connected with the traditional old faith, such as the doctrine of the sacraments, the veneration of saints, and the so-called "religious piety of achievement" in general. But in the face of the magnitude of the dangers Luther saw in Vienna, these deficits obviously seemed comparatively harmless to him. In his *Heerpredigt wider die Türken* for example, which Luther had published at the end of the year 1529, about two months after the unsuccessful termination of the Ottoman siege of Vienna, he wrote that his "dear Germans, the lazy sods," wanted, now that the danger was over, "to carouse and live well in all their security"; "ha, the Turk has run away and is now gone," they thought, but in this way they underestimated the real threat.²⁴ Therefore, Luther used the new edition of the Transylvanian's tract to draw polemic capital from his account. The reason the Papists had written so little on the religion and worship of the Turks, he boldly claimed, was because papism would have broken down had it really confronted the religion of the Turks.²⁵ Especially when

19 On further printings from (1481, Rome) up to 1514 Paris, see R. Klockow (ed.), *Georgius de Hungaria* (as in note 11), pp. 60–66, no. 1–7.

20 A seminal work: C. Dejung, *Kommentar* (as in note 10), pp. 335–513; new edition in: S. Franck, *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Ausgabe mit Kommentar*, vol. 1: *Frühe Schriften*, ed. P.K. Knauer, Berne 1993, pp. 236–327; regarding the printings, see VD 16 G1377–G1388; T. Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein" (as in note 3), pp. 160–1 (footnote 202), as well as the still very helpful bibliography by C. Göllner, *Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 1st ed. Bucharest/Baden-Baden 1961–1968: vol. 1: MDI–MDL, 1961; vol. 2: MDLI–MDC, 1968; vol. 3: *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*, Bucharest/Baden-Baden 1979; new printing, vols. 1–3, Baden-Baden 1994.

21 See in addition to C. Dejung, *Kommentar* (as in note 10): S.C. Williams, "Türkenchronik": Ausdeutende Übersetzung: Georgs von Ungarn "Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum" in der Verdeutschung Sebastian Francks, in: D. Huschenbett/J. Margetts (eds), *Reisen und Welterfahrung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Würzburg 1991, pp. 185–95.

22 This was already clearly perceived by Alfred Hegler, who introduced the spiritualism concept which Ernst Troeltsch made widely influential, in his standard work on Franck: A. Hegler, *Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Spiritualismus in der Reformationszeit*, Freiburg/B. 1892, esp. pp. 48–50.

23 See, e.g., S. Franck, in: C. Göllner (ed.), *Chronica* (as in note 10), p. 89; S. Franck, *Werke*, vol. 1, footnote 20, p. 314,3–4. et passim.

24 WA 30 II, p. 160,17–21.

25 "Ego [i.e., Luther] plane credo nullum Papistam, monachum, clerum et eorum fidei sotium, si inter Turcos triduo agerent, in sua fide mansurum. Loquor de iis, qui serio fidem Papae volunt et optimi inter eos sunt. Caetera turba et maior eorum pars, praesertim Itali, quia porci sunt de grege Epicuri, nihil prorsus credentis, securi sunt ab omni haeresi et errore fortesque et invicti in sua fide Epicurea tam contra Christum quam contra Mahometum et contra ipsum suum met Papam. [...] Itaque pro Apologia quadam Evangelii nostri simul hunc librum [i.e., Georgius's] edimus. Nunc enim video, quid causae fuerit, quod a Papistis sic occuleretur religio Turcica, Cur

it came to external rituals, the institution of monks, asceticism, negative views, Lent, in short, the whole beautiful ritual appearance of “Turkish religion,” the papal religion, in Luther’s view, was infinitely inferior to that of the Turks. In consequence, Georgius’s description of the external cult of the Turks became a profound apology for the Gospel (*apologia quadam evangelii nostri*).²⁶ For it is quite evident, Luther claims, that the *religio Christi* is something completely separate from rituals and customs. To Luther, therefore, the completely different character of the *religio* or the *fides Christi*, as set against “Turkish religion” and its highest thinkable degree of ceremonial orthopraxy, is obvious. To a Christian, it makes no difference to do justice to God through external ceremonies, customs, and laws (*ceremoniae, mores et leges*); law and order do not contribute to justice and the forgiveness of sins.²⁷ According to Luther, “Christian religion” becomes distinctive in its reflection in “Turkish religion.”

To Luther, the catechetical *elementaria* of Christian faith, namely the second article, have to be inculcated, in contrast to “Turkish religion.” Through the faith in Christ, the resurrected son of God, who died because of human sins, every Christian will be protected against Satan. In this spirit, Luther comments in his *Heerpredigt*:

*[...] with this article, our faith is separated from all other beliefs on earth, for the Jews do not have this, neither have the Turks and Saracens, also no Papist or false Christian ... therefore, if you come to Turkey, where you can have no preachers nor books, there speak to yourself, either in bed or at work, be it with words or in thought, your Our Father, the faith, and the Ten Commandments, and when you come to this article (i.e. the second), then press your thumb on one finger or otherwise give a sign with your hand or your foot, so that you remember this article well and keep it in mind.*²⁸

1529, the year of the most massive military advances of the Turks, was also the year in which the Lutheran catechism was written²⁹ – hardly an only external chronological coincidence.

solum turpia ipsorum narrarint, Scilicet quod senserunt, id quod res est, si ad disputandum de religione veniatur, totus Papatus cum omnibus suis caderet nec possent fidem suam tueri et fidem Mahometi confutare [...].“ WA 30 II, p. 206,15–22; p. 207,3–8.

26 WA 30 II, p. 207,3–4. (qtd. above in note 25).

27 “Cum enim in vicino nunc Turcam et suam religionem habeamus, monendi sunt nostri, ne specie religionis illorum et facie morum commoti aut vilitate nostrae fidei ac morum diffinitate offensi negent Christum suum et Mohemetum sequantur. Sed discant religionem Christi aliud esse quam caeremonias et mores. Atque Fidem Christi prorsus nihil discernere, utrae caeremonie, mores et leges sint meliores aut deteriores, Sed omnes in unam massam confusas dicat ad iustitiam nec esse satis nec eis esse opus.” WA 30 II, p. 207,24–31.

28 “[...] durch diesen Artikel wird unser Glaube gesondert von allen andern Glauben auf Erden, denn die Juden haben des nicht, die Türken und Sarazener auch nicht, dazu kein Papist noch falscher Christ... darum, wo du in die Türkei kommst, da du keine Prediger noch Bücher haben kannst, da erzähle bei dir selbst, es sei im Bette oder in der Arbeit, es sei mit Worten oder Gedanken, dein Vater unser, den Glauben und die Zehn Gebot, und wenn du auf diesen Artikel [i.e., the second] kömmt, so drucke mit dem Daumen auf einen Finger oder gib dir sonst etwa ein Zeichen mit der Hand oder Fuß, auf dass du diesen Artikel dir wohl einbildest und merklich machest.” WA 30 II, p. 186,15–24.

29 For the context see: M. Brecht, Martin Luther: Zweiter Band: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 267–85; G. Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation, Cambridge 1993, pp. 100–101.

In the face of fear of Ottoman invasion, Luther instrumentalized the Transylvanian's *Tractatus* in order to distinguish his apologetic theological idea of *religio Christiana* in the context of catechetical preparation, as anti-Roman. This has to be seen in the framework of a publication campaign of the Wittenberg theologians which began immediately after the siege of Vienna. It was motivated by news they had received about the Franciscan prophet Johann Hilten after their return from the Marburg Colloquy.³⁰ Now, they also wanted to make their interpretation of the "little horn" (Daniel 7) with regard to the Turks known to the public. This interpretation was shared by Melancthon, Jonas, and Luther.³¹ For now, they had found a description of the Turks in the Holy Scripture, and, at the same time, they had found the exegetic support for the certainty of the Turks' military victory over *christianitas*. It was additionally confirmed by the prophetic testimony of Hilten. With Luther's introduction to the book of Daniel,³² this historical theological concept of interpretation, which coincided with several pre-Reformation prophetic traditions – especially those which were compiled in Lichtenbergers *Prognosticatio*³³ –, was implemented into the basic eschatological knowledge of Lutheran confessional culture.³⁴

III.

The perception of Islam as a Christian heresy, however, which had been accepted since Johannes Damascenus,³⁵ remained valid next to the perception of Islam presented in

mation, Baltimore/London 1978; R.J. Bast, *Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600*, Leiden et al. 1997; G. Bode, *Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther*, in: R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, Leiden/Boston 2008, pp. 159–204; T. Kaufmann, *Das Bekenntnis im Luthertum des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, in: ZThK 105 (2008), pp. 281–314, esp. pp. 294–301.

30 See G. May, *Marburger Religionsgespräch*, in: TRE 22 (1992), pp. 75–79.

31 Justus Jonas [Philipp Melancthon], *Das siebend Capitel Danielis/von des Türcken Gottes lesterung und schrecklicher morderey mit Unterricht Justi Jonae*, Wittenberg, Hans Lufft [1530]; re the printing: H.-J. Köhler, *Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts Teil I*, vol. 2, Tübingen 1992, pp. 139–40, no. 1789; Ex. MF 481 no. 1291; see T. Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein" (as in note 3), pp. 192–4 (footnote 264); instructive: A. Seifert, *Der Rückzug der biblischen Prophetie von der neueren Geschichte: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichstheologie des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Protestantismus*, Cologne/Vienna 1990, pp. 11–20.

32 WA Deutsche Bibel 11/2, pp. 1–181.

33 Johannes Lichtenberger, *Prognosticatio super magna illa saturni ac Iovis coniunctiae* [Cologne, Peter Quentell], 1526; VD 16 L1592; H.-J. Köhler, *Bibliographie* (as in note 31), vol. 2, p. 304, Nr. 2135; Ex. MF 1642f Nr. 4217; German ed. Wittenberg, Hans Lufft 1527; VD 16 L1597; Ex. MF 982f Nr. 2309; ed. of Luther's preface: WA 23, p. 7–21; on this point, see: D. Kurze, *Johannes Lichtenberger* [† 1503]: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Prophetie und Astrologie, Lübeck, Hamburg 1960; H. Talkenberger, *Sintflut: Prophetie und Zeitgeschehen in Texten und Holzschnitten astrologischer Flugschriften 1488–1528*, Tübingen 1990; T. Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein" (as in note 3), esp. pp. 195–6.

34 For my view on this matter, which clearly diverges from, e.g., Kolb's primarily theological-historical and doxographic approach (see Introduction, in: R. Kolb, *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture* (as in note 29), pp. 1–14, esp. pp. 5–8), see T. Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur* (as in note 9), esp. pp. 14–16.

35 J. Damascène, *Écrits sur l'Islam, présentation, commentaires et traduction* par R. Laymon Le Coz, Paris 1992; R. Gleij/A.T. Khoury (eds), *Schriften zum Islam/Johannes Damszenus und Theodor Abn-Qurra, Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe*, Würzburg 1995; compare D. Sakas, *The Arab Character of the Christian Dispu-*

Georgius's *Tractatus*, which has not quite correctly been called "ethnographical" by researchers. The earlier interpretation had been perpetuated by Petrus Venerabilis,³⁶ Nicholas of Kues, Ricoldus, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and many other influential authors, as well as by a convert treatise like that of Juan Andres,³⁷ which was published in Latin translation by the Lutheran Johann Lauterbach.³⁸ Andres's treatise found a compact contemporary elaboration in Bernhard von Luxemburg's *Catalogus haereticorum* of 1522, in which "Mahometus" was listed immediately after "Lutherani."³⁹ The condemnation of Islam in the first article of the *Confessio Augustana*,⁴⁰ which, concerning the trinity, mentions the Mahometists in the same breath as the heretics of the old faith,⁴¹ stands in line with a broad stream of ecclesiastical historical tradition, which also shows an after-effect in the relevant *Turcica* of early modern Protestantism. Different from the type of perception represented by the Transylvanian Georgius, which was shaped by his own experiences and was thus "expertogen,"⁴² the tradition of interpretation of Islam as heretic refers mainly to historical knowledge about Muhammad's beginnings. This mode

tation with Islam: The Case of John of Damascus (ca. 655–ca. 749), in: F. Niewöhner/B. Lewis (eds), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 185–205; S. Schreiner, *Der Islam als politisches und theologisches Problem der Christen und die Anfänge christlich-antislamischer Polemik*, in: H. Schmid/A. Renz/J. Sperber/D. Terzi (eds), *Identität durch Abgrenzung? Wechselseitige Abgrenzungen in Christentum und Islam*, Regensburg 2007, pp. 119–38, esp. pp. 132–6.

- 36 See R. Gleis (ed.), *Petrus Venerabilis: Die Schriften zum Islam*, Altenberge 1985; J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton 1964; see M.R. Menocal, *Die Palme im Westen: Muslime, Juden und Christen im alten Andalusien*, Berlin 2003, pp. 245–9; on the heresiological discourse in connection with Islam in Western theology of the twelfth century, see J.V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York/Chichester 2002, pp. 135–69; J. Martinez/O. de la Cruz/C. Ferrero/N. Petrus, *Die lateinischen Koran-Übersetzungen in Spanien*, in: M. Lutz-Bachmann/A. Fidora (eds), *Juden, Christen und Muslime: Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2004, pp. 27–39.
- 37 See H. Bobzin, *Bemerkungen zu Juan Andrés und seinem Buch Confusión de la secta mahomática* (Valencia 1515), in: M. Forstner (ed.), *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1991, pp. 529–48.
- 38 J. Lauterbach, *De bello contra turcas suscipiendo ... Confusio sectae Mahometanae ab eodem latinitate donata*, Leipzig. A. Lamberg 1595; VD 16 L754; Ex. SuB Göttingen 8 Hist 629; Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 2, footnote 20, p. 537 Nr. 2043; regarding the printings beginning in 1594 see H. Bobzin, *Bemerkungen* (as in note 37), p. 532, footnote 13.
- 39 *Catalogus hereticorum omnium pene, qui ad haec usque tempore passim literarum monumentis proditi sunt, illorum nomina, errores, et tempora ...*, Editio secunda [Cologne, Eucharius Cervicornus], 1523; VD 16 B1986; Ex. SuB Göttingen 8 HEE 794/3, J 7 r/v.
- 40 *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 9th ed. Göttingen 1982, p. 51,5. Islam is predominantly considered the incarnation of antitrinitarianism, see W. Maurer, *Historischer Kommentar zur Confessio Augustana*, vol. 1: *Einleitung und Ordnungsfragen*, 2nd ed. Gütersloh 1979, p. 66 footnote 10.
- 41 On the antitrinitarianism during the Reformation see primarily: G.H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. Kirksville 2000, pp. 945–8, passim; R. Dan/A. Pirnát (eds), *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, Budapest et al. 1982; M. Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism (1566–1571): From Servet to Palaologos*, Baden-Baden 1996; C.J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians: Johann Silvan, Adam Neuser, Matthais Vehe, Jacob Suter, Johann Hasler*, Baden-Baden 1989.
- 42 A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben: "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2003. My critique of Höfert's methodology addresses on the one hand her practice of "fragmenting" integral sources, of which she primarily examines those parts which are interesting for ethnography, and on the other hand the inherent modernization-theory perspective, which distinguishes "new" ethnographic modes of perception from traditional heresiological ones, only the former of which are ascribed by Höfert with significance for the future. In my opinion, the perceptual approaches are inextricably bound up with one another in many sources.

of perception dealt with “Mahometism” and less with the actual religion of the Ottoman superpower, that is, “Turkish religion,” which was strongly associated with the Ottoman military threat.

In addition, there is a third mode of perception of foreign religion that I would like to call hermeneutic dogmatic. It concentrated mainly on the discussion of the Holy Scripture of the Turks and the doctrines inherent in it. In 1530, Luther had still met this kind of dispute with skepticism, and in the *Cribratio* by Nicholas of Kues and in Ricoldus’s *Confutatio*, he had seen nothing but polemic distortions. In Luther’s opinion, they were not able to convince anybody, as they ignored the “bona” contained in the Qur’an.⁴³ Twelve years later, after Luther had had the opportunity to inspect a manuscript of the Latin translation of the Qur’an by Robert von Ketton, he began to translate Ricoldus’s script, thus advocating the very procedure that he had earlier rejected.⁴⁴ Luther’s translation of Ricoldus⁴⁵ can be interpreted as a publicist activity in support of the 1543 Qur’an edition by Bibliander. The resistance of the Basel council to printing the book had been finally wrestled down by the votes of Luther and Melanchthon.⁴⁶ It was the conviction of the Wittenberg theologians that nothing else could better impede the advance of “Turkish religion” than the distribution of this “cursed, infamous, desperate book full of lies, fables, and all kinds of atrocities,”⁴⁷ i.e., the Qur’an. Here, they had won out against the traditional view not to publish, at any cost, heretic texts.

During the sixteenth century, the three volumes of the Basel edition served as the authoritative thesaurus, offering almost all the knowledge on the subject that was available in the Occident. Besides the text of the Qur’an itself, it also contained a small anthology of the most important texts collected in the *Corpus Toletanum*, as well as some more up-to-date writings on the religion of Muhammad. Protestantism continued to perceive the Qur’an in the same way as practiced by Ricoldus, Nicholas of Kues, and others, but at the same time sublimated the polemical apologetic approach by taking individual doctrines and dogmatic statements from it, enriching them with other historical cultural knowledge on

43 See above, note 12.

44 See most recently J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam* (as in note 10), pp. 75–93, 445–66.

45 See J. Ehmann (ed.), *Ricoldus de Montecrucis* (as in note 12); Luther’s 1542 translation, entitled “Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi Prediger Ordens” is published in: WA 53, pp. 272–396; see also H. Bobzin, “Aber itzt ... hab ich den Alcoran gesehn Latinisch ...” Gedanken Martin Luthers zum Islam, in: H. Medick/P. Schmidt (eds), *Luther zwischen den Kulturen*, Göttingen 2004, pp. 260–76; H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Beirut 1995, pp. 95–152.

46 Luther’s and Melanchthon’s side-by-side texts are found in: CR 5, Nr. 2616, together with E.L. Enders, *Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, vol. 14, Leipzig 1912, Nr. 3142a, p. 259f; MBW 3, Nr. 2973; WA 53, pp. 561–72; WA Briefwechsel 10, Nr. 3802 (Luther to the Council of Basel 27 October 1542), pp. 161–3; reply, dated 8 December 1542, WA Briefwechsel 10, Nr. 3823, pp. 217–9; a seminal work, also on all issues concerning the Basel edition of the Qur’an: H. Bobzin, *Der Koran* (as in note 45), pp. 159–275; instructive concerning Bullinger: H.-M. Kirn, *Humanismus, Reformation und Antijudaismus. Der Schweizer Theologe Theodor Bibliander (1504/09–1564)*, in: A. Detmers / J. M. Lange van Ravenswaay (eds), *Bundeseinheit und Gottesvolk: Reformierter Protestantismus und Judentum im Europa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wuppertal 2005, pp. 39–58.

47 WA Briefwechsel 10, p. 162,35–36. In a polished rhetorical move, Luther implies that it was not mean or base competition among the printers in Basel but rather honorable religious attitudes which motivated the Council to initially ban printing.

Islam and confronting them with Christian doctrines, in order to rebut them according to every principle of philosophical and Christian reason. The most consistent systemization of the hermeneutic-dogmatic approach to the Qur'an in the sense of the Protestant scriptures principle goes back to the Württemberg theologian Lucas I. Osiander. His 1570 *Report/on Turkish Beliefs/Taken from the Turkish Alcoran*⁴⁸ drew on the outcome of Muhammad's claim to recognize the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition as his predecessors. From his own premises, Osiander claimed, the Qur'an has to concede that it can be measured against the Christian Bible. Since Muhammad himself had, for example, recognized and accepted the Pentateuch as "God's word in his conscience,"⁴⁹ all relevant doctrinal propositions of the Qur'an should therefore be measured, according to Lutheran scripture, against the Bible and against the Biblical truths that had entered the Qur'an. Under the condition that the Bible was a document of revelation – which was recognized by the Qur'an, albeit with the claim to overcome it –, the doctrinal comparative method of Osiander follows an intrinsic apologetic plausibility.

Based on this principle, Osiander could clearly surpass medieval tendencies to controversy by criticizing the lack of exculpation doctrine⁵⁰ and guiding the discussion of "Turkish religion" along the same methodological standards that shaped the intra-Christian controversies. Osiander aimed at profiling the Lutheran controversies about the Qur'an against anti-Islamic polemics from the Roman side and, at the same time, at becoming independent of the "expert knowledge" of "ethnographs," former slaves and travelers like Georgius de Hungaria.

IV.

By way of conclusion, let me highlight five points:

1. The Protestant Reformers appropriated pre-Reformation modes and traditions of knowledge and perception of the "Turkish religion" with the utmost impartiality if they could be integrated into their specific set of interests.

48 L. Osiander, Bericht/Was der Turcken glaub sey/gezogen auß dem Türckischen Alcoran/sammt desselbigen Widerlegung..., Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart W., 1570; VD 16 O 1182; Ex. MF 1839f Nr. 3046; see re Lukas Osiander (1534–1604), who worked in Stuttgart as court priest and consistorial councilor from 1569, H. Fischer, Osiander, Lukas, in: RGG, vol. 6, 4th ed. 2003, col. 720–1; DBETH, vol. 2, 2005, pp. 1013–4; to Lukas Osiander in debate, in particular, with members of the Societas Jesu, see K. Bremer, Religionsstreitigkeiten: Volkssprachliche Kontroversen zwischen Altgläubigen und evangelischen Theologen im 16. Jahrhundert, Tübingen 2005, throughout; see also T. Kaufmann, Konfession und Kultur (as in note 9), see v. in the index.

49 L. Osiander, Bericht (as in note 48), p. 5.

50 Osiander commented on the quintessence of the difference between Muslim and Christian understanding of faith: "Dann wann Mahomet von dem Glauben an Gott sagt so meint er anderst nicht/dann daß man glauben soll/daß ein einiger Gott sey/der den frommen des ewig leben und Paradiß/den bösen aber das höllisch Fewr gebe/Wie aber Gott umm Christi willen uns gnädig werde/davon weist und lehret er kein enig Wort. Und wann er schon sagt/man soll Christo glauben/so meinest er doch nichts anders [...] dann allein/man soll glauben/daß Christus ein fürtrefflicher Prophet sey gewesen [...]". L. Osiander, Bericht (as in note 48), pp. 86–87.

2. In order to interpret the respective motives behind a relevant textual appropriation, an analysis of the specific historical micro-contexts of the publication strategies is essential. The series of military successes by Suleiman, namely the conquest of Belgrade (1521), the taking of Rhodos (1522), and finally – enormously exaggerated in publications⁵¹ – the battle of Mohács (1526), were exploited in propaganda by the old faith, as a consequence of the rumor that Luther had allegedly denied any right to defend Europe against the Turks. Furthermore, hope existed for the Turks in the radical milieu of the Reform movement, which grew in an uncontrollable way.⁵² Müntzer had banked on the support of the Ottomans in his struggle against the princes.⁵³ His heir, Hans Hut,⁵⁴ and Hut's heir, Augustin Bader,⁵⁵ nursed this chiliastic hope beyond the Peasants' War within the scattered smallest groups of apocalyptic Anabaptism in Upper Germany. The small group of the righteous would unite with the Turks to finish the rule of the godless and to usher in the Millennial Empire of Christ. By incorporating and distributing pre-Reformation literature on the Turks, the Wittenberg Reformation placed itself within the tradition of the Latin European *christianitas*. It did that in double dissociation both from the old faith and from the radical reformatory challenge.

3. The Protestant Reformers did not invent the strategy of disputing a rejected spiritual or religious tradition by publishing its core texts. In his foreword to his edition of the Qur'an, Bibliander legitimized his undertaking⁵⁶ by reaching far back into history: to resolutions of *consilia* of the Old Church making it mandatory for clerics to deal with heresies in order to refute them; to Petrus Venerabilis, who, when sending Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an to Bernard of Clairvaux, had called for writing against the "Muhammadan heresy" in full knowledge of its Holy Scripture. Bibliander also referred to the model of the Humanists who were dealing with sources of pagan religious history and to Reuchlin's defense of the Talmud in order to refute Judaism.⁵⁷ Consequently, what the Reformers did in relation to "heresy" was not qualitatively "new," but new in regard to quantity, in going beyond limits. For not only scholars, but every Christian who

51 See primarily C. Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 1 (as in note 20), pp. 131–150, Nr. 233–275.

52 See T. Kaufmann, "Türckenbüchlein" (as in note 3), pp. 47–54.

53 Müntzer had allowed Turks as well an access to faith and had expected the Ottomans to usher in the initiation of apocalyptic "change." See primarily: G. Franz (ed.), *Thomas Müntzer: Schriften und Briefe*, Gütersloh 1968, p. 505,1–4; p. 430,31–432,3; p. 314,5–6; see as well D. Fauth, *Das Türkenbild bei Thomas Müntzer*, in: *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 11 (1994), pp. 2–12; on Müntzer see primarily G. Seebaß, *Müntzer, Thomas*, in: *TRE* 23 (1994), pp. 414–36.

54 Seminal text: G. Seebaß, *Müntzers Erbe: Werk, Leben und Theologie des Hans Hut*, Gütersloh 2002, in particular pp. 216–20.

55 A. Schubert, *Täuferium und Kabbalah: Augustin Bader und die Grenzen der Radikalen Reformation*, Gütersloh 2008.

56 *Machumetis Saracenorum Principis; Eiusque Successorum Vitae, Ac doctrina, Ipseque Alcoran Hic adiunctae sunt Confutationes multorum . . .*, [Basel, Joh. Oporin], 1543; VD 16 K 258475; Ex. HAB Wolfenbüttel T 624 Helmst 2o(1), a1v; a4r; a5rf.

57 See the following on this point: H. Petersen, *Jacobus Hoogstraeten gegen Johannes Reuchlin: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Antijudaismus im 16. Jahrhundert*, Mainz 1995; A. Herzig / J. H. Schoeps with the co-operation of S. Rohde (eds), *Reuchlin und die Juden*, Sigmaringen 1993; D. Hocke / B. Roeck (eds), *Die Welt im Augenspiegel: Johannes Reuchlin und seine Zeit*, Stuttgart 2002.

was able to read should basically be enabled to make his own judgment and to prepare for a personally decisive rejection of “Turkish religion.” In view of the dreaded Ottoman conquest of Europe, which was believed to be inevitable, the numerous Turkish sermons published mainly by Protestants in the late sixteenth century delivered basic information on “Turkish religion” with the intention of making Christians keep their faith.⁵⁸ The fact that a text like the *Tractatus* of Georgius de Hungaria was mainly distributed by Protestant print presses and especially in the peoples’ language, and that the Qur’an translation by Robert of Ketton, initiated by the Cluniac abbot Petrus Venerabilis, ended with an index of banned books,⁵⁹ was due to tendencies of dealing with foreign knowledge that finally separated the confessions. The assertive dynamics of the Reformation were also due to the fact that it seemingly succeeded in overcoming those conditions which Luther saw characterized by the fact that “priests, monks, and laymen are more hostile among themselves than Turks and Christians.”⁶⁰

4. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, perspectives on “Turkish religion” became more varied. Traditional perceptions such as heresiology did not simply die; newer so-called ethnographic views were added. Other new approaches to the Qur’an like the hermeneutic apologetic one were methodologically improved and placed on a fundament of source editions. The pluralization of perspectives and the co-existence of persistence and innovation in modes of perception played a part in determining the handling of “Turkish religion.” The Reformation was part of these complex cultural and intellectual historical developments; it even played a decisive role in the pluralization of perspectives by “Turkicizing” the confessional adversary.⁶¹ In publications of the Reformation period, this “Turkicization” began early and dominated mutual patterns of evaluation by both Roman Catholics and Lutherans: The Lutherans charged the “Papists” with hypocrisy based on works’ righteousness, which in the Lutheran view put the Papists far behind the achievements of the Muslims. And the Catholics saw in the Lutherans a sexual abandon ultimately introduced by the Wittenberg monk, a rebellious iconoclasm, and a readiness for physical militancy, which they could elsewhere only identify among the Turks. The Lutherans, finally, criticized certain doctrinal peculiarities of the Reformed churches as “Turkish” not only with regard to Christology and the doctrine of the holy trinity, but also concerning the question of imagery and other issues. In the face of the intensity of

58 The reformatory theologoumenon of the priesthood of all believers, which annulled the dichotomy between clerici and laici, presented the pre-condition for this intensification of publishing in the dissemination of cultural religious knowledge of “Turkish religion.” Regarding this point see: Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Priestertum der Glaubenden. Vorläufige Beobachtungen zur Rolle der Laien in der frühreformatorischen Publizistik anhand einiger Wittenberger und Baseler Beispiele*, in: H. Kühne (ed.), *Festschrift Siegfried Bräuer*, Mülhausen 2010 (forthcoming); H. Goertz, *Allgemeines Priestertum und ordiniertes Amt bei Luther*, Marburg 1997; most recently: T.J. Wengert, *Priesthood, Pastors, Bishops: Public Ministry for the Reformation and Today*, Minneapolis 2008.

59 See F.H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, vol. 1, Bonn 1883, new printing Aalen 1967, p. 137 footnote 3.

60 “Pfaffen, Mönich, Laien untereinander feinder worden seien dann Türken und Christen.” WA 6, p. 354, 11–12.

61 See on this point T. Kaufmann, “Türckenbüchlein” (as in note 3), pp. 42–47, 174–94.

these mutual strategies to “turkicize,” the evocation of the so-called “Christian occident” has to be exposed as an ideological chimera.⁶²

5. The cultural coherence between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries is manifold and cannot be overlooked.⁶³ However, this cultural coherence does not exist despite, but precisely because of, the rupture that the Papal Church caused by banning Luther and by Luther’s reactive excommunication of the Papal Church.⁶⁴ This was because this rupture forced those who aimed at a reformation of the church (in the sense of the Wittenberg theologians) to revise the tradition of the Latin European *christianitas* in particular and to annex those issues which they were willing to accept as valid as their heritage. In this sense, the Reformation also became a decisive instance of mediation between the Middle Ages and the Confessional Era, and up to modern times.

The fact that the historical magnitude of the rupture which tore apart occidental Christianity following 1520 began to take effect exactly during the period that the Ottomans threatened Europe as never before – in the third decade of the sixteenth century – is anything but a coincidental synchronicity. Without the Turks, the Reformation would hardly have survived. It was Suleiman’s pressure on the Habsburg Empire that forced Charles V and Ferdinand to accept compromises towards the Imperial Protestant princes which ultimately saved the Reformation politically.⁶⁵ Without the military successes of the Ottomans over *christianitas*, which were seen as a punishment by God, Reformation theology and its fundamental criticism of the existing church institutions would not have fallen on as fertile ground as they did. Furthermore, without the successes of the Turks, the need to catechize to every Christian human being what it means to be a Christian and thus protect him from the seductions of “Turkish religion” would have been less pressing. In this sense, it might be no exaggeration to argue in an historically exhaustive and deeply ambitious sense: “Without the Turks, no Reformation.”

62 That the discourse on the Occident, especially against the background of its recent boom following World War II (see O. Köhler, *Abendland*, in: TRE, vol. 1, 1977, pp. 17–42, here: p. 19), requires urgent self-historization, can be seen in the revisionist debates of the German scholars of history after 1945 (see esp. W. Schulze, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945*, Munich 1989, pp. 211–20).

63 See on this point T. Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur* (as in note 9), pp. 7–14; T. Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (as in note 3), pp. 62–92, et passim.

64 See T. Kaufmann, *Martin Luther*, 2nd ed. Munich 2010, p. 53; T. Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (as in note 3), pp. 226–99.

65 See S.A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism 1521–1555*, Cambridge 1959; W. Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1978; concerning the virulence of the Turkish question in political discourse of the Holy Roman Empire, see most recently: A. Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt: Politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555–1648)*, Leiden et al. 2007, pp. 251–60.

“Religions, Sects, and Heresy” – Religion on the Indian Subcontinent in Early Modern German Texts

Antje Flüchter

RESÜMEE

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Konzeptionalisierung von Religion und die Wahrnehmung von Religionen. Zunächst wird gefragt, wie frühneuzeitliche Europäer die religiösen Gruppen in Indien bezeichneten, um in einem zweiten Schritt das Konzept von Religion mit dem des „Heidentums“ zu kontrastieren. Als letztes wird nachgezeichnet, mit welchen Kriterien eine Hierarchie zwischen den Religionen konstruiert wurde. Da Religion in der Frühen Neuzeit eine Grundstruktur des gesellschaftlichen Lebens darstellte, können diese Fragen nicht nur anhand theologischer Traktate behandelt werden. Daher werden Texte protestantischen Theologen neben solche von meist weniger gebildeten deutschen Angestellten der niederländischen Ostindien-Kompanie (VOC) gestellt. Es zeigte sich, dass es keine einheitliche Wahrnehmung der indischen Religionen gab. Die Kategorie Religion diente dazu, die Wahrnehmung der Vielfalt Indiens zu strukturieren, und war in der Frühen Neuzeit eine der wenigen Möglichkeiten, die europäische Überlegenheit zu konstruieren. In der Frühen Neuzeit wurden die Religionen meist in eine graduelle Hierarchie gebracht, diese Art der Ordnung trat in der kolonialen Phase hinter der Dichotomie Orient-Okzident zurück.

When Vasco da Gama reaches the Southern Indian city of Calicut in 1498, he encounters Moorish merchants and a Christian society. On the way to see the King of Calicut, his Indian escort shows him several churches, one of which they enter: It is huge as a cloister, with nicely carved stone, and a tiled roof. Inside, there is a chapel with a bronze door and da Gama notices a small image that the locals tell him displays the Mother of God. Vasco da Gama and his companions say their prayers before the image. The

travel account goes on to describe further similarities (and contrasts) to familiar Western Christian churches and practices: Along the walls of the church are small graves and the churchmen wear cords around their upper body, "like our priests wear their stole." They sprinkle holy water, but also give all of the travelers white clay to put on their foreheads and necks as the local Christians do. There are many pictures of saints painted on the walls, all with glories, but, and that astonishes the Portuguese, they look a bit strange: they have huge teeth, which stick out of their mouths by several inches and – even worse – they have four or five arms each.¹ The modern reader of this travel account might be surprised by encountering a Christian society in Southern India or the church as an important place in the *adventus* ritual. If, however, the reader has some knowledge of Indian religions, the detail about the alleged Christian priest's cords might evoke associations with the Brahmin cord. This suspicion is corroborated when da Gama receives clay to mark himself; for the modern, globally interested reader, the riddle is solved when the author describes the wonderment over the long teeth and the many arms. This could not be a Christian church; it was rather a temple, possibly a Vaishnava temple. But what about the early modern reader? What about the perceptions of these early Portuguese travelers? Did they have the epistemic tools to recognize an Indian temple? The common interpretation is that the Portuguese simply misunderstood these Indian temples as Christian churches.² One of the goals that motivated their adventurous journey to Asia was to track down the legendary Priest John as a mighty ally against the Islamic powers, and hence they expected to meet Christians in the East. Vasco da Gama found what he was looking for.

This anecdote and its possible interpretations lead to the heart of the question how religions are perceived and conceived within a transcultural perspective. In this paper, this question is applied to early modern German discourses about India. I will begin by analyzing the semantic field of 'religion': How did Europeans name religious groups in early modern India? In a second step, the paper asks how religion was conceptualized in transcultural encounters. Here, religion will also be contrasted with the concept of 'heathendom,' or non-Christian faiths. The third step will be to examine the criteria for constructing a hierarchy among religions, one of which crucially concerned the degree of rationality in a religion. In this third section, the study's timeline will extend to the nineteenth century, because the definition of reason and rationality changed drastically between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

I intend to tackle this problem and my questions by analyzing German Protestant texts about India.³ The corpus of sources mainly consists of two kinds of texts published in

1 V. d. Gama, *Die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Indien. Ein Augenzeugenbericht 1497–1499*, Berlin 1986, pp. 85–86.

2 For example: S. Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, New Delhi et al. 1997, esp. pp. 130–3.

3 The Catholic perspective is deliberately left out in this article. Jesuits tracts and compilations were very important for the erudite European discourse like the Protestant tracts analyzed here, whereas for German discourse, they became important only in the early eighteenth century with J. Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott oder Aller-*

the seventeenth century: On the one hand, there are academic theological tracts, on the other hand, travelogues by employees of the VOC, the Dutch East India Company.⁴ Regarding the former, two are discussed: the book *Unterschiedliche Gottesdienste in der ganzen Welt* (Different Religious Services Around the World)⁵ by the Anglican clergyman Alexander Ross. Its German edition, published in 1674, included a text by Bernhard Varenius, another clergyman. I will also examine, as a second example, the book *Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum*,⁶ by the Dutch reformed clergy Abraham Rogerius, who lived from 1632 to 1642 in Palicat, a Dutch factory town in India. Rogerius's book was published in German in 1663. Both texts were important in early modern discourses about India; both were, for example, quoted and integrated in Olfert Dapper's compilation *Asia, Oder: Ausführliche Beschreibung Des Reichs des Grossen Mogols*.⁷ The inclusion of information in compilations is important in several respects. The reception process was rather selective, so it is interesting to note what was transferred or remembered, perhaps even becoming part of generally accepted knowledge, and what was forgotten. Research, however, has often focused only on learned or scholarly discourse although more than one perception on religion in India existed. Therefore I want to contrast the

hand so lehr-als geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien, und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern, seit Ann. 1642 [...] in Europa angelangt seynd. Jetzt zum erstenmal theils aus handschriftlichen Urkunden, theils aus den französischen Lettres édifiantes verteuert und zusammen getragen [...], Augsburg/Graz 1726–1758. For the Jesuit discourse, the differentiation between the social and the religious is important; thus, they can simultaneously praise the Indian customs and despise their religions. See A. Flüchter, *Mission als Grenzüberschreitung: katholische Missionare in Indien*, in: C. Roll et al. (eds), *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen*, Köln 2010 (forthcoming).

- 4 See R. v. Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: duiters in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)*, Nijmegen 1997.
- 5 A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Unterschiedliche Gottesdienste in der ganzen Welt [...] Beschreibung aller bewusten Religion, Secten und Ketzereyen, so in Asia, Africa, America und Europa von [...] Welt [...]*, Heidelberg 1674. The English original had at least 36 editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the relevance of Ross, see: H. Zedelmaier, *Der Anfang der Geschichte: Studien zur Ursprungsdebatte im 18. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 2003, pp. 185–7; J. Sheehan, *Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction*, in: *Past and Present* 192 (2006), pp. 35–66.
- 6 A. Rogerius, *Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum: Oder Warhaftige Vorweisung deß Lebens und der Sitten samt der Religion und dem Gottesdienst der Bramines, auf der Cust Chormandel, und denen herumliegenden Ländern/mit kurzen Anm. aus d. Niederländ. Übers. Samt Christoph Arnolds auserlesenen Zugaben von d. asiat. african. U. amerikan. Religionssachen [...]*, Nürnberg 1663. Rogerius's work was and is praised because of its rather objective perspective towards non-Christian religion. Recently, it was proven that he relied heavily on older texts, written by Jesuits, cf. J. Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München 1998, p. 172; J. v. Goor, *Toleranz und Anerkennung von Andersartigkeit. Über die Wertigkeit und Nützlichkeit des Menschen in den Gebieten des VOC Handelsmonopols*, in: H. Lademacher/R. Loos/S. Groenvelde (eds), *Ablehnung – Duldung – Anerkennung. Toleranz in den Niederlanden und in Deutschland. Ein historischer und aktueller Vergleich*, Münster et al. 2004, pp. 234–53, esp. p. 238.
- 7 O. Dapper, *Asia, Oder: Ausführliche Beschreibung Des Reichs des Grossen Mogols Und eines grossen Theils Von Indien: In sich haltend die Landschaften Kandahar, Kabul, Multan, Haikan, Bukkar, Send oder Diu, Jesselmeer, Attak, Peniab, Kaximir, Jangapore, Dely, Mando, Malva, Chitor, Utrad, Zuratte oder Kambaye, Chandisch, Narvar, Gwallar, Indostan, Sanbat, Bakar, Nagrakat, Dekan und Visiapour. Nebenst einer vollkommenen Vorstellung Des Königreichs Persien, Wie auch Georgien, Mengrelien, Cirkassien und anderer benachbarten Länder*, Nürnberg 1681. But even if Ross and Rogerius were important for the knowledge of Indian religion in the seventeenth century, nowadays they are rather overshadowed by other works like the Jesuit texts of Athanasius Kircher's *China illustrata*, Roberto de Nobili's works, or the texts written by German missionaries in Tranquebar, such as those of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg.

texts mentioned so far with the perception of religion in travelogues written by German employees of the VOC, who mostly worked as sailors and soldiers. Their travels are unique, because these authors were usually not very learned or at least not erudite in the classical sense. Their travel accounts were only rarely integrated into encyclopedias and therefore not often included within accepted knowledge about India.⁸ However, the travel writing of VOC sailors and soldiers mirrors a more everyday perception of India, a perception "below" the learned discourse. In short, research focusing only on the learned discourse is misleading. In the second and third parts of this paper, these two kinds of sources are compared with texts that reorganized the information on India in German and European discourses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

If we speak of early modern India, the image of colonial British India, the so-called British Raj, is often overpowering. Yet, before the second half of the eighteenth century, the situation was quite different in terms of power asymmetries: Until the death of Mogul Aurangzeb in the year 1707, the Mughal hegemony over the Indian subcontinent was nearly unchallenged. The Indian-European encounter took place under the condition of Indian hegemony. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, European groups had to ask permission to gain access to the Indian markets. This fundamental power asymmetry had implications for the perception of Indian societies and state systems; because of it, early modern European travelers did not perceive Indian societies as different and inferior, but rather as different and more powerful, if not superior.⁹ Under these conditions, only a few opportunities existed to construct or mark alterity and European superiority. It must be stressed that, as far as governing structures were concerned, the Europeans looked rather for similarities than for alterity, whereas religion was one of the few aspects besides gender roles where it was possible to stress alterity and perceive European superiority.¹⁰

1. The Semantic Field

In the sources analyzed here, many different terms were used to label Indian religious groups. Labeling was an important step in the process of getting to know something as well as of explaining the Indian experience to a European audience.¹¹ Moreover, percep-

8 On the selective transfer of knowledge between different kinds of texts and media see: A. Flüchter, "Aus den fürnembsten indianischen Reisebeschreibungen zusammengezogen". Knowledge about India in Early Modern Germany, in: *Intersections: The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* 14 (2010), pp. 337–60.

9 In India, different European groups encountered different Indian societies; all these groups formed a network. Between some groups, communication was more frequent than between others; nevertheless, it is misleading to start an analysis of European perception in India with the assumption of a ubiquitous underlying dichotomy dividing Europe and Asia.

10 The author is preparing a book about the perception of Indian state structures in early modern German discourse, see: *Von der Vielfalt der Bilder zu der einen Wahrheit: Indische Staatlichkeit im deutschen Diskurs der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750)* (forthcoming 2011).

11 In published texts, considerations about the expected readers, their knowledge, and their expectations cannot be overestimated, see S. Burghartz, "Translating Seen into Scene?" *Wahrnehmung und Repräsentation in der frühen Kolonialgeschichte Europas*, in: S. Burghartz/M. Christadler/D. Nolde (eds), *Berichten – Erzählen – Be-*

tion is always structured by the terms that are used, or even more, by the labels and terms that already exist in the respective language and are thus available for use.¹²

There were a number of negative labels for non-Christian religions in India – or more precisely, religions different from the one the author believed in, because inter-Christian polemic used similar labels. One of the most trenchant labels was “verfluchte Abgötterei und Lust-Seuche der Heyden” (the damned idolatry and heathen plague of lust), as an editor tellingly wrote in the preface in a travel account by the VOC employee Christian Burkhardt.¹³ In another travel account, a Dutch clergyman, also employed by the VOC, contrasted the Christian religion with the “Heydnische Greuel” (the heathen atrocity).¹⁴ Designations like these, however, are rather rarely found.

Several different words were used in early modern German texts to label religions in India; the most commonly found terms will be analyzed here: *Ketzerey* for heresy, *Sekte* for sect, *Glaube* for belief or faith and *Gesetz* for law. Not as frequently as might be expected, non-Christian religions are sometimes termed *Ketzerey* (heresy). Secular travelers rarely used this term. It is more often found in the ethnographic works of ecclesiastics, as in the subtitle of the important work of the clergyman Alexander Ross examined here.¹⁵ In his foreword, Ross lamented that the world was full of religions, sects, and heresy.¹⁶

Sekte (sect) was used even more frequently than heresy and it is in fact the most common term indicating religious groups used in the travelogues written by the VOC employees. The ordinary use of this term characterizes a faction of a religion. Whereas nowadays sect is understood as having a pejorative connotation, in early modern travel accounts *Sekte* is used rather neutrally, except if applied to Christian sects¹⁷ and except for the fact that all non-Christian groups were ultimately understood as deficient. “Sekte” is used for the Muslim as well as for the Indian non-believer: Among the “Mahometisten” there were some who belonged to the “Hassanischen Secte”¹⁸ who followed not the Turkish but “the Persian sect,” as Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo put it.¹⁹ The subgroups of the

herrschen. Wahrnehmen und Repräsentation in der frühen Kolonialgeschichte Europas, Frankfurt a. M. 2003, pp. 161–75.

12 M. Juneja / M. Pernau, Einleitung, in: M. Juneja (eds), Religion und Grenzen in Indien und Deutschland: auf dem Weg zu einer transnationalen Historiographie, Göttingen 2008, pp. 9–53, esp. pp. 14–16.

13 C. Burkhardt, Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung / Oder Kurtzgefaßter Abriß von Ost-Indien/und dessen angränzenden Provinzien, bevorab wo die Holländer ihren Sitz und Trafiquen maintainieren etc., Halle/Leipzig 1693, To the reader, no pagination.

14 J.C. Hoffmann, Reise nach dem Kaplande, nach Mauritius und nach Java: 1671–1676. Neu hrsg. nach d. zu Cassel im J. 1680 ersch. Orig.-Ausg., Haag 1931, p. 74.

15 The subtitle of the German translation is: Beschreibung aller bewusten Religionen, Secten und Ketzereyen (A Description of All Known Religions, Sects, and Heresies).

16 The world is with “gar zu vielen Secten und Ketzereyen,” that is “mit gar zu vielen Religionen überhäuft,” A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p.)(iii.

17 Alexander Ross, e.g., wrote in a negative way about the many different opinions of the heretic Christian sects, see A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p. 884.

18 J. Andersen / V. Iversen, Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen. In der Bearbeitung von Adam Olearius, Schleswig 1669, ed. Dieter Lohmeier, Tübingen 1980, p. 55.

19 J.A. v. Mandelslo, Des Hoch-Edelgebohrnen Johann Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenländische Reise-Beschreibung: worinnen zugleich die Gelegenheit und heutiger Zustand etlicher fürnehmen indianischen Länder, Provinzien, Städte und Insulen ... beschrieben werden, ed. Adam Olearius, Hamburg 1696, p. 75. Johann Albrecht

Indian non-believers, mostly called Benjanen or Jenitven,²⁰ were also called "Sekten."²¹ However, concerning the Indian non-believers, it is debatable if *Sekte* was primarily a religious concept since it included social and political aspects. It was difficult for early modern Europeans to cope with the diversity among Indian people in general and also with the social formation that later on was termed caste. The VOC employees used many phrases for the different and socially distinct Indian societies: *Kaste* (caste), *Geschlecht* (house or family), *Zunft* (guild), or likewise *Sekte*. And there is one more term that oscillates in a similar way between a religious and a sociological meaning, namely, *Nation* or nation²² in the early modern sense. In some of the German VOC travel accounts, "Nation und Religion" seems to be used like a hendiadys.²³ The Indian "Jentiven" and "Benjanen" could also be understood as two "Nationen." Another VOC employee wrote: Two "Nationen" lived on the Coromandel Coast, namely the "Mohren" or Moors and the "Jentiven." This traveler, Johann Jacob Saar, was not very much interested in religious aspects, so in the following paragraph he distinguishes the "Mohren" and "Jentiven" according to their clothing and their "Humors," that is, in a proto-medical sense; because of their different humors, they are always in antagonism and often wage war against each other.²⁴ Saar makes no mention of religious difference at all.

Sometimes *Sekte* is used as a synonym for religion, mostly regarding Islam. For example, the VOC employee Johann Sigismund Wurffbain used *Sekte* and *Religion* as synonyms to

von Mandelslo was a young nobleman from Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf who traveled via Persia to India. His travelogue is included in this study because it was published by Adam Olearius, who also published the reports by Jürgen Andersen and Volquart Iversen, both VOC employees. Olearius edited all three texts quite thoroughly, so the intertextual relations between their reports are very close.

- 20 On the terms *Jentiven* and *Benjanen* as well as the problematic modern term Hinduism, see the second part of this article.
- 21 J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), pp. 204–5. J.S. Wurffbain, *Vierzehn Jährige Ost-Indianische Krieg= und Ober=Kauffmanns= Dienste. In einem richtig geführten Journal und Tage-Buch. In welchen Viel Denckwürdige Begebenheiten wohlbeglaubte Erzählungen/fern entlegener Länder und dero Einwohner annehmliche Beschreibungen/ausländischer Gewächse und Thiere deutliche Erklärungen/sambt vielen in Handlungs-Sachen dienlichen Wichtigkeiten vorgestellt werden*, Sulzbach/Nürnberg 1686, p. 132; J. v. Twist, *Aus der Indianischen Beschreibung Johannis von Twist/der Niederländischen Compagnie Handlungs-Direktoren in den Indianischen Städten*, in: A. Ross/B. Varenus, *Gottesdienste* (as in note 5), pp. 1021–7, esp. p. 1022. Nowadays special, mostly ascetic groups inside Hinduism are also called *Sekten*; however, that is again a different concept of *Sekte*, cf. A. Michaels, *Der Hinduismus. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, München 1998, p. 349.
- 22 The term nation is much older than the modern nation state. It described a group and it mostly related the identity of a group to its origin. Important research concerning the humanist discourse of nation has been done, cf. H.G. Münkler/H. Grünberger, *Nationale Identität im Diskurs der Deutschen Humanisten*, in: H. Berding (ed.), *Nationales Bewußtsein und kollektive Identität*, Frankfurt 1996, pp. 211–47; C. Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen. Konstruktionen einer deutschen Ehrgemeinschaft an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2005. The analyses of travelogues, however, has demonstrated that the term nation was used by ordinary people in a more arbitrary way.
- 23 J.J. Merklein, *Reise nach Java, Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, China und Japan. 1644–1653*. Neu hrsg. nach d. zu Nürnberg im Verl. von Endter 1672 gedr. verb. Ausg. des 1663 zum 1. Mal ersch. Textes, Haag 1930, p. 54; J.A. v. Mandelslo, *Reise-Beschreibung* (as in note 19), p. 74.
- 24 "Weil Sie aber dabey unterschiedlichen Humors sind, stehen sie immerzu in Differenz, und führen grosse Krieg untereinander." J.J. Saar, *Reise nach Java, Banda, Ceylon und Persien. 1644–1669*. Neu hrsg. nach d. zu Nürnberg im Verl. Tauber 1672 gedr. verb. Ausg. des im Jahre 1662 zum 1. Mal ersch. Textes, Haag 1930, p. 126.

label Muslim groups.²⁵ But he also used *Sekte* as a contrast to Christianity when he wrote about a woman from the Banda Islands who was raised in the “reformierte Religion” but returned as a grown-up to the “Mahometanischen Secte.”²⁶ Maybe the root of this labeling Islam a Christian sect was the idea that Islam is a heretic sect of Christianity; this old idea can still be traced in some of the early modern theological tracts.²⁷ The author of the travel account just quoted had a secular background; this might be evidence for the general popularity of this anecdote. The different uses of the term *Sekte* are also evident if we consult Dapper’s compilation, in which *Sekte* is used for religious subgroups such as the Brahmins, as well as for larger collectives.²⁸

Islam, and more often Christianity, could also be labeled as *Glaube* (faith or belief).²⁹ If it refers to Christian belief, an opposite term might be *Aberglaube* or *Irr-Glaube* – false belief – used mostly by theologians and in compiling tracts; for example, by Bernhard Varenius or Alexander Ross. This use of *Aberglauben* can still found in the eighteenth century, in the German translation, for example, of Bernard Picart’s book *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*.³⁰ The meaning of the German term *Aberglaube* can also refer to superstition; used as such, it does not categorize a religion but characterizes certain practices, for example, the “Aberglaube” to care for the way the crows fly in the morning.³¹ However, German authors also use a Latin loan word, *superstitiones*, in the same sense. The VOC employee Merklein described the *superstitiones* of the Muslims in the kingdom of Jamby, who were pagan rather than Turkish.³² Thus he implied that Muslims were less superstitious and more rational, a criterion for ranking religions that I will tackle in the last part of this paper. In this connotation, superstition or *Aberglaube* is more often found in the reports of secular travelers.³³

25 J.S. Wurffbain, *Reisen nach den Molukken und Vorder-Indien* (1638–1646), Haag 1931, vol. 1, p. 50. Wurffbain also wrote on the islands Kay and Arrow (p. 102); cf. also P. Della Valle, *Reiß-Beschreibung in unterschiedliche Theile der Welt: Nemlich In Türrkey, Egypten, Palestina, Persien, Ostindien, und andere weit entlegene Land-schafften; Samt einer außführlichen Erzählung [...]; Erstlich [...]* in *Italianischer Sprach* beschrieben, und in 54 Send-Schreiben [...] verf. [...] vol. 4: In sich haltend eine Beschreibung der anmercklichsten Städte, und Oerter in Indien, und denen Höfen jhrer Fürsten, Genf 1674, second letter, p. 52.

26 J.S. Wurffbain, *Reisen* (as in note 25), vol. 1, p. 149.

27 For example Alexander Ross wrote about a Nestorian monk who helped Muhammad to write the Qur’an, A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Gottesdienste* (as in note 5), p. 278. On the Christian perception of Islam, or the “Turkish religion” as a heresy see also the essay by Thomas Kaufmann in this volume.

28 O. Dapper, *Asia* (as in note 7), pp. 19 and 104.

29 Jürgen Andersen labeled the Islam on Java and Sumatra as “Glaube,” see J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), pp. 15, 17.

30 B. Varenius, *Kurtzer Bericht von mancherlei Religionen der Völcker*. Aus dem Lateinischen verteutschet durch E.F., in: A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Gottesdienste* (as in note 5), pp. 942–1016, here: p. 979; A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Gottesdienste*, foreword, p. (iiiiv); D. Herrliberger, B. Picart and J. F. Stapfer, *Heilige Ceremonien, Gottes und Götzen-Dienste aller Völcker der Welt. Oder Eigentliche Vorstellung und summarischer Begriff, der vornehmsten Gottes-Dienstlichen Pflichten, Kirchen- und Tempel-Gebräuchen, der Christlich- und abgöttischen Völcker der gantzen Welt: Welche Nach des Berühmten Picarts Erfindung in Kupfer gestochen, und verlegt worden*, [Zürich] 1748, p. 9.

31 J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), p. 33.

32 J.J. Merklein, *Reise* (as in note 23), p. 20.

33 To write about Indian superstition was also a way to express one’s own intellectual superiority; however, it is misleading to understand this only in a European-Indian comparison. Moreover, it should be understood in the context of confessional polemics. Merklein as well as Andersen, the two quoted VOC employees, were Prot-

Another term used in describing oppositions is *Gesetz*: "Christlicher Glauben" as opposed to both "Mahometanisches Gesetz"³⁴ and the law which God gave the Jews. In the texts under analysis, *Gesetz* was not used in connection with any other religion than Islam and Judaism, even if a report exhaustively described the rules of such a religious group. The comparison of Christendom as a "religion of belief" with Judaism or Islam as a "religion of law" is a classic pattern in Christian theology.³⁵ It is, however, interesting that this pattern was also used in the travel reports of the VOC employees, meaning that it was not purely an element of theological discourse. As for the label *Lehre*, it is used by a VOC employee only with reference to Islam, either neutrally as in "mahometanische Lehre" or together with a pejorative adjective signifying the deceptive teaching of the Qur'an ("betrüglische Lehre des Alcorans").³⁶

The most common term for religion in the analyzed tracts and travel accounts, however, is *Religion*. If the travel accounts have an ethnographic structure, one often finds chapters like "Von der Malabaren Religion," about the religion of the peoples from the Malabar Coast.³⁷ These accounts describe the "Religion" and way of life of the non-Christians.³⁸ If the authors of the travelogues wrote in the mode of an itinerary, the respective group is characterized as belonging to the Islamic "Religion" and there are similar formulations for other religious groups.³⁹ A town might have many different kinds of "Religionen."⁴⁰ Nevertheless, one difference is important to stress: there is a Christian, Islamic, or Jewish *Religion* but not a pagan one. That is, *pagan* is not used as an adjective in the reports, but rather as a genitive construction. This may be a hint that the authors did not perceive the pagan religions as a unity or as *the* heathendom, a point that I will come back to later in this article. This neutrality of the term religion is found not only in the writings of secular travelers, but is also comparable to the semantic use in clergy tracts. Abraham Rogerius's German edition is entitled *Religion und Gottesdienst* of the pagans,⁴¹ while in Alexander

estant. For the general discussion about superstition and magic, see K. v. Greyerz, Grenzen zwischen Religion, Magie und Konfession aus der Sicht der frühneuzeitlichen Mentalitätsgeschichte, in: G.P. Marscha (ed.), Grenzen und Raumvorstellungen (11.–20. Jahrhundert) – Frontières et conceptions de l'espace (11e–20e siècle), Zürich 1996, pp. 329–43; W. Behringer, Wissenschaft im Kampf gegen den Aberglauben. Die Debatten über Wunder, Besessenheit und Hexerei, in: R. v. Dülmen/S. Rauschenbach (eds), Macht des Wissens. Die Entstehung der modernen Wissenschaftsgesellschaft, Köln/Weimar 2004, pp. 365–90.

34 J.S. Wurffbain, Reisen (as in note 25), vol. 1, about Amboina: p. 75.

35 J.T. Pawlikowski, Judentum und Christentum, in: G. Müller (ed.), Theologische Realenzyklopädie: Studienausgabe, Teil 1, Berlin 2002, pp. 386–403, here: p. 393. For uses of this theological argument by Lutheran reformers see the contribution by Thomas Kaufmann to this volume.

36 C. Burckhardt, Reise-Beschreibung (as in note 13), pp. 157, 160.

37 A. Herport, Reise nach Java, Formosa, Vorder-Indien und Ceylon. 1659–1668. Neu hrsg. n. d. zu Bern im Verl. Sponlechner 1669 ersch. Orig.-Ausg., Reisebeschreibungen von Deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienste der Niederländischen West- und Ost-indischen Kompagnien 1602–1797, ed. S.P. L'Honoré Naber, Haag 1930, p. 120 et passim.

38 For example J.J. Merklein, Reise (as in note 23), p. 97 et passim.

39 Concerning the "Javaner" see J.S. Wurffbain, Reisen (as in note 25), vol. 1, p. 62.

40 J. Andersen/V. Iversen, Reise-Beschreibungen (as in note 18), p. 30.

41 Interestingly enough that seems to be a special subtitle for the German edition; there is no comparable subtitle in the Dutch original (De open-deure Tot het verborgen heydendom, Leyden 1651) or the French translation (Amsterdam 1670); the importance of Rogerius's works at least in the context of the VOC is evident because

Ross's compilation there is a special chapter in which he compares the "christlichen und islamischen Religion" because – as he states – these are the most powerful religions in the world.⁴² Bernhard Varenius's report has a similar title.⁴³ Hence, *Religion* was not used in the sense of the true religion or the revealed religion, and thus religion is not the epitome of an exclusive claim on truth.⁴⁴ Rather, *Religion* is used as a neutral term which needed some adjective to characterize or evaluate it. The 'true' religion was always the one to which the author himself belonged. Attributes for other religions included: the "abergläubisch und pythagorisch" (superstitious and Pythagorean) religion, as Ross writes about the people in Cambaya, or "abgöttisch" (idolatrous) for the people of Siam.⁴⁵ In his foreword to a travel account, Adam Olearius confronts the only redemptive religion with an infamous superstitious religion ("allein seligmachende" versus "schändlich-abergläubische Religion").⁴⁶ Thus adjectives often used for non-Christian or, in the context of the analyzed texts, non-Protestant religions were "abergläubisch," "blind," or "verblendet" (deluded, blind). The heathens were characterized as "unwüssend" (ignorant).⁴⁷ We can see here that a very important difference between religions was their – assumed – degree of rationality, another point to which I will return later on.

As a preliminary finding of this selective analysis, it can be concluded that there were many terms used to label religions in India. There is, however, a difference between the analyzed texts. It is perhaps not surprising but nevertheless important to state that the VOC employees were much more arbitrary in choosing a term than the theologians. All the same, some terms, like *Gesetz* (law) were reserved for particular religions. Perhaps even more important is the fact that for the VOC employees, religion was not a distinct field of perception but was linked to other ascriptions. This interconnectedness is most evident in the use of the term *Sekte*. This observation may also be an indication that the boundaries between religions in early modern India were not drawn as strictly as they are in the present, but were rather permeable.⁴⁸ The more general conclusion of this semantic analysis is that not only Christianity but all religions – that is, all groups we nowadays understand as religions, as well as all kinds of veneration of anything supernatural, any system of ideas that related to such transcendency and that explained the world – were

Merklein relates Rogerius's description of "Religion, Leben und Sitten" of the 'heathen.' J.J. Merklein, *Reise* (as in note 23), p. 97.

42 A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Gottesdienste* (as in note 5), p. 278, also in the English original of Ross's work: A. Ross, *Pan-sebeia: or, A view of all religions in the world: with the several church-governments, from the Creation, to these times. Together with a discovery of all known heresies, in all ages and places, throughout Asia, Africa, America, and Europe*, London 1653.

43 Varenius uses also *religio* in his works in Latin, cf. B. Varenius, *Tractatus, in quo agitur de Japoniorum religione*, Amsterdam 1649.

44 Cf. R. Brandner, *Was ist Religion?*, Würzburg 2002, pp. 14–15.

45 A. Ross/B. Varenius, *Gottesdienste* (as in note 5), p. 140.

46 A. Olearius, *Vorwort*, in: J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), p. XV.

47 A. Herport, *Reise* (as in note 37), pp. 121, 150; J. Hoffmann, *Reise* (as in note 14), p. 2; J.S. Wurffbain, *Reisen* (as in note 25), vol. 1, p. 76.

48 Cf. M. Juneja-Huneke, *Mission, Encounters and Transnational History – Reflections on the use of Concepts across Cultures*, in: A. Gross/V. Kumaradoss/H. Liebau (eds), *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, Halle 2006, pp. 1025–45, esp. pp. 1031–3.

called *Religion* in the seventeenth century. This conclusion leads to the second part of this paper.

2. The Function and Concept of Religion

Most ordinary VOC employees shared their Protestant denomination with the here analysed theologians, but often they had different educational and social backgrounds, which is certainly one reason for the different uses of terms and labels concerning Indian religions. For an analysis of the perception of religion in early modern German texts, it is also important to ask about the function of describing or mentioning non-Christian religions in India in the respective texts and for the intended audience.⁴⁹ Therefore, in the second half of this article, the function of religion in the texts of the VOC employees and in the theological encyclopedias will be compared. To give this comparison more depth, the concepts of religion used are contrasted with the concept of 'heathendom.'

German VOC employees wrote about religion and religious practices, but not as often as the authors of more erudite reports did. Religion functioned in their texts as a tool to construct alterity in at least three ways, which were all different from the general idea of Christian and European superiority in a missionary sense. First, there was frequently a more or less latent bias against non-Christian religions, expressed in adjectives like "abschewlich" (infamous); their service was "abgöttisch" (idolatrous); the heathen themselves are "blind," "verblendet," or "unwissend" (blind, deluded, or ignorant). This construction of alterity fulfilled a compensatory function. The assumption that Christianity was the superior religion may have helped these dependent, poor, and (in the VOC) mistreated sailors and soldiers to cope with their experiences. Second, the writers were not so much interested in the belief systems per se, but in the description of exotic religious practices as an acknowledgement of the anticipated reader's curiosity: The publications needed to be sold. Third, religion was above all a criterion to organize the diversity experienced in Indian trade towns. In the travel accounts, we sometimes find a very simple pattern, such as in the above report by Johann Jacob Saar: Two *Nationen* exist in India, the *Mohren* and the *Jentiven*.⁵⁰ However, for the most part the picture is much more differentiated and more complicated. Jürgen Andersen, a VOC employee born in Schleswig-Holstein, characteristically described the inhabitants of Surat, the most important trade town of the seventeenth-century Mughal empire, as follows:

Es wird allhier grosser Handel geführt von vielen Nationen/so theils ihre Wohnung in der Stadt haben/als von Engelländern/ Holländern/ Arabern/ Persern/ Türcken/ Armen-

49 Lucian Hölscher stresses that the notion of religion changes with time and always has to be renegotiated, see L. Hölscher, Zum Wandel der religiösen Semantik in Deutschland seit der Aufklärung, in: H.G. Kippenberger/J. Rüpkke (eds), Europäische Religionsgeschichte. Ein mehrfacher Pluralismus/2, Göttingen 2009, pp. 723–46, esp. pp. 723–4.

50 J.J. Saar, Reise (as in note 24), p. 126.

*ern und Juden/ [...] Die continuierlichen Einwohner seynd Guhusatten/ Cambajer/ Benjanen/ Brahmanen/ Decanarier und etliche Rasbuten.*⁵¹

The groups in Surat are defined here in terms of both different and overlapping criteria, variously characterized as ethnic or regional (the English, Dutch, Arabs, Persian, Turks, Armenians, people from Deccan, Gujarat or Rajasthan), in terms of religious affiliation (Jews, Benjanen, Brahmins), or because of caste: the reference to Brahmins can also be understood as a social criterion. In other words, religious affiliation is represented here as only one criterion among others to distinguish groups.

Needless to say, the works of the Protestant clergymen Abraham Rogerius and Alexander Ross had a more elaborated concept of religion. Both authors conceptualize *Religion* in the strict sense as the true religion and in a wider sense as an anthropologic constant. Ross wrote that religion is a human quality that distinguishes humans from animals, comparable to reason.⁵² There are many religions in the world that might delude one, but all men, even the very barbaric ones, recognize a religion and a god.⁵³ Abraham Rogerius also declares that all humans recognize the invisible God in the visible things of the world.⁵⁴ Therefore religion for these theologians was a broadly applied term and not one restricted to the single 'true' religion. If we take a look at Zedler's *Universallexicon*, we find a similar concept of religion: *Religion* in the strict sense is defined here as service and veneration towards the true God, but in the wider sense, the entry distinguishes between revealed and natural religions because every people in the world, even the most barbaric, cruel, and wild people, have developed a kind of veneration towards a god.⁵⁵ It is thus important to note that the concept of religion as a universal of humankind is not a discovery of the eighteenth century or High Enlightenment. Burkhard Gladigow has traced it back to Renaissance thinkers like Marsilio Ficino.⁵⁶ Moreover, as was shown, this was not only a philosophical idea, but a common way of thinking. Similar quotations can be found in David Herrliberger's German translation of Picart's compilation of global religious practices, *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuse de tous les Peuples du Monde*.⁵⁷

51 J. Andersen /V. Iversen, Reise-Beschreibungen (as in note 18), p. 25; similar to Ahmedabad: p. 31, and Palicat: p. 20; or J.A. v. Mandelslo, Reise-Beschreibung (as in note 19), about Surat: p. 34 and Gujarat in general: p. 74.

52 "Welche Religion ist eine Eigenschaft/die nicht weniger dem Menschen wesentlich ist/und ihn von den unvernünftigen Thieren unterscheidet/als die Vernunft selbst." A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p.)(iiiiv.

53 "Wiewol sonst barbarisch/je dennoch ein Religion angenommen/und eine Gottheit erkandt haben." A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p.)(iii.

54 Rogerius develops an interesting concept of religion or of the relation between the religions and God: God gave the "Gesetz" to the Jews, but they were afterwards divested of this divinely revealed word; hence, they had to count on their natural reason and thus philosophy evolved.

55 J.H. Zedler, Religion, in: J.H. Zedler (ed.), Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste [...], (1731–1754), vol. 31, Halle/Leipzig 1742, col. 443–52, esp. col. 443.

56 B. Gladigow, Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Neuzeit, in: H. G. Kippenberger /J. Rüpkke (eds), Europäische Religionsgeschichte. Ein mehrfacher Pluralismus/1, Göttingen 2009, pp. 15–37, esp. pp. 25–27.

57 "Alle Völker auf dem Erdboden, sie mögen so blind seyn, als sie immer wollen, und ihr Gottes= und Götzen-dienst mag so abgeschmackt und ungereimt sein als er immer wil, erkennen doch ein höchstes und unabhäng-

In addition to the idea that a universal concept of religion did not evolve before the eighteenth century, there is the notion that early modern people assumed that there was 'one' heathendom with many sects in addition to the three monotheistic religions. The application of this assumption is evident because it can be found in Zedler's *Universallexicon*. In the lemma "Heydenthum," the world contains four religions: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Heathendom.⁵⁸ That is, all religions in the world can be divided into four groups: the three revealed religions or religions of the book, and all others as one entity. In the seventeenth century, this 'heathendom' was sometimes understood as a creation of the devil and his art of delusion. Thus Adam Olearius writes in the foreword to a travel report: The devil was very successful with the children of faithlessness ("Kinder des Unglaubens"); he was successful in being venerated by many nations of East and West India not only as the Lord of the world, but as God.⁵⁹ This conception manifested itself in the many illustrations of pagan divine service that all address the same god, probably beginning with the early sixteenth-century illustration by Jörg Breu the Elder of a statue of a god in Calicut, printed for the German edition of the travel account of Ludowico de Varthema. In the compilation *India orientalis* by Theodor de Bry and his sons, the same devilish iconography for a god is found again, but now used to illustrate the veneration of the Chinese in Bantam. In Abraham Rogerius's *Offne Thür*, the same iconography is applied to a Chinese god in China.⁶⁰ De Bry's widely read compilation was important for the pictorial household of the European imagination; thus, his image of a devil-like god became an integral part of European knowledge about non-European pagan belief,

liches Wesen, von welchem alles abhängt, und welches deßwegen soll verehret werden." See D. Herrliberger et al., *Heilige Ceremonien* (as in note 30), p. 15.

58 J.H. Zedler, Heydenthum, in: J.H. Zedler (ed.), *Universallexicon* (as in note 55), vol. 12, Halle/Leipzig 1735, col. 1998–2004, here: col. 1998. Jonathan Z. Smith has shown the relevance of this fourfold schema by quoting from a number of early erudite tracts about the world's religions, see J.Z. Smith, *Religion, Religions, Religious*, in: M.C. Taylor (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Chicago/London 1998, pp. 269–84, esp. p. 275. However, it is debatable if the concept of homogeneous idolatry or paganism also structures the individual chapters of these works. If we read Rogerius or Ross, they show the connections but also the differences between the religions beyond Islam, Christianity, and Judaism; moreover, they do not understand paganism as deriving from one shared origin.

59 Olearius wrote, "daß er von unterschiedlichen Nationen in Ost- und West-Indien nicht nur als Fürste der Welt sondern als ein Gott öffentlich geehret und angebetet wird." J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), p. 57.

60 The illustration by Jörg Breu is reproduced in: L. d. Varthema, *Reisen im Orient*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Folker Reichert, Sigmaringen 1996, p. 152; see also the later edition of the Varthema report: L. d. Varthema, *Hodöporicon Indiae Orientalis: das ist: Warhafftige Beschreibung der ansehlich Lobwürdigen Reyß, welche der Edel gestreng und weiterfahne Ritter H. Ludwig di Barthema von Bononien aus Italia bürtig inn die Orientalische und Morgenländer, Syrien, beide Arabien, Persien und Indien auch in Egypten und Ethyopien, [...], Leipzig 1610, p. 152; T. De Bry, *Dritter Theil Indiae Orientalis*. Darinnen erstlich das ander Theil der Schiff-fahrten Johann Huygens von Lintschotten auß Holland/so er in Orient gethan/begriffen/und [...] gesehen und erfahren/eygendlich beschrieben wirt; II. Der Holländer Schiffahrt in die Orientalische Insulen/Javan und Sumatra [...]; III. Drey Schiffahrten der Holländer nach obermelten Indien [...] / Alles auff's trewlichst von newem auß den Niederländischen Exemplarien in Hochdeutsch bracht/und in guter Disposition zusammen gefügt. Sampt Vielen schönen künstlichen Figuren und Landtafeln in Kupfer gestochen und an Tag geben, Oppenheim 1616, plate XXIV; A. Rogerius, *Thür* (as in note 6), p. 696.*

an integral knowledge that was produced in Europe, however, and not in Asia nor by travelers to Asia.

One touchstone for conceptualizing non-Christian religions as one worldwide entity was the experience of the many religious groups in India. As mentioned, travelogues as well as compilations about Indian religion did not describe a single 'heathen' religion. The Europeans did indeed recognize several known religious groups in India, several Christian and Islamic denominations, and Jews, but they also encountered many other groups and had problems conceptually categorizing them. Corresponding to what has been suggested by postcolonial studies concerning Hinduism and its construction in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, early modern travelers did not recognize a single monolithic Indian religion. Very rarely do we find the label Hindu in German texts before the second half of the eighteenth century, while the most common labels for Indian religious groups are *Jentiven*, *Banianen*, and *Brahmanen*. There are many explanations for these labels, such as that *Jentiven* may come from the Portuguese *gentoo* meaning "heathen" in general; or that *Banianen* refers to *Jainas*, members of another religion practiced in present-day India; or to a specialized group of tradesmen. But the early modern use is not that explicit or unambiguous. Sometimes the *Jentiven* are understood as a sect of the *Benjanen* similar to the *Fakire*, *Rajputen*, and *Brahmanen*;⁶¹ sometimes the Brahmins are the priests of the *Benjanen*⁶² and sometimes a distinct religion or a nation.⁶³ Finally, there is another indication that travelers and theologians did not perceive non-Christian religions as a unity. Contrary to the generally known number of religions mentioned (i.e., four), European travelers recognized another distinct religion in India: the Parsis. This "seltzame" (strange) religion⁶⁴ is described in many travel reports and is never part of the Indian "heathendom." Most travel reports only mention that members of this religion fled from Persia when Muhammad brought his "new religion" to this country; that they worshipped fire; and that they had special burial ceremonies. But Henry Lord, an English clergyman who spent five years in Surat as a chaplain in the early seventeenth century, followed up his quite influential book about the *Banians*, *A Discovery of the Sect of the Banians*, by a second volume, *The Religion of the Persees*, both published in 1630. While the first part of his book relates a long conversation he had with a Brahmin, he also befriended a *dastūr* to get to know more about the Parsis, and he refers to both the Brahmin *śāstras* as well as to the Persian Avesta, which he calls Zundavastaw.⁶⁵ Therefore

61 J. Andersen /V. Iversen, Reise-Beschreibungen (as in note 18), p. 204.

62 J.A. v. Mandelslo, Reise-Beschreibung (as in note 19), p. 80.

63 One traveler, the German Friken, who is not really interested in religion, declared the *Jentiven* to be mostly believers in the "mohammedanischen Religion"; however he is rather alone in his statement. C. Friken, Ost=Indianische Reisen und Krieges-Dienste. Oder eine Ausführliche Beschreibung was sich solcher Zeit – nämlich von Anno 1680 bis Anno 1685 – zur See als zu Land in öffentlichen Treffen und Scharmützeln, in Belagerungen, Stürmen und Eroberungen der Heidnischen Plätze und Städte im Marschieren und in Quartieren mit ihm und seinem beigefügten Kameraden hin und wieder begeben, bearbeitet und eingeleitet von Joachim Kirchner, Berlin [1692] 1926, p. 97.

64 J. Andersen /V. Iversen, Reise-Beschreibungen (as in note 18), p. 201.

65 H. Lord, A display of two forraigne sects in the East Indies: vizt: the sect of the Banians the ancient naties of India

religion is not only assumed to be a human constituent in the seventeenth century, but, outside of Europe, Europeans, VOC travelers, *and* churchmen experienced more than four religions. Future research could analyze in which contexts, for which audiences, and according to whose underlying interests the fourfold scheme or the larger diversity was highlighted.

3. The Hierarchy of Religions and the Question of Rationality

This pluralistic conceptualization of religion, however, did not imply tolerance or the assumption that all religions were equal. If *Religion* was understood as a global phenomenon, its distinguishing characteristics became even more important. In the travelogues written by the VOC employees, religions are ordered in a hierarchy based on their degree of "civilization" in a wider sense.⁶⁶ Rogerius, Ross, and other authors argue in a more theological sense: Their concept of *Religion* is shaped according to the Christian model. This had consequences for the way that Europeans tried to become acquainted with other religions. Christian clergymen always looked for holy books; they expected every religion to have a book with the most important laws and articles of faith and they consulted religious experts, whereas lay people rather tended to look at visible practices. If Christianity provided the model, other religions were, not astonishingly, understood as deficient. But this type of comparison and this thinking in analogies are not only a proof of European ignorance. They are also a mode of early modern thinking, a thinking that was organized in hierarchies and analogies rather than dichotomies.⁶⁷ Conducting an academic inquiry today by assuming these dichotomies instead of looking for the boundaries and oppositions constructed in a particular situation seems problematic and anachronistic. The quest for comparable characteristics, even deficient ones, amply proves that an author accepted that religions were comparable. The model of Christianity also had consequences for the hierarchy of religions: Two aspects are most important in the seventeenth century, namely, the degree of true revelation and the degree of rationality. The

and the sect of the Persees the ancient inhabitants of Persia. together with the religion and maners of each sect collected into two bookes by Henry Lord sometimes resident in East India and preacher to the Hoble Company of Merchants trading thether, imprinted at London 1630. Thus Henry Lord was much earlier with his text than Anquetil-Dupéron.

66 At the bottom of this hierarchy are people who have no elaborated religion, as the VOC chaplain Hoffmann postulated about the so-called *Hottentots*, see J. Hoffmann, *Reise* (as in note 14), p. 31; Martin Wintergerst conceded, at least, that they knew about a godly life ("göttlichen Lebens") and believed in someone like a god, whom they called "ihren grossen Capitain," see M. Wintergerst, *Reisen auf dem Mittelländischen Meere, der Nordsee, nach Ceylon und nach Java*, 2 Bde., Haag 1932, p. 31. Jürgen Andersen wrote similarly about some 'heathens' at the Coromandel coast "puhr lauter Heyden/welche weder Gott noch Teuffel/weder Helle noch ewiges Wolleben glauben," see J. Andersen/V. Iversen, *Reise-Beschreibungen* (as in note 18), p. 98. The superiority of Islam over heathendom is also evident, see e.g.: J.S. Wurffbain, *Reisen* (as in note 25), vol. 1, p. 102, similar in J. Hoffmann, *Reise* (as in note 14), p. 71; J.J. Merklein, *Reise* (as in note 23), p. 20.

67 Of course there were also dichotomies and binary perspectives in early modern times, but these were not as important and fundamental as in modern times. Moreover, one has to be careful to distinguish between a general discourse and social practices.

difference between natural and revealed religions has a long tradition within Christianity, and we continue to find it in the lemma “Religion” in Zedler’s *Universallexicon*, referring to theologians like Rogerius. Here the difference spelled out is that pagans serve God because of their false and very imperfect knowledge; they make up stories instead of knowing the truth. Jews believed in serving God’s revealed word, but they perceived only a part of it. Finally, whereas Christians held the true way of performing religious service according to the whole and perfect revelation of God’s will, Muslims obeyed a deluded revelation.⁶⁸

The second criterion is the degree of rationality believed to inhere in a faith. It is important in this context to note that while the concept of rationality is not ahistoric and that although rationality in the seventeenth century is not the same as in modernity, it was nevertheless an important criterion to estimate religions prior to the Enlightenment. This can be shown in the travel accounts of VOC employees; and the clergymen argue along similar lines in their tracts. Rogerius and Ross claim that their description of the other, deficient religions proves the rationality of their own Christian or Protestant Christian faith, which is the best religion as well as the most reasonable one. Knowledge of different, other, and strange or exotic-appearing practices stabilized the belief in one’s own religion. For example, Abraham Rogerius complains: “The pagan theology conceals the godly truth with dark clouds of error” (“finstern Wolken des Irrtums”).⁶⁹ Bernhard Varen describes the “Indianer-Religion” in Cambaya as crazy and superstitious foolishness (“wahnsinnige und abergläubische Thorheit”).⁷⁰ Alexander Ross writes that the opinion of many heretic Christian sects are against sense and reason (“sind dem Verstand und Vernunft gantz zu wider”).⁷¹ The importance of rationality in evaluating religions continues into the present.

Finally, two important books about religion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be consulted concerning their concept of rationality in religion. Bernard Picart collected and illustrated *Ceremonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde* (1723), and this book is praised as both one of the most fascinating anthologies of the early Enlightenment and as one of the first textbooks of comparative religion.⁷² For Picart, all religions are comparable and he considered it unimportant whether the religion was based on a revelation. He argued on a similar basis as the older tracts: Whereas for them the plurality of religions proved that there is a god, for him they proved that there was one original, reasonable religion. However, this faith had become degenerated

68 “Der Unterschied derselben bestehet darinn, daß die Heyden Gott dienen aus einer falschen und sehr unvollkommenen Erkenntniß, nach ihrem eiteln Sinn und ihnen selbst erdichteten Weise; die Juden Gott nach seinem geoffenbarten Willen zu dienen vermeynen, aber nur ein Theil desselben annehmen wollen; die Christen wahren Gottesdienst nach der gantzen und vollkommenen Offenbarung des göttlichen Wissen richten; die Mohometaner einer fälschlich angegebenen Offenbarung folgen.” J.H. Zedler, Religion (as in note 55), p. 443.

69 A. Rogerius, Thür (as in note 6), p.)(iiiiv.

70 B. Varenius, in: A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p. 1018.

71 B. Varenius quoting A. Ross/B. Varenius, Gottesdienste (as in note 5), p. 884.

72 P.v. Wyss-Giacosa, Religionsbilder der frühen Aufklärung: Bernard Picarts Tafeln für die „Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde“, Wabern/Bern 2006, p. 14.

and corrupted by the clergy's innovations and the people's foolish practices.⁷³ Picart collected his information from earlier sources, such as Rogerius and Ross. This concept of a natural and reasonable religion is characteristic of a deistic point of view and can be traced back to Herbert of Cherbury in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁴ For Picart, the criterion for judging a religion still is reason and rationality. Yet, the definition of reason has changed. Picart was a converted Calvinist Christian, and his work is an instrument of criticism of religion. The main difference is that the model after which he shaped his concept of religion was now an internalized and, in the Enlightenment sense, reasonable religion. And while Rogerius and other theologians in the seventeenth century wanted to contrast a reasonable Christendom with the other less reasonable religions, Picart's aim was to compare and unmask Catholic *and* 'heathen' ceremonies.⁷⁵ In Picart, religion is still used as an instrument to mark alterity and to construct superiority. However, now it is not so much Christianity against non-Christian religions, but an enlightened rational concept of religion against almost every other religion, at least against all that have external ceremonies and rites. In Picart's view, Calvinism seems to be the only rational religion.

In the nineteenth century, another shift in the construction of alterity can be noticed, still within the field of religion. Charles Coleman's book about Hindu mythology from 1832 is a striking example of this shift: On the one hand, it stands within the tradition of a fascination with Indian gods that had caught the European imagination from the sixteenth century onwards. On the other hand, he constructs an alterity between *Orient* and *Occident* with his work. He describes the irrational and cruel religion of the unreasonable and childish Indians. Their Gods are "nothing but monstrous personifications of vice,"⁷⁶ and even their witches are not as decent as in ancient England: "Instead, however, of the former appearing, as in Scotland, on the blasted heaths, or, as in ancient times in England, bestriding a broom-stick and decently dressed, in the cavalier hat and cloak of scarlet dye, they [the Indian witches] are generally discovered dancing naked at midnight, with a broom tied round their waists, either near the house of a sick person or on the outskirts of a village."⁷⁷ About satī, or widow burning, he writes: "Among the many abominations which stain the practice of the Hindu religion, that of the suttee, with the no less barbarous practice of infanticide, are of the greatest."⁷⁸

73 See P. v. Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder* (as in note 72), p. 48.

74 B. Gladigow, *Religionsgeschichte* (as in note 56), p. 25: The German translation of Picart's work has a foreword written by Pastor Stapfer, whose text is even closer to the ideas of Rogerius and Ross, see D. Herrliberger et al., *Heilige Ceremonien* (as in note 30).

75 P. v. Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder* (as in note 72), p. 107.

76 C. Coleman, *The mythology of the Hindus: with notices of various mountain and island tribes, inhabiting the two peninsulas of India and the neighbouring islands, and an appendix comprising the minor Avatars, and the mythological and religious terms of the Hindus*, New Delhi et al. 1995, p. (viii).

77 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Conclusion

There is no such thing as a single transcultural perception of early modern Europe, but rather several ones. It constrains our perspective if we focus only on learned or erudite discourses. The travelers' different backgrounds have to be considered, but even more so the context and the motivation in publishing their Indian experiences. For the VOC employees, religion may have been a way to feel superior – at least in one respect. But first and foremost, and in general, “religion” was one criterion among others to organize their perception of India's diversity. To recognize their counterpart's religion was a strategy of survival, because religion often structured the manner of communication and interaction. For the VOC employees, religion was not a distinct system, but intertwined with politics and society.

In the seventeenth century, non-Christian religions in India were labeled as “Religion,” because early modern German texts about religion in Indian assume that there are many religions in the world. Thus the texts examined here did not understand religion as restricted to the one true (i.e. Christian) religion. But this plural conception did not imply an equality of religions. Rather, the Christian concept was shaped – unsurprisingly – after the model of Christian religion. Yet, I have argued against a history of epistemic progress in the course of the Enlightenment, a history that claims that the early modern European travelers were less able to see and understand non-Christian religion than the enlightened travelers and authors of the eighteenth century. Religion was undoubtedly a marker of alterity from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; yet, although the degree of rationality was always crucial, both alterity as well as rationality were concepts that were defined in different ways: In the seventeenth century, Christianity was the true and reasonable religion and the relation among religions was understood as a gradual hierarchy. In the eighteenth century, rationality was associated with a former religion of reason, whereas most of the contemporary religious practices were understood as degenerated forms of this original religion. The relationship amongst the various religions continued to be constructed as a gradual hierarchy. In the nineteenth century, the boundary between European reason and Oriental irrationality became an important, if not fundamental, binary perspective on the world that also overshadowed the religions themselves.

“This Deus is a Fool’s Cap Buddha”: ‘The Christian Sect’ as Seen by Early Modern Japanese Buddhists¹

Hans Martin Krämer

RESÜMEE

Keine hundert Jahre lang durften christliche Missionare im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert sich in Japan aufhalten, ehe sie des Landes verwiesen wurden und das Christentum für über zweihundert Jahre verboten wurde. Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht, wie das Christentum in Japan insbesondere von Buddhisten, den wichtigsten Dialogpartnern bzw. Konkurrenten, wahrgenommen wurde und welchen sprachlichen Niederschlag der Kontakt zwischen den beiden Religionsgemeinschaften im Japanischen fand. Während für viele christliche Termini bald Übersetzungsbegriffe geprägt wurden, wurde das Christentum insgesamt im Rahmen der bestehenden Terminologie gefasst: Noch die stärkste Ablehnung des Christentums erkannte implizit dessen kategoriale Kommensurabilität an, indem es als (wenn auch häretische) Sekte mit demselben Klassenbegriff belegt wurde wie die einheimischen Religionen auch. Die Religionspolitik des 17. Jahrhunderts trug dazu bei, dass dieser Sprachgebrauch – durch eine Erweiterung des extensionalen Sinns – wiederum Veränderungen in der bestehenden Terminologie hervorrief, die auch nach dem Verbot des Christentums nachwirkten. Der vorliegende Beitrag argumentiert, dass die Bildung des heute in Ostasien verbreiteten Begriffs für „Religion“, die erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erfolgte, maßgeblich durch diese Vorgeschichte geprägt ist.

In 1560, eleven years after first setting foot on Kyūshū, Japan’s southwestern main island, Christian missionaries received permission to proselytize in Kyōto. While the missionaries had already had various encounters with indigenous religious groups, it was

1 The author wishes to thank Kiri Paramore, Lucia Dolce, Anja Batram, Ulrike Vordermark, Jenny Oesterle, and Klaus Antoni, who have all given precious advice on various aspects covered by this essay.

here in the capital, where Buddhist temples of a great variety of sects abounded, that the contact with Buddhism was most intense. In June of that year, 1560, Lourenço Ryōsai, a Japanese convert later to become the first Japanese member of the Society of Jesus, wrote a letter from Kyōto to his superiors at their mission station in southwestern Japan, describing Buddhist attitudes towards the Christian teaching: “The Shingon sect says that we teach their Dainichi, the Zen sect that our Dios is their hōben, the Hokke sect that our Dios is their myō, and the Jōdo sect that our Dios is their Amida.”²

While it would be difficult to accept Lourenço’s description at face value, given that it represents the writing of a missionary about heathen attitudes, the letter conveys a clear picture of a situation characterized by competition. The Buddhist sects³ are depicted as being aware of the Christians, as communicating with them, indeed as challenging them. At the same time, the letter claims that Buddhists even identified the Christian God with their own supreme deities or concepts. While, again, we cannot necessarily fully trust Lourenço, such an attitude would not be entirely surprising, given that: a) such an identification is frequent in the early contact between religious traditions,⁴ and b) that the Christian missionaries to Japan indeed shared a similar sentiment during the first few years of their activities (see below).

While the one-time identification of Buddhist teachings with Christian ones was not of lasting impact, the notion of the commensurability of Christianity, i.e., the idea that Christianity belonged to the same category of entities as Buddhism, *did* survive the following decades. In other words: Christianity continued to be seen as worthy of engagement, be it in a meaningful dialogue or from a hostile point of view. Due to a lack of sources, this point is surprisingly difficult to prove. Indeed, the quotation from Lourenço’s letter is one of the few sources we have on the topic at hand because there are literally no texts directly giving the Buddhist view of things from before 1600. One possible way to circumvent this methodological problem is to examine how the *language* of the period refers to religious phenomena. In the absence of deeper-running theological treatments, I will therefore concentrate on the conceptual realm, in which the attitude of commensurability described above can be discerned quite clearly, especially when turning to the categories used to refer to foreign religion. Drawing on the distinction between an abstract concept of religion and an umbrella term for religions conceptualized in the introduction to this volume,⁵ I will show how, despite the absence of an equivalent to the former, something like the latter developed more clearly from around 1600 than had been the case earlier, prefiguring linguistic innovations taking place in mid-nineteenth century Japan. Furthermore, it was the encounter with the Christian religion as a result of Christian missionary activities in Japan from the mid-sixteenth century onwards that triggered this semantic innovation around 1600, crucially aided by the religious policy

2 Quoted in: G. Schurhammer, *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tokyo 1928, p. 39.

3 The letter mentions four of the six sects or schools of Buddhism dominant in Japan at the time.

4 See the introduction to this volume, pp. 12–13.

5 See above, p. 11.

of the Tokugawa state in the first decades of the seventeenth century. These factors help explain why a similar development did not occur in China, where Christian missionaries were active at around the same time.

In contrast, up to the sixteenth century, the terminology used by intellectuals in the broad sense to refer to the religious field was the same in Chinese and Japanese. The Japanese language, although genealogically unrelated to Chinese, had picked up a great number of loanwords from Chinese during the first phase of intensive cultural contact since around the fifth century of the common era. Almost all lexemes in abstract wordfields were of Chinese origin, i.e., written with Chinese characters and pronounced in what was an approximation of the Middle Chinese pronunciation. Although the religious landscape in Japan was quite different from that of China, this fact had little impact on those parts of the lexicon dealing with religious terminology. Accordingly, the dominant hypernym embracing religious traditions was *jiao* (Jap. *kyō*), literally "teaching." In most cases, both in premodern China and Japan, reference to distinguishable groups worked by resorting to *jiao*, less frequently to *dao* (Jap. *dō*, "way"). Both terms are notable for including traditions that even broad modern definitions of "religion" would not cover, such as philosophical teachings in the case of *jiao* or martial arts in the case of *dao*.

Perhaps the best example of the Chinese usage of *jiao* to label traditions in a way that distinguished them while stressing their similarity was the *sanjiao* paradigm. The three traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, dominant in China for centuries, were in the *sanjiao* discourse regarded as complementary members of the same group of entities, namely *jiao* (perhaps translatable also as "world views"). While this kind of argument had a reconciliatory side to it, as a way to reduce the tensions of competition, most often the three *jiao* were presented in a clear hierarchy, with Confucianism residing at the top.⁶ Indeed, the semantic prototype of *jiao* in China clearly was Confucianism, a fact that remains visible well into the nineteenth century.⁷

Not only the terminology, but even the scheme of the *sanjiao* was adopted in Japan from early on. Around 800, Kūkai (774–835), the figure today identified as the founder of the influential Shingon lineage of Buddhism, authored a fictional dialogue between a Confucian, a Buddhist, and a Daoist entitled *Sangō shiki* ("Tenets of the Three Teachings"). Daoism had at this time still some significance as an institutionalized religion in Japan, while the worship of indigenous deities (later called Shintō⁸) apparently played no role for Kūkai, who set Buddhism at the apex of the *sanjiao*. Indeed, different from China, the prototype of *jiao* (Jap. *kyō*) for most authors of the ancient and medieval period in Japan (i.e. roughly from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries) was Buddhism rather than

6 See J. Gentz, *Die Drei Lehren (sanjiao) Chinas in Konflikt und Harmonie: Figuren und Strategien einer Debatte*, in: E. Franke / M. Pye (eds), *Religionen Nebeneinander: Modelle religiöser Vielfalt in Ost- und Südostasien*, Münster 2006, pp. 17–40.

7 Compare the contribution by Ya-pei Kuo in this volume.

8 The early forms of *kami* worship were little systematized and conceptualized. It was only from about the fourteenth century onwards that a concept of Shintō was developed. See M. Teeuwen, *From Jindō to Shinto: A Concept Takes Shape*, in: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29, 3/4 (2002), pp. 233–63.

Confucianism. The inclusion of Daoism and the exclusion of Shintō was to change in later times (from about the sixteenth century onwards), after Daoism had lost its role as a clearly identifiable tradition of its own in Japan, and Shintō was adopted as the third partner next to Confucianism and Buddhism.⁹

Since about the tenth century, however, combinatory practices, as the dominant Buddhist way to approach kami worship, were more important for the conceptual grasp of what later came to be called Shintō. Combinatory practices here refer to the discovery of various correspondences between kami and Buddhist deities, correspondences which found expression in institutional and ritual amalgamations and combinations.¹⁰ Throughout the medieval period (roughly between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries), Japanese Buddhism¹¹ thus incorporated indigenous deities into its own universe in a sometimes highly sophisticated fashion, albeit as subordinate. It has been claimed that, conceptually speaking, this combinatory paradigm was a hermeneutic that “den[ied] difference by translating alternate positions into the ‘true’ language of a particular ideology” (i.e., Buddhism).¹²

Regarding the two alternatives of *sanjiao* vs. combinatory practices, religious pluralism in pre-sixteenth century Japan was either denied in a system of subsumption under existing creeds (Jason Josephson speaks of a system of “hierarchical inclusion”¹³) or muted within the framework of different “teachings” under the predominant hypernym of the religious field *jiao*. All of this remained unchanged until the advent of Christianity in the middle of the sixteenth century.

1. Buddhist Appropriations of Christianity Around 1600

Just as the first Japanese Buddhists to encounter Christians identified them as adhering to some (hitherto unknown) variant of Buddhism, the first Christians to hear about Japanese Buddhism were surprised to find a religion seemingly so very much like their own. This impression was fostered in the Japanese missionaries even before they set out for Japan through their earliest Japanese informant, Anjirō, who came into contact with Jesuit missionaries at their base in Malacca. Anjirō reported that the Japanese worshipped only

9 This triad was well established until the end of the Tokugawa period in the middle of the nineteenth century. References to the “three teachings” in this meaning can be found in a number of writings including Tominaga Nakamoto’s 1746 tract discussing the respective worth of the three teachings entitled *Okina no fumi* (The Writings of an Old Man), discussed below, or *Ninomiya ō yawa* (Nightly Talks of Old Ninomiya) attributed to Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856).

10 For an in-depth theoretical treatment of combinatory religiosity in premodern Japan see M. Teeuwen / F. Rambelli, Introduction. Combinatory religion and the honji suijaku paradigm in pre-modern Japan, in: M. Teeuwen / F. Rambelli (eds), *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, London 2003, pp. 1–53.

11 This did not hold true for all Buddhist sects: The Pure Land sects, e.g., stressed the avoidance of the worship of *kami*.

12 J. Josephson, *Evil Cults, Monstrous Gods, and the Labyrinth of Delusion: Rhetorical Enemies and Symbolic Boundaries in the Construction of ‘Religion’ in Japan*, in: *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 33 (2009), pp. 39–59, here: p. 41.

13 J. Josephson, *Evil Cults* (as in note 12), p. 40.

one God, a personal God, who had created all things and who rewarded good and punished evil.¹⁴ Francisco de Xavier, the first missionary to Japan, even employed the name of the Buddha central to the Shingon sect, Dainichi, as a term for the Christian God during his first months of proselytizing.¹⁵ The Society's historian of the missionary activities in Japan, Luís Fróis (1532–1597) relates that this identification was not regarded as absurd by the Japanese Buddhists themselves. Of a meeting between Xavier and priests of the Shingon sect in Yamaguchi in 1551, Fróis writes:

*When they heard our things, it appeared to the bonzes that the divine attributes were very similar to their Dainichi, for which reason they told the Pater [i.e. Xavier] that while they may be different in their words, language, and clothing, the content of the law professed by the Pater and that of their own were one and the same.*¹⁶

Although the Jesuit historian George Elison dismisses these early identifications as "unavoidable initial misunderstandings"¹⁷ and adds that "the points of resemblance [of Christianity] with Buddhism were ephemeral and delusory,"¹⁸ to mid-sixteenth century Japanese, perhaps the natural, if not the only, way to deal with the newly arrived faith may have been to comprehend it within the epistemic framework of Buddhism.

At a basic level, this epistemic framework entailed the very language available to Japanese for dealing with Christianity, a language that was full of Buddhist terms. This is clearly visible in what is likely the earliest reference to the Christian missionaries in a Japanese document. In 1551, two years after his arrival in Japan, Xavier received a piece of land for building a church by Ōuchi Yoshinaga, a local lord in Western Japan.¹⁹ Yoshinaga's letter of authorization read: "In the matter of Daidō Temple in [...] Suō Province, the [Buddhist] priests who came from the West to Japan with the purpose of letting flourish the Law of the Buddha shall be granted their request to build this temple [...]."

The reason we know of this document today is because a copy of the original, accompanied by a transcription and a Portuguese translation, was sent to Europe and published there in 1570.²⁰ The 1570 Portuguese rendering of the passage concerning the "priests who came from the West" runs "aos padres do Poente que vierão declarar ley de fazer Santos [to the priests of the West who declare the law that makes saints]."

14 G. Schurhammer, Sprachproblem (as in note 2), p. 24. See also J.S.A. Elisonas, An Itinerary to the Western Paradise: Early European Reports on Japan and a Contemporary Exegesis, in: Itinerario 20, 3 (1996), pp. 25–68, here: pp. 42–44.

15 On the early use of Dainichi and its replacement by *Deusu* as translation words for "God," see G. Schurhammer, Sprachproblem (as in note 2), pp. 25–38, and N. Suzuki, On the Translation of God, Part One, in: Japanese Religions 26, 2 (2001), pp. 131–46, here: pp. 133–5.

16 Quoted from the German translation: L. Fróis, Geschichte Japans, Leipzig 1926, p. 15.

17 G. Elison, Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan, Cambridge/Mass. 1973, p. 29.

18 G. Elison, Deus Destroyed (as in note 17), p. 13.

19 G. Schurhammer, Sprachproblem (as in note 2), pp. 75–90.

20 Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus, que andão nos reynos de Japão escreverão aos da mesma Companhia da Índia, o Europa, des do anno de 1549 até o de 66, Coimbra 1570, ff. 161r–163v. Quoted from the digitized manuscript available in the Laures Virtual Rare Book Library (<http://laures.cc.sophia.ac.jp/laures/html/index.html>), document no. JL-1570-KB4.

It seems to be a matter of course for the regional lord to refer to the missionaries as priests, employing the Japanese term for “Buddhist priest” (*sō*), and their aim as spreading the “Law of the Buddha” (*hō*).²¹ Viewed from historical linguistics, Yoshinaga could hardly have expressed himself otherwise indeed at this early stage of the encounter as there were no linguistic alternatives available to him. In the past, not all historians have shared this view. Catholic historian Hans Haas, writing in the 1900s, suggested that the missionaries here might have consciously employed “heathen” vocabulary in order to trick their hosts into giving them the property they desired. In his 1954 biography of Ōuchi Yoshitaka (Yoshinaga’s father), historian of early modern Japan Fukuo Takeichirō has opined that the term “Law of the Buddha” was used because in patents such as the one issued here to the Christian missionaries, a fixed set of terms was used. Fukuo adds that since the missionaries took care to differentiate themselves from Buddhism wherever they could and Yoshinaga had no personal sympathies for Christianity, it is unlikely that “Law of the Buddha” was simply employed for referring to Christianity without any afterthoughts.²²

A “Summary of Errors,” penned by the Japan missionary Baltasar Gago in 1557, explicitly explains *buppō*, the Japanese word for “Law of the Buddha,” by calling it the umbrella term for the eight or nine sects of Japanese Buddhism, juxtaposing it to the sects of *kami* (i.e., Shintō) and of *yamabushi* (i.e., Shugendō, a practice of mountain asceticism drawing on elements from Buddhism and indigenous *kami* cults).²³ That is to say, by 1557 the missionaries certainly did not regard themselves as purveyors of *buppō*.²⁴ Nonetheless, this is not to say that, six years earlier, Japanese Buddhists, much less a political ruler, might not have done just that.

The French historian of Japanese thought Frédéric Girard has added that another important reason Japanese Buddhists conceived of the Christian missionaries as Buddhists was that they came from the West, i.e., the direction of India, whence Buddhism had also come to Japan a long time ago.²⁵

21 “Law of the Buddha” is a literal translation of the technical term “buddha-dharma”, i.e., a common term designating the teachings of the Buddha, but also referring to the principles underlying these teachings, the truth attained by Buddha, the embodiment of this truth in Buddha, or Buddhism in general. In Chinese and Japanese, Sanskrit “dharma” is translated by terms meaning “law” in English.

22 T. Doi, *16/17 seiki ni okeru Nihon iezusu kai fukyō jō no kyōkai yōgo no mondai* (The Problem of Church Vocabulary in the Japanese Jesuit Mission of the 16th/17th Century), in: *Nihon kirishitan kenkyū* 15 (1974), pp. 25–71, here: pp. 60–61.

23 G. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* (as in note 2), pp. 68, 87. Another Summary, written by Cosme de Torres around 1556, spoke of a “sect called bupoo,” without defining it as clearly as Gago did one year later (R.M. Loureiro, *Jesuit Textual Strategies in Japan between 1549 and 1582*, in: *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 8 (2004), pp. 39–63, here: pp. 42, 47).

24 Several decades later, this became even clearer when the Dominican pater Diego Collado in his *Ars Grammaticae Japonicae Linguae* (Rome 1632) translated *buppō* with “lex idolorum” (G. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* (as in note 2), p. 102).

25 F. Girard (2002), *Discours Bouddhiques face au Christianisme*, in: F. Girard / A. Horiuchi / M. Macé (eds), *Repenser l’ordre, repenser l’héritage: Paysage intellectuel du Japon (XVII^e–XIX^e siècles)*, Genève 2002, pp. 167–208, here: p. 177.

1.1 "The Christian Law"

Among the known sources that mention Christianity, the earliest ones are not per se of Buddhist provenance but are political decrees, such as the one from Yamaguchi just referred to. That these were usually authored by Buddhist aides to rulers might go a long way toward explaining why Buddhist terminology was dominant in such decrees. The earliest decree of nationwide prominence is the 1587 edict for expulsion of the missionaries, issued in the name of the national ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but in fact written by Yakuin Zensō Tokū'un, a former monk of the Tendai school of Buddhism.²⁶ This "Edict for the Expulsion of the Padres" reads in part:²⁷

As Japan is the Land of the Gods, diffusion here from the Christian Countries of a devious law [jahō] is most undesirable. [...] It is the judgment that since the Padres by means of their clever law [chie no hō] amass parishioners as they please, the unfortunate situation has resulted that, as mentioned before, the Law of the Buddha [buppō] is violated in these Precincts of the Sun.

In contrast to 1551, Christianity here is clearly seen as running counter to *buppō*, the Law of the Buddha. Yet it is still regarded as "a law" (*hō*), albeit a "devious" and "clever" one. The other famous expulsion edict from 1613/14, authored in the name of Tokugawa Ieyasu and penned by the Zen monk Konchi'in Sūden, makes use of the same kind of language:

[The missionaries] recklessly desire to spread a devious law [jahō], confound the true sects, change the governmental authority of this realm, and make it their own possession. [...] They look at the example of a criminal, and become excited, blindly running after him. They themselves pray to him and offer him sacrifice. This is what they take as their object of reverence and salvation in their sect! How is this not a devious law [jahō]?²⁸

The key term in both texts is *jahō*, rendered here literally as "devious law."²⁹ While to some degree this becomes a set phrase by the late sixteenth century, used when referring to Christianity, other combinations with "law" are also used, as can be seen in the "clever law" in 1587. What this means is that either Christianity as a whole or something like its contents or substance (i.e. its teaching) was labeled as "law," also the common term for either the Buddhist sects or the Buddhist teaching at a time when there was not yet a concept equivalent to what we today call "Buddhism."³⁰ The usage of "law" as a general

26 Information on authorship is from M. Anesaki, *Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, in: *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Series II, 8 (1930), pp. 1–15, here: p. 1.

27 The translation is adapted from G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), pp. 115–16.

28 The translation follows G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), p. 173, and K. Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, London 2009, p. 56.

29 In their translations of the two edicts, George Elison and Kiri Paramore use "pernicious doctrine" and "heresy" respectively.

30 The contemporary Japanese word for "Buddhism" (*bukkyō*) was not coined before the second half of the nine-

term here obviously parallels the late medieval European custom, where “leges” (and also “sectae”) was frequently used as plural for religious groups (more so than “religiones”),³¹ an impression corroborated by the inclusion of “ley” in the Portuguese rendering of the 1551 land grant document from Yamaguchi referred to above and in Fróis’s referring to both Christianity and Buddhism as “laws” in his description of the meeting mentioned above between Francisco Xavier and Buddhist priests in Yamaguchi in 1551.

1.2 “The Christian Sect”

Aside from “law” (*bō*), The 1613/14 expulsion edict makes use of a further term which came into popular use in the subsequent centuries when referring to religions. Where the English translation above reads “the true sects” or “their sect” – and where Kiri Paramore’s translation of the same text in fact reads “true religion” and “their religion” – the original employs the term *shū*. Originally meaning “ancestor,” *shū* had from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into East Asia been used to refer to specific teacher-disciple lineages and by the sixteenth century been firmly established in Japan as the standard term used to refer to distinguishable Buddhists sects or schools (such as Zen or Pure Land, etc.).³² Like “law,” this “sect” is apparently easily transferred to Christianity, as the wording of the 1613/14 edict shows: Christianity may not have been a true sect, but it certainly is a sect. As the first instance of the term here suggests (“confound the true sects”), it might actually have meant something more akin to “religious truth,” but in fact *shū* was used rather exclusively, at least in the following two centuries, for the institutional dimension of religion, i.e., religious group or sect or denomination (a close equivalent is the German “Konfession”).

In another early instance of ascription, historian Ikuo Higashibaba relates that the missionaries were referred to as “people from Tenjiku,” i.e., literally from “India.” The India called Tenjiku in Japanese around 1600, however, was largely a mythical place that no Japanese had set foot upon for generations; used to designate an unknown country far away, *tenjiku* had a function similar to “India” in early modern Europe.³³ Higashibaba explains this ascription by arguing that the Japanese “could only make sense of them as men from the most remote land possible.”³⁴ What is more important for our context, however, is that not only were the missionaries called “Indians,” but their religion was

teenth century. See Isomae J., *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gensetsu to sono keifu: Shūkyō, kokka, shintō* (The Discourse of Religion in Modern Japan and Its Genealogy: Religion, Nation, Shintō), Tōkyō 2003, Part 1, Chapter 3.

31 H.D. Betz et al. (eds), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th edition, Tübingen 2004, vol. 7, pp. 267–68.

32 As *shū* highlights the aspect of lineage within Buddhism, it might be argued that it was applied to Christianity in a similar fashion. Appended as it came to be to “Christian” or “Jesus,” *shū* might have literally meant something like “the lineage going back to Jesus Christ,” although this view is never explicitly articulated in a contemporary source. Furthermore, in contrast to China, ancestor rites were never of paramount importance in Japan, which might have facilitated the Buddhist usurpation of the term there.

33 In the geographic terminology of early modern Europe, even Japan was considered part of “India” (see G. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* (as in note 2), p. 68).

34 I. Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice*, Leiden 2001, p. 1.

referred to as the "Indian sect."³⁵ While Higashibaba fails to give a reference, one can indeed find the combination *tenjiku-shū* in a letter from c. 1578. In this letter from a concerned vassal of a domain neighboring the territory of the Ōtomo family, who had converted to Christianity, the vassals of the Ōtomo are warned that the disturbances in their domain are the result of the fact that "old and young, men and women, have all become adherents of the Indian sect."³⁶ Emphasizing the foreignness of Christianity in this way certainly was a means of delegitimizing it. Hence, the letter clearly indicates a context hostile to Christians, but the recognition as a "sect" is never questioned.

1.3 Other Terms (Teaching, Way)

In contrast to "law" and "sect," the term "teaching" (Jap. *kyō* or Chin. *jiao*), which had up to the sixteenth century been the predominant umbrella term, after 1600 was increasingly used for the substance of a teaching or its contents. This is strikingly obvious in the following quote from the 1605 *Myōtei mondō*, a fictional dialogue between Christians and Buddhists written by a Christian convert, and indeed the first native tract of substantial length on Christianity that we still know of today:³⁷

*To enter the road to assistance [of salvation], in Christian teaching [kyō] you take what is called baptism. If you take just this sacrament, follow the ten commandments of this religion [shū], and respect and revere God, then you can relax and be sure of an afterlife in Heaven.*³⁸

"Teaching," "way," and to a lesser degree a few other terms continued to be employed as umbrella terms up until the nineteenth century. Yet in many texts, a differentiation such as the one just shown between a religion's institutional aspect and its substance or essence was reflected in the linguistic distinction between "sect" (and sometimes "law") on the one side and terms such as "teaching" on the other.

After this brief exposition of the lexical basics, I will now turn my attention to how use of the concepts mentioned above developed against the background of a new religious policy beginning with the seventeenth century.

2. Grasping Christianity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Japan

The texts thus far referred to really do not tell us much about how Christianity was perceived, especially not about how it was grasped by Buddhists, but suggest the contexts in

35 I. Higashibaba, Christianity (as in note 34), p. 44.

36 Cited in the chronicle "Ōtomo kōhaiki," published in a modern edition in: Kakimoto T., Ōita ken kyōdo shiryō shūsei (Collected Local History Sources of Ōita Prefecture), vol. 1: Senki-hen, Ōita 1936, p. 336. See also G. Elison, Deus Destroyed (as in note 17), p. 24.

37 This is to say that while there had been earlier texts on Christianity in Japanese, these had either not been written by Japanese or were translations from European originals.

38 The translation is from K. Paramore, Ideology (as in note 28), p. 22.

which Christianity was referred to in Japanese around 1600. Buddhist examples proper are only extant from a very late stage, namely the middle of the seventeenth century, which means several decades after the proscription of Christianity and contemporary to the last executions of large groups of Christians. At this time, a whole genre of vulgar anti-Christian literature appeared with little interest in precise descriptions of its object of scorn;³⁹ roughly at the same time, however, the first examples of more scholarly attempts at refutation also made their appearance. Two early treatments of this sort will be introduced briefly in the following; they are illuminating for their use of terminology as it had become established 100 years after the first introduction of Christianity into the country. Even more so, they are influenced by the religious policy that was introduced at the time they were written.

2.1 Religious Policies of the Early Tokugawa Period

Two policies affecting religious groups taken by the early Tokugawa polity established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 were to have a tremendous impact on the semantic range used to refer to “religion(s).” Even before assuming nationwide power, Ieyasu as a regional leader in 1597 addressed a decree to “the Pure Land Sect [*shū*] in the Kantō [provinces],” a step unusual at the time for not being directed at an individual temple but instead at a sect as a whole. While this decree still retained a regional limitation, from 1615 onwards, after the Tokugawa had consolidated their new central authority over all of Japan, they passed a number of laws and regulations directed at whole sects. While individual temples could still be targets of such legislation, four of the six major denominations were covered by such laws between 1612 and 1656, until a law for “temples of all sects” was finally promulgated in 1665.⁴⁰

This was part of an effort by the shogunate to formalize allegiances between temples, which had previously been rather informal. A sect was now recognized through its head temple, and each minor temple in the country had to affiliate with one of these head temples, thus clearly becoming a member of one specific sect. “This was to provide, for the first time, [...] a legal framework for religious institutions which resulted in unified sects that transcended regional and lineage boundaries to encompass the whole of Japan.”⁴¹

Next to this new structure, known as the “system of roots and branches” (*honmatsu seido*), imposed upon Buddhism,⁴² a second policy measure was directed mainly against

39 See H. Cieslik, “Nanbanji-Romane der Tokugawa-Zeit,” in: Monumenta Nipponica 6, 1/2 (1943), pp. 13–51, and G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), pp. 212–18.

40 Compare the list of such decrees in Umeda Y., *Nihon shūkyō seido shi*, Kinsei hen (History of Religious Organization in Japan, Early Modern History), Tōkyō 1972, pp. 52–57. The four sects receiving specific attention were Sōtō Zen (1612), Jōdo (1615), Shingon (1615), and Tendai (1656).

41 D.R. Williams, *Religion in Early Modern Japan*, in: P.L. Swanson/C. Chilson (eds), *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, Honolulu 2006, pp. 184–201, here: p. 189.

42 Peter Nosco has pointed out that this system was not quite as effective in practice as the shogunate had intended since the registers of branch temples to be submitted by the main temples were not complete until the end of the eighteenth century. P. Nosco, *Keeping the Faith: Bakuhan Policy Towards Religions in Seventeenth-*

Christianity but made use of, and by doing so formed, Buddhist institutions as well. The controls of religious affiliation enforced since the second half of the seventeenth century were actually a set of two complementary measures: the forced registration of all households with a Buddhist temple, and a religious census, requiring all households to periodically certify their affiliation with a Buddhist temple.

While the Japanese population certainly had many contacts to religion in the two hundred years this system was in force, it was through this certification system that they were most frequently confronted with an abstract religious terminology set down in writing. It was here that the term "sect" (*shū* or *shūmon*) became firmly established as the central umbrella term encompassing both the "legitimate" Buddhist schools and the "devious" Christian "sect." In the annual census, known at the time as "the investigation into sectarian affiliation" (*shūmon aratame*), household heads were assigned the name of one "sect" each, while for each census unit, e.g. each village, there followed a declaration that none of the persons investigated adhered to "the devious sect," i.e., Christianity.⁴³

Due to the strong influence of this political practice on linguistic practices, "law," when applied to Christianity, soon came to lose its organizational associations, which became almost wholly absorbed by "sect." Thus, by the first half of the eighteenth century, a certificate of sectarian affiliation could end in the phrase: "The afore-mentioned is not [member] of the sect of the devious Christian law,"⁴⁴ in which one must interpret the "law," if one wants to make sense of the duplication of terms, as referring to the doctrinal dimension.

2.2 Anti-Christian Writings

The introduction of anti-Christian policies was accompanied by anti-Christian propaganda, both the vulgar and the more sophisticated variety.⁴⁵ The two most interesting and most clearly Buddhist early writings will be dealt with in the following, again focusing on language use. Both authors treated here were also politically active in the suppression of Christianity.

Suzuki Shōsan

Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) was a warrior who fought on the victorious side of the Tokugawa in the decisive battles of the turn of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ In 1620, he be-

Century Japan, in: P.F. Kornicki/I.J. McMullen (eds), *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 135–55, here: p. 145.

43 For an accessible introduction into the Tokugawa-period system of investigation of sectarian affiliation in English, see A. Hayami, *The Historical Demography of Pre-modern Japan*, Tokyo 2001, pp. 21–37.

44 Quoted in: Nishida N., *Shintō shūmon* (The Shintō Denomination), in: Nishida N., *Nihon shintōshi kenkyū* (Studies in the History of Shintō in Japan), vol. 7, Tōkyō 1979, pp. 13–102, here: p. 58.

45 For an overview on anti-Christian writings of the seventeenth century, see chapter 8 of G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), in particular pp. 223–32.

46 Data on Shōsan are taken from G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), pp. 223–30, and R. Tyler, *The Tokugawa Peace and Popular Religion: Suzuki Shōsan, Kakugyō Tōbutsu, and Jikigyō Miroku*, in: P. Nosco (ed.), *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, Princeton 1984, pp. 92–119, here: pp. 93–101.

came a Buddhist monk of the Sōtō Zen persuasion. In 1642 he followed a call for help by his brother, the feudal lord assigned by the shogunate to the Amakusa Islands in southern Japan. The Amakusa Islands had been one of the centers of Christian conversion in Japan towards the end of the sixteenth century; indeed, the *collegio* the Jesuits had set up in 1580 moved to the Amakusa Islands in 1591 where it remained until Christianity was forbidden in this feudal domain after 1600. A large part of the population, however, remained Christians for a long period afterwards, and the Rebellion of Shimabara and Amakusa of 1637/1638, the last major threat to the shogunate for over 200 years, was identified by the shogunate with Christianity.⁴⁷ After this rebellion was forcefully suppressed, the local authorities and the shogunate were intent on taking anti-Christian action.⁴⁸ This partly explains why Suzuki Shōsan was called here in 1642, where his task was to lead the populace from their heretical convictions into the fold of Buddhism. In his three years on the islands, Shōsan founded no less than 17 Buddhist temples and brought with him special funds from the shogunate for the maintenance of these temples and the two Shintō shrines already in existence.⁴⁹

It was in this context that Shōsan wrote his tract “Countering Christianity” (*Ha kirishitan*), which was first published posthumously in 1662. The short text, which names basic Christian tenets in order to show their absurdity, was thus probably written for a wider audience.⁵⁰ Shōsan’s technique is to compare Christian items of belief with principles of Buddhism and Confucianism, often of an ethical character, or by appeal to a supposed common sense. His main line of argument is to draw a clear contrast between Buddhist universality and Christian dualism (with only one divine entity).⁵¹

Rhetorically, Shōsan’s tract is remarkable for its use of Buddhist language to describe Christianity, even identifying the Christian God as a buddha: “According to the Christian teachings, the Great Buddha named Deus is the Lord of Heaven and Earth and is the One Buddha.”⁵² Partially, this is a subversive rhetoric strategy because in his further argument, Shōsan then claims that the Christian God is not really a buddha: “In truth, this Deus is a foolscap Buddha!”⁵³ And in the end, Shōsan makes clear that the Christians really do not know anything about the true Buddha: “This Christian sect will not recognize the existence of the One Buddha of Original Illumination and Thusness.”⁵⁴

47 The precise degree to which Christianity actually played a role in the uprising is somewhat controversial. See K. Paramore, *Ideology* (as in note 28), pp. 55 and 178 (footnote 11).

48 Be it because they were wary of lingering Christian influence or because they had an incentive to emphasize the Christian aspects of the rebellion in order to deflect from more overtly political issues (such as their implication in having heavily overtaxed the region prior to the rebellion).

49 Wakaki T., Suzuki Shōsan no shisō to kyōka: Shimabara, Amakusa no ran sono go (Suzuki Shōsan’s Thought and Educational Activities: After the Amakusa Rebellion), in: Gobun kenkyū 31/32 (1971), pp. 135–48, here: p. 145.

50 M. Anesaki, *Japanese Criticisms* (as in note 26), p. 6.

51 M. Anesaki, *Japanese Criticisms* (as in note 26), p. 7.

52 Ebisawa A. et al. (eds), *Nihon shisō taikēi* (Series on Japanese Thought), vol. 25: *Kirishitan sho, haiyasho* (Christian Books, Anti-Christian Books) (below referred to as “NST 25”), p. 450; the translation follows G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), p. 377.

53 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 450; the translation follows G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), p. 377.

54 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 450; the translation follows G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), p. 378.

There is thus to some extent a conscious strategy in first calling the Christian God a buddha but then denying that he really is one. On the other hand, even when denouncing the Christian God as a fool, there was really no other way to do this in Shōsan's time than within the category of "a Buddha." Furthermore, as in *Myōtei Mondō*, quoted above in 1.3, Shōsan differentiates between "Christian teachings" and "Christian sect," employing *shū* when referring to the overall entity, not just its doctrines.

Sessō Sōsai

While Christianity remained a peripheral and superficially treated subject for Suzuki Shōsan (who left behind a great number of writings), it was much more central to a contemporary of his, Sessō Sōsai (1573–1649), also a Zen monk, albeit of the Rinzaï Zen persuasion. Sōsai was a resident priest of a Kyūshū temple, who apparently spent some time with Shōsan while the latter was in southern Japan. He is also known to have preached in Nagasaki, i.e., a former Christian stronghold, in 1647, which may explain his interest in the refutation of the Christian teachings.⁵⁵ In 1648, Sōsai penned the best-informed work on Christianity of the period after the wholesale eradication of the creed,⁵⁶ the *Taiji jashūron* ("Refuting the Teachings of the Evil Sect"), first published in 1668.

The work was probably intended for the use of the Buddhist clergy, "who were then made official instruments to repudiate Kirishitan propaganda."⁵⁷ In it, Sōsai takes up Christian arguments against Buddhism in some depth and tries to counter them. Remarkably, Sōsai follows the idea, more typical of earlier forms of religious contact,⁵⁸ that Christianity is genealogically linked to Buddhism:

Although he professed his adherence to Śākyamuni, Jesus merely learned the name and form of things and did not arrive at their deeper and hidden meaning. By deception, he stole Śākyamuni's [principle of the] characteristics of things [i.e. all things are of monad nature but differ in form] and created a heterodox way and a deviant view: Either he grasped the reality [of things] after changing their names or he differed in their substance although the things are identical.⁵⁹

In this way, Sōsai argued that many aspects of Christianity were not necessarily wrong but were rather evil because they were illicitly stolen from Buddhism and renamed or misunderstood. Of this, he gives many examples, including angels, paradise, purgatory, hell, baptism, confession, the Ten Commandments, or excommunication.⁶⁰ Sōsai claims that the Christians in Japan made conscious use of these similarities: "Deceiving them,

55 This information comes from G. Elison, *Deus Destroyed* (as in note 17), p. 231. As Elison notes: "Little is known of this monk," a situation which is still true today.

56 Its quality in this respect was only surpassed by the 1621 *Hadaïusu* (*Destroy Deus*) written by the author of the *Myōtei mondō* after he had committed apostasy.

57 M. Anesaki, *Japanese Criticisms* (as in note 26), p. 6.

58 See the Introduction to this volume.

59 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 494.

60 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 462.

[the Christians] expound the laws of the name and form of things of Buddhism, of the first learning of Confucianism, and of the rites of Shintō.”⁶¹

The general Christian strategy towards those interested in the faith and towards fresh converts is described by Sōsai as follows: “At first, they do not expose their own law and do not slander the teachings of other sects.”⁶² Rather, they engaged in charitable works. Only after some time, argued Sōsai, did they turn to open attempts at conversion by claiming the superiority and source of their teaching:

*Yet afterwards, Xavier strove to make the ruler convert to his denomination, build temples, and publicly speak on his devious law. [...] If our law does not suit your heart, you should stand by the purport of your original sect; if, however, you fully grasp the source of our sect, you should convert to our denomination.*⁶³

Sōsai’s wording makes it rather difficult to differentiate between “law” and “sect” precisely. Perhaps “law” is thought by him as identical to “source of our sect.” Either way, the terminology generalizing the entity Christianity and its teachings throughout the text is identical to that used for Buddhism, including the standard terms for “sect” discussed above.

Tominaga Nakamoto and Arai Hakuseki

It is important to note that the establishment of the new umbrella terms “law” and “sect” did not mean that the old terms, above all, “teaching,” were immediately replaced or relegated to new and more narrow meanings. More than anything else, the choice of vocabulary was a question of the persuasion of the writer. Among the non-Buddhists it was especially Confucians who came to dominate Tokugawa-period theorizing on religious and non-religious teachings.⁶⁴ While they sometimes did make use of the vocabulary of “sect” and “law,” more often than not they would resort to the more traditional categories of “teaching,” “way,” etc.

This was also the case where teachings are explicitly compared, as in the following two prominent examples. Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746), “a Tokugawa iconoclast,”⁶⁵ authored what was perhaps the most provocative essay on comparative teachings during the Tokugawa Period, effectively arguing that none of the three traditional teachings could be considered satisfactory. In his 1738 “Writings of an Old Man” (*Okina no fumi*),

61 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 492. This a very rare case where “law” is applied to all the traditional teachings.

62 NST 25 (as in note 52), p. 492.

63 NST 25 (as in note 52), pp. 492–93.

64 Due to a sharp increase in literacy since the second half of the seventeenth century (concerning the military class in particular), writing became much more important for the expression of religion in general. On the one hand, this might have brought with it a new emphasis on matters of doctrine, and therefore possibly a preference for writing about “teaching.” On the other hand, it meant that those linguistic practices which had taken shape by the middle of the seventeenth century were to some extent set and simply there to be used by the newly literate classes.

65 S. Katō, Tominaga Nakamoto, 1715–46: A Tokugawa Iconoclast, in: Monumenta Nipponica 22, 1/2 (1967), pp. 177–93.

Nakamoto throughout uses "teaching" to refer to the hypernym of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintō. The alternative traditional category of "way" is employed by him for a higher level of truth that he considers to be the alternative to the three teachings. Accordingly, Tominaga starts his essay, fictitiously attributed to an anonymous old man, as follows: "These writings, said to be the work of a certain Old Man, have been made available to me by a friend. [...] He emphatically expounds the theory that there is the Way of Truth besides the Ways of the Three Teachings."⁶⁶ Tominaga never uses "sect," and wherever he uses "law," he is referring to Buddhism exclusively, such as when he states that those who compiled a certain sutra "claimed that it represented Buddha's teachings during twenty-seven days after his enlightenment, illuminating the world as the sun over the mountains, and thus excelled all other laws."⁶⁷ The single exception is at a point where Tominaga criticizes the unconditional reliance of those expounding a certain teaching on earlier authorities of their respective tradition: "But here is the argument of the Old Man: it is a general rule that, from ancient times, those who preached the Way and established the law had always their ancestors to whom they attributed the authenticity of their Way and law."⁶⁸ Although it is not entirely clear what law does denote here, it certainly does not refer only to Buddhism, nor does it mean law in the sense of legal stipulation. Katō, who translates "doctrines" here, appears to be close to what Tominaga is driving at, although his wording seems to imply that "way" and "law" are regarded to be on the same level, i.e., "law" is not something subordinate to "way" (as "doctrines" would imply), but rather an alternative categorical term for the same thing that Tominaga expresses with "way."

The second insightful text is from the only Japanese intellectual who had an encounter with an actual Christian during the eighteenth century. The eminent Confucian thinker and statesman Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) had the unique opportunity in 1709 to interrogate the Italian priest Giovanni Battista Sidotti, who was captured in Nagasaki the year before when attempting to enter the country in disguise. In 1715, Hakuseki penned his "Record of Things Heard from the West" (*Seiyō kibun*), which remained unpublished for over 150 years, but circulated widely in intellectual circles in Japan even in the eighteenth century.

Hakuseki's impression of what he learned from Sidotti and from his study of older Japanese and Chinese books on Christianity resembles that of Sessō Sōsai: "From the explanation of the beginning of the world and mankind to that of paradise and hell, they all originate from the explanations of the Buddhists."⁶⁹ To Hakuseki's mind, these similari-

66 Ienaga S. et al. (eds), *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Series of Classical Japanese Literature), vol. 97: *Kinsei shisōka bunshū* (Writings by Early Modern Thinkers) (below referred to as NKBT 97), p. 547. The translation is that by S. Katō, *Okina no fumi* (The Writings of an Old Man), in: *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, 1/2 (1967), pp. 194–210, here: p. 194.

67 NKBT 97 (as in note 66), p. 555. See Katō, *Okina* (as in note 66), p. 203. Katō here translates *hō* as "sutras."

68 NKBT 97 (as in note 66), p. 554. See Katō, *Okina* (as in note 66), p. 201. Katō here translates *hō* as "the doctrines."

69 Matsumura A. et al. (eds), *Nihon shisō taikei* (Series on Japanese Thought), vol. 35: Arai Hakuseki (below referred to as "NST 35"), Tōkyō 1975, p. 79.

ties were no coincidence: From what he could tell from a Dutch world map, Judaea, the birthland of the founder of Christianity, was not very far from Western India, so that it seemed plausible for him to assume that Buddhism had earlier penetrated Judaea and that Christianity was but a degenerated form of Buddhism.⁷⁰

This conclusion is preceded by Hakuseki's paraphrase of Sidotti's explanations of Christianity and of his motives for coming to Japan. Although Sidotti had learned some Japanese in the Japanese colony in Manila before setting out for Japan, the interrogation was conducted with the help of official Dutch translators,⁷¹ and the resulting paraphrase in *Seiyō kibun* almost certainly reflects Hakuseki's own language and choice of words. On his appraisal of the situation of Christianity in Japan, Hakuseki quotes Sidotti as having said:

As concerns the fact that our law is not practiced in these environs, there is no need to speak at length about times long past. [...] That our law is presently prohibited is because the Dutch spread the following information about our teaching: "It confuses the world and plunders countries."⁷²

Hakuseki's usage of both "law" and "teaching" here seems to reflect less a deliberate distinction between the two terms but rather the tacit assumption of their rough equivalence. "Law" is clearly used where one would today expect "religion," while "teaching" might refer to the doctrine of this religion, although it seems more plausible to see in it just another synonym for religion. Yet when Sidotti explains to Hakuseki that there are three world religions (namely Christianity, heathendom, and Islam), Hakuseki's paraphrase of Sidotti's explanation of heathendom or paganism suggests that while "law" and "sect" are treated almost synonymously, "teaching" is relatively clearly reserved for doctrine: "When I asked him about this law, he said that in this sect they erect many Buddhas and serve them, but when it came to its teaching, [his answer] was not clear."⁷³

3. Comparison to China

The Japanese language used (and still uses) the same writing system for complex and abstract lexemes as Chinese; in fact, up to the nineteenth century, a large part of that vocabulary was adopted from Chinese or rather shared across an East Asian *koinē* of intellectual production, which also included Korea. Looking at China and Chinese is thus in principle a valid point of comparison, especially as both China and Japan (as well as Korea) adopted the same word (or at least the same characters, pronounced differently

70 NST 35 (as in note 69), pp. 81–82.

71 Dutch traders were the only Western foreigners allowed on Japanese soil between 1641 and 1854, so the shogunate maintained a small number of official translators in Nagasaki. On the languages used at the interrogation, see G. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* (as in note 2), p. 115.

72 NST 35 (as in note 69), p. 65.

73 NST 35 (as in note 69), p. 77.

in each country) to render the modern term "religion" by the end of the nineteenth century.

In China, as stated above, the conceptual pull of "teaching" (pronounced as *jiao* in modern Chinese) was predominant until the nineteenth century. Groups regarded as heterodox by the state were thus almost always labeled "deviant teachings" (*xiejiao*) or, taking the proper name of a fourteenth-century precedent that came to be seen as the heterodox group par excellence, as "White Lotus Teaching" (*bailianjiao*).⁷⁴ It was this "White Lotus Teaching" that Christianity was likened to by Yuan Guangxin in his classic collection of anti-Christian texts published in 1665 under the title *Budeyi* (I Cannot Do Otherwise). In this work, the standard way of referring to Christianity is either by "Teaching of the Lord of Heaven" (*tianzhu jiao*) or "deviant teaching." The Chinese equivalent to "sect" (*zong*) does not appear even once; "law," however, is used a few times to refer to Christianity (such as in "the new law from the West" or "the upright law of Jesus").⁷⁵ There was a precedent in labeling a non-Buddhist entity as "law" or "dharma," and that was medieval Daoism.⁷⁶ The French sinologist Michel Strickmann has even argued that "law" was the closest equivalent to "religion" in late ancient and early medieval China:

Taoism offered a hierarchy of carefully trained, literate priests, the Tao's own representatives on earth. [...] Taoists worked through meditations: a strictly prescribed and modulated system of communication with the invisible world, framed by established ritual procedures. All this is comprised within the Taoists' term for their religion and its rituals – fa, or 'the Law.' Fa is also used by Chinese Buddhists to render the Sanskrit word dharma. It is perhaps the Chinese word most closely approximating our own term 'religion' [...] Fa, then, suggests exemplary behavior or a ritual model.⁷⁷

It seems, however, that, as Strickmann himself mentions, it was rather the ritual practice than the entity which was referred to by that term. Equally, considering that "law" was rarely employed by Chinese Buddhists in referring to Daoism and that it was rarely applied to other teachings, especially Christianity, in the subsequent course of history, it would seem to be a weak candidate for an umbrella term. This is probably because the *jiao* paradigm was too dominant (which included, to repeat, decidedly non-religious teachings by any reasonable modern definition of "religion").

74 D.A. Palmer, *Heretical Doctrines, Reactionary Secret Societies, Evil Cults: Labeling Heterodoxy in Twentieth-Century China*, in: M.M. Yang (ed.), *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, Berkeley 2008, pp. 113–34, here: pp. 115–17.

75 I have used the edition of the *Budeyi* contained in the online Database of Classic Ancient Chinese Books (Zhongguo jiben guji ku). See also W.T. De Bary / R. Lufrano (eds), *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 2: From 1600 through the Twentieth Century. New York 2000, pp. 150–52.

76 Robert Ford Campany calls "law" in medieval Chinese a "common nominalizing idiom" and claims that it was "used more often to refer to what we would term 'Buddhism' than to 'Daoism' (but also used for the latter as well)," although none of the numerous examples he gives substantiate his claim that "law" was used when referring to Daoism (R.F. Campany, *On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)*, in: *History of Religions* 42/4 (2003), pp. 287–319, here: pp. 305–06.

77 M. Strickmann / B. Faure (eds), *Chinese Magical Medicine*, Stanford 2002, p. 4.

The role of the term “sect” (Chin. *zong* or *zongmen*) was equally limited. In Buddhist parlance, it seems to have remained restricted to Buddhist lineages, just as in pre-sixteenth century Japanese Buddhism. In Daoism, the term *zongmen* “refers to the series of spiritual or historical ancestors as well as differences in substance [...] Teaching [*jiao*], in contrast, is the connecting fundament” for the differing lineages.⁷⁸

In contrast to Japan, where Buddhism was a powerful force both as a popular religious faith and politically (in terms of its integration with the imperial court and from the medieval period onward as an important counterweight against the military class), in China Confucianism was dominant and Buddhism (and Daoism) were relatively weak in the last centuries before the onset of modernity. Their respective roles in the field of intellectual text production (that is, in their influence on linguistic change), which were a reflection of Confucianism’s strength and Buddhism’s weakness, help explain why simply retaining the old umbrella term “teaching” seemed sufficient to most Chinese intellectuals in the contact with the West up to 1900.

The tenacity of the paradigm “teaching,” which encompassed both religious and philosophical teachings and worldviews, was much less pronounced in Japan, where semantic changes in the words “law” and “sect,” occurring after the first encounter with Christianity in the sixteenth century, had undermined the epistemological unity of “teachings” and introduced new distinctions as early as the seventeenth century. Moreover, the historical record indicates that the contemporaneity with Japan’s Christian experience was no coincidence. Although the budding central state had started adopting religious policies in the second half of the sixteenth century independent of Christianity’s advent – between 1570 and 1580, Oda Nobunaga, the first of three unifiers of the realm, crushed several politically powerful Buddhist groups and established offices to regulate religious groups – this had little effect on discursive practices. Rather, new linguistic practices were stimulated by intellectual debates comparing the merits of different “religions,” as well as by religious policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

4. Some Distinctions and an Outlook

What do the semantic innovations triggered by the encounter with Christianity tell us about changes in general attitudes towards the religious field? It is important to remember that the usage of “law” and “sect” for non-Buddhist groups was novel in the sixteenth century, and it was also by and large unique in East Asia. In terms of sheer quantity, “sect” as new umbrella term turned out to be even more important than “law,” as it came to be employed in official documents at all levels down to villages and town districts, where, as an anti-Christian measure, from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards “investigations of sectarian denomination” were conducted.

78 F. Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus: Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit*. Wiesbaden 1988, p. 36. Reiter is here referring to Zhang Yuchu’s 1406 *Daomen shigui*.

Drawing on the distinction between "religion" in the generic meaning (usable as a plural term) and as a borderline concept (for a societal subsystem) outlined in the introduction to this volume, "sect" (and, to a lesser degree, "law") clearly demarcated religions in the first of these two senses. A possible counterargument against this view is that rather than forming a new generic term, "sect" and "law" simply continued to be used as purely Buddhist terms and that Christianity was thus subsumed within the framework of Buddhism, a framework which did not change of itself. As anthropologist Gerd Baumann has shown in his analysis of "Grammars of Identity/Alterity," however, such an act of hierarchical subsumption (which he calls "encompassment") necessarily entails a "higher level [which] subsumes that which is different under that which is universal."⁷⁹ Subordinating the "Christian sect" under the Buddhist sects seems to at least imply the existence of something universal at a higher level, namely a category of "the religious." That "sect" and "law" were no longer merely Buddhist technical terms by the end of the early modern period is also attested to by the fact that they were not exclusively employed by Buddhists alone, but to some degree were diffused in the general language (of the elites at least).

Also, while there were other terms which functioned as umbrella terms, "sect" and "law" did so more sharply, i.e., with a more narrow range of entities. Thus, while a concept like "teaching" encompassed Buddhism, Shintō, Christianity, Confucianism,⁸⁰ or even education in general,⁸¹ "sect" was applied exclusively to Buddhism and Christianity and almost never to Confucianism and Shintō. In fact, those cases in which people spoke of "the Shintō sect" (*shintō shū* or *shintō shūmon*) are revealing in themselves: A small number of Shintō priests employed this terminology in their lobbying efforts to allow exceptions from the mandatory registration at Buddhist temples and from non-Buddhist funerals. We find the term "sect" applied to Shintō in such contexts for the first time in the second half of the eighteenth century, and we find it particularly within priest families who had close connections to the nativist school of "national learning" (*kokugaku*), whose thought was fueled by a rabid hatred of all things Chinese.⁸² This means that

79 G. Baumann, *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, in: G. Baumann/A. Gingrich (eds), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, Oxford 2004, pp. 18–50, here: p. 25.

80 In contrast to premodern China, Confucianism in Japan never developed forms of organized worship with institutional manifestations such as temples or a priesthood, but until the end of the early modern period was little more than an (albeit influential) school of thought.

81 Such as in the compounds *bunkyo* (Chin. *wenjiao*; "refined teaching"), documented since the ancient period in China, or *jokyō* ("teachings for women").

82 Nishida N., *Shintō shūmon* (as in note 44), especially pp. 26–31, 95–96. Interestingly, Engelbert Kaempfer, the German physician who stayed in Nagasaki as "geneesheer" of the Dutch trading post there between 1690 and 1692, in his "History of Japan" refers to Shintō as "Sinto, which is also called Sinsju," adding that "Sin and Kami, denote the Idols, which are the object of this worship. [...] Siu [or 'Sju' in the German original] signifies Faith, or Religion" (E. Kaempfer, *The History of Japan: Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690–92*, trans. J.G. Scheuchzer, vol. 2, Glasgow 1906, pp. 2–3; E. Kaempfer, *Werke*, vol. 1/1: *Heutiges Japan*, edited by W. Michel and B.J. Terwiel, München 2001, p. 173). Kaempfer's impression that Shintō is "held to be the most distinguished in rank among the three main religions now flourishing" (E. Kaempfer, *Werke*, p. 173; Scheuchzer's English translation here is misleading) and his repeated characterization of Buddhism as "foreign" seem to indicate that his informant(s) hailed from the Yoshida branch of Shintō, which was instrumental in furthering the

“Shintō sect” was used precisely by radical anti-Buddhist Shintoists who were keen on establishing Shintō as an independent religion of equal standing to Buddhism. In other words, by resorting to “sect,” they stressed something that was usually regarded as lacking in Shintō but present in Buddhism and Christianity. I want to draw attention to two further distinctions before briefly seeking out the continuities between early modern and modern conceptual conventions.

4.1 Heterodoxy vs. Heresy

What does it mean that Christianity is routinely referred to as “the devious law”? It is perhaps helpful here to make a distinction not generally considered in the study of European historical material, i.e., that between heterodoxy and heresy. Here, I am following the suggestion made recently by buddhologist John LoBreglio who has attempted to “draw a distinction between ‘heterodoxy’ as something merely judged to be an ‘other’ (heteros) ‘opinion’ (doxa), the abandoning of which is possible through dialogue and persuasion, and ‘heresy’ as something that is actively excluded as being ‘beyond the pale’ when dialogue has broken down.”⁸³

In the East Asian case, the common terms for “heresy,” i.e., the entirely incommensurable, included “licentious worship” (Chin. *yinci* or *yinsi*, Jap. *inshi*, used, e.g., by anti-Buddhist Confucianists in medieval China) or “slanted” (Chin. *yiduan*, Jap. *itan*, used by Chinese Catholics in the early seventeenth century when speaking about Buddhism or Daoism).⁸⁴ In contrast, the terms “devious law” (*jahō*), “devious sect” (*jashū*), or “aberrating way” (*gedō*), used for Christianity in early modern Japan, all imply aberration, but within a framework of commensurability: it is certainly the wrong sect, law, or way, but it is nevertheless a sect, law, or way, while the terms for incommensurable practices or entities were usually reserved for magical rituals and so on outside of established religious traditions.⁸⁵

To be sure, the borders between the two ascriptive sets of heterodoxy and heresy were not clear-cut, yet overall, and irrespective of author, it was rather the milder label of heterodoxy that was applied to Christianity in sixteenth- through nineteenth-century Japan. Also, while Jason Josephson has pointed out that “Tokugawa intellectuals [...] used terms such as *inshi*, *jakyō*, or *jasetsu* to describe not only Christianity but a wide range of

cause of Shintō as a “sect” in the sense described above. This would allow us to date the movement for a “Shintō sect” several decades earlier than Nishida has done. It is not entirely clear how Kaempfer would have come under the influence of Yoshida Shintō. The assumption that this was indeed the case is voiced by Klaus Antoni (Engelbert Kaempfers Werk als Quelle der Geschichte des edo-zeitlichen Shintō, in: Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 161/162 (1997), pp. 87–109, here: pp. 103–04).

83 J. LoBreglio, Orthodox, Heterodox, Heretical: Defining Doctrinal Boundaries in Meiji-period Sōtō Zen, in: Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung 33 (2009), pp. 77–102, here: p. 78.

84 For more on the use of these two categories in China and Japan, see J. Josephson, Evil Cults (as in note 12), pp. 42–43.

85 It needs to be pointed out that this simplified picture becomes much more complicated when considering intra-Confucian disputes of the early modern period.

popular practices from local mediums to Buddhism as a whole,"⁸⁶ the term *jashū*, again, was significantly only applied to Christianity and not to such popular practices as those referred to by Josephson.

4.2 Extension vs. Intension

To determine whether the meaning of a certain word has changed, we first have to clarify what we mean by meaning. A basic distinction in philosophical logic distinguishes between the "extensional" (discrete things that a term can be applied to) and the "intensional" (sic!) (properties or qualities connoted by a word). I have so far spoken almost exclusively of the extensions of the terms discussed above, i.e., the question which entities are encompassed by a certain term. All the concepts referred to, however, have rather clear intensions. Both "teaching" and "law," e.g., have at the core of their meaning the contents of a teaching, yet they differ in that ethics are much more important for "teaching," while religious truth is much more important for "law."⁸⁷

What, however, do we gain by distinguishing between the extensional and intensional dimensions of meaning? The answer is that it helps us better approach our central question: how does religious contact change the language used to speak of the religious? The fundamental change introduced when Christianity entered Japan in the sixteenth century is that Christianity was added to the extension of a number of existing terms. Does this change, however, affect the intension of these terms in any way? While this is difficult to judge without a very detailed analysis of a great number of texts, it seems that concerning "teaching," "way," or "law," change in intensional meaning was rather limited. In the case of "sect," in contrast, the term seems to have shifted its intension from "a set of beliefs, practices following the precedent set through a lineage" towards "the organization of religious people recognizable as clear unit." Religious studies scholar Isomae Jun'ichi defines the extension of "sect" in the early modern period even more sharply. He claims that

Shūshi and shūmon, which correspond to [the dimension of] practice, are basically words expressing the relationship of belonging to a specific Buddhist sect such as the Sōtō Zen Sect or the Pure Land Sect. This was closely connected to the early modern system of control of individuals by the shogunate through the temples known as the temple registration system, and, before the background of a system of community-level organization of religious groups, the term 'sect' was recognized as applying only to the Buddhist sects, which had been permitted to perform funerary rites. For this reason, Shintō and Confucianism, which had basically no connection to funerary rites, were not included in this

86 J. Josephson, *Evil Cults* (as in note 12), p. 47.

87 In contrast, "way" (*dō*) and "art" (*jutsu*) share many of the characteristics of "teaching," but have a much stronger emphasis on practice as opposed to doctrine. You Jae Lee presents a brief discussion of the intensional dimension of meaning of several terms used for religion in premodern Korea. See Y.J. Lee, *The Concept of Religion and the Reception of Christianity in Korea Around 1900*, in: *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 33 (2009), pp. 61–76, here: p. 64.

*category, and only Christianity, which was then a forbidden religion, was, as an aberrant form of 'sect,' seen as 'the devious sect' that rejected Buddhist style funerals.*⁸⁸

It is true that the immediate aim of those Shintō priests mentioned above who wanted to have Shintō recognized as a “sect” was to obtain exemptions from having to partake in Buddhist funerary rites. Yet the ideological context of these efforts shows that this recognition entailed much more, namely a sense of equality with Buddhism. Also, the issue of funerary rites was never even mentioned in discussions of “the Christian sect.” Instead, as we have seen above, the similarities to Buddhism that were pointed out rather stressed issues of doctrine or belief. Another indication that “sect” in the early modern mind was about much more than funerary rites can be seen in the transition to the modern period, to which I will now turn my attention.

4.3 Towards a General Concept of Religion in Japan

When Japanese were first confronted with the modern term “religion” by speakers of European languages in the mid-nineteenth century, there was no self-evident way to translate this new concept. A number of neologisms were quickly coined (or rarely used existing words resorted to) throughout the 1850s and 1860s.⁸⁹ In the dozen or so candidates for translation bandied about before a term was finally fixed in the late 1870s, all of them compound words consisting of two Chinese characters, it is conspicuous that those most frequently used contain either “sect” or “law,” in particular in combination with “teaching.” Thus, we find *hōkyō* (“teaching of the law”), *kyōhō* (“teaching and law”), *shūhō* (“sectarian law”), *shūshi* (“gist of a sect”), *shūmon* (“lineage of a sect”), and finally *shūkyō* (“sectarian teaching”), the term that was to remain the standard translation for “religion” until today.

The background for the choice of a compound character including “sect” is that the new translation for “religion” was coined in the legal context; the necessity to translate religion first arose in the context of international treaties in the 1850s, and the necessity to hone the understanding of this new concept became evident in the course of the discussions about how to deal with the problem of religions in the context of the new constitution in the 1880s. This might explain why “sect,” the term the extension of which most closely focused on the organizational dimension, might have been the best fit among the many options that were tentatively tried out in the 1860s and 1870s.⁹⁰ At the same time, “sect” was used within the new word for religion to signify the religious essence, so that *shūkyō* refers to those kinds of teachings with a “sectarian” (i.e., religious) character.

This latter nuance is visible in the way Japanese Buddhist writers who were engaged in redefining Buddhism in the face of the new Christian missionary effort conceptualized

88 Isomae J., *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gensetsu* (as in note 30), p. 35.

89 See Hikaku Shisōshi Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Meiji shisōka no shūkyōkan* (Meiji Thinkers' Views on Religion), Tōkyō 1975, pp. 16–28.

90 See Isomae J., *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gensetsu* (as in note 30), Part 1, Chapter 1.

"sectarian teaching" in the early 1870s.⁹¹ In fact, we might find an indication in these writings, in which "sect" shifted its primary intensional meaning from "institution" or "organization" toward a more emphatically "religious" or "transcendent" character, of the importance of the encounter with Christianity in the sixteenth century, and of its long-term effect on historical semantics. The answer partly seems to depend on whether we want to accept a relationship between the two meanings of religion sketched above: Is the grasping of different entities as similar, i.e., as "religions," a step towards recognizing an abstract entity of social and cultural life we call "religion"? It is precisely the transition period of the mid-nineteenth century which one would have to subject to a detailed analysis that might potentially offer an answer to this fundamental methodological problem, an analysis, however, that transcends the scope of the present paper.

91 Secondary scholarship has not yet addressed this issue. Examples of Buddhists making use of "sect" in this way around 1870 are the True Pure Land priests Shimaji Mokurai, Higuchi Ryōon, and Sada Kaiseki.

Before the Term: „Religion“ as China’s Cultural Other

Ya-pei Kuo

RESÜMEE

Nachdem es von Frankreich und Großbritannien besiegt worden war, unterzeichnete China 1858 die Verträge von Tianjin und stimmte der Aufhebung des Christentumsverbots zu. Die darauf folgenden diplomatischen Verhandlungen über den gesellschaftlichen, rechtlichen und steuerlichen Status von Christen machte die herrschende Schicht mit der Doktrin und den Praktiken dieser Religion bekannt und formte ihre allgemeine Wahrnehmung des Christentums. Auf der Grundlage einer Analyse von Schriften aus der Feder nicht-christlicher Angehöriger der Elite argumentiert der vorliegende Beitrag, dass das Auftreten der westlichen Nationen als Hüter der Rechte von Christen weltweit die Identität des Christentums von „der Religion aus dem Westen“ zu „der Religion des Westens“ veränderte. Auch Bemühungen, einige der Vertragsrechte auch auf chinesische Christen auszuweiten, trugen zur Schaffung einer separaten Verwaltungskategorie für Anhänger des Christentums bei und verstärkten die kulturelle Andersartigkeit, die mit dem Christentum assoziiert wurde. Diese Andersartigkeit wurde später in den chinesischen Begriff von Religion eingeschrieben, der, wie zahlreiche Forscher bemerkt haben, größtenteils auf dem Bild des Christentums beruhte.

In understanding the conceptual history of “religion” in modern China, much of the discussion has focused on “the term question.” As many have pointed out, the Chinese language did not possess an equivalent to the Western term “religion” until the beginning of the twentieth century. While the phrase *zongjiao*, which is the standard word for “religion” in modern Chinese, can be found in Chinese texts since the medieval period, it

had different meanings and never functioned as the signifier of a category.¹ *Zongjiao* in its modern incarnation and as the designated equivalent of “religion” originated in a loanword from the Japanese.² As part of the linguistic circulation in East Asia, the Chinese graphs were gleaned from pre-modern texts to form a new vocabulary and to facilitate the importation of the Western-originated concept in Meiji-era Japan (1868–1912).³ The Chinese scripts of the Japanese word then traveled back to China as a neologism.

Ever since its inception in China, *zongjiao* carried a conspicuous tone of cultural otherness. Liang Qichao, a participant in the 1898 reform movement and a journalist whose post-1900 writings significantly popularized the use of the term, claimed in a 1902 essay that China had never had religion.⁴ Hu Shi, a self-proclaimed follower of Western liberalism and one of the most influential historians in the Republican era, upheld a similar though qualified position: Before the advent of Buddhism, the mainstay of intellectual orientation in China had been rationalist and thus non-religious.⁵

Hu and Liang both use the phrase *zongjiao* in a particular sense. More than religion per se, it denoted the specific form of religion pervasive in the West. Censuring the early Republican campaign to institute a national religion, Wing-tsit Chan, a Chinese-born American scholar, pointed to the lack of any organized church and questioned whether Confucianism would fit the definition.⁶ Chan’s position is not atypical. Throughout the twentieth century, opponents and critics of such campaigns often held Christianity to be the primary referent of *zongjiao* and played up the connotation of cultural foreignness in their arguments. The century-long debate on whether Confucianism is a religion has been as much about the meaning of *zongjiao* as the (re)definition of Confucianism.

This article traces the construction of *zongjiao*’s cultural foreignness back to its “prehistory.” It argues that, before the term was coined, direct social contact with Christian missionaries and political dealings with Western states had spawned a new conception of “religion” based on the image of Christianity. After its arrival in China, the loanword over time incorporated layers of meaning that had emerged during the previous half

1 For a discussion of the usage before the nineteenth century, see A.C. Yu, *State and Religion in China: Historical and Textual Perspectives*, Chicago 2005, p. 12–14; Chen H., “Zongjiao” – yige Zhongguo jindai wenhuashi shang de guanjianci (“Zongjiao”: A Key Term in the Cultural History of Modern China), in: *Xin shixue* 13/4 (2002), pp. 37–66, here: pp. 46–49.

2 Chen H., “Zongjiao” (as in note 1); M. Bastid-Bruguère (Ba Sidi), Liang Qichao yu zhongjiao wenti (Liang Qichao and the Religion Question), in: Hazama N. (ed.), Liang Qichao, Mingzhi Riben, Xifang: Riben Jingdu daxue renwen kexue yanjiusuo gongtong yanjiu baogao (Liang Qichao, Meiji Japan, and the West: Reports of the Joint Research Conducted at the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyoto University, Japan), Beijing 2001, pp. 400–57.

3 L.H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937*, Stanford 1995; F. Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, Berkeley 1993.

4 Liang Q., *Lun Zhongguo xueshu zhi bianqian dashi* (On the Major Trend of Changes in China’s Scholarship), in: Wu S. et al. (eds), *Yinbing shi wenjidianjiao* (Writings from the Studio of Ice Drinking, with Annotations), Kunming 2001, vol. 1, pp. 215–84, here: pp. 216, 218.

5 Hu S., *The Chinese Renaissance: The Haskell Lectures*, 1933, Chicago 1934, pp. 78–93.

6 W. Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China*, New York 1953, p. 16.

century. The borrowing of the Japanese word was only one episode in the conceptual history of *zongjiao*.

To focus on the prehistory of the term is to confront the nineteenth-century mode of knowledge formation in China. In comparison with cases in other colonial and semi-colonial regions, such as India and Japan, China's acquisition of Western knowledge during this period relied more heavily on native nomenclature. With very few exceptions, the Chinese elite, trained in the Confucian classics, had neither skill in foreign languages nor travel experience outside of China. Even those who openly advocated Western learning (*Xixue*) lacked direct access to Western sources. New knowledge had to reach them through the mediation of the existing Chinese lexicon and conceptual framework. Leafing through Nishi Amane's *Hyakugaku renkan* (One Hundred Disciplines Connected, 1871), a Japanese encyclopedia, one would inevitably notice not only the adoption of the Western disciplinary structure as its classificatory framework, but also the extensive insertions of English terms in the texts. Each insert flags the foreign origin of the concept behind the Japanese word and marks out neologisms by highlighting the novelty of their intended meanings. Such a practice of translingual referencing did not appear in China until much later. Probably due to a recognition of the population's overall unfamiliarity with foreign languages, knowledge transmitters in nineteenth-century China tended to draw analogies between the imported and the native system of meanings and to gloss over the shifts in nuance and emphasis when old vocabulary was used for new concepts. In Kang Youwei's comparative study of sociopolitical norms and practices worldwide, *Shili gongfa quanshu* (Compendium of Pragmatic Principles and Universal Laws), which was also initiated in the 1870s, one thus finds a large number of foreign referents, now denoted by Chinese characters, being registered under the traditional conceptual structure. The translingual trafficking of meaning remained an opaque process, and the semantic shifting was anything but systematic and unequivocal.

The continuous reliance on the existent system of nomenclature certainly did not mean that the underlying concepts remained unchanged. As wars and unequal treaties with France and England forced China to lift its ban on Christianity in the middle of the nineteenth century, social contacts with Western religious personnel and church operations became possible for the first time in more than a century. The ensuing diplomatic and domestic controversies over Christians' civil and treaty rights not only shaped how Christianity was perceived in China, but also placed it at the center of the legal and political discourse on religion. By the end of the century, Christianity had become the primary model for new conceptions of religion. This history constitutes an interesting case for studying linguistic practices in the context of religious encounters, because the epistemological shift occurred without an overhaul in lexicon, making the process difficult to trace. Without the methodically demarcated neologisms seen in Japan, changes in religious concepts in China only revealed themselves through new patterns of word usage. However, they significantly determined how *zongjiao* would be construed and deployed in the following century.

I.

The rise of the imperialist West in the nineteenth century ushered in a new era in global history. Empire-building connected different parts of the world in one power network, and the process was by no means peaceful. The encroachment on China started with the infamous First Opium War in 1839. By the end of the century, no less than fifteen international treaties had been signed between the Middle Kingdom and various Western nations, almost all in the wake of armed confrontations. Similarly, the “opening of Japan” in the middle of the nineteenth century occurred after a U.S. naval incursion, and was formalized through a series of imposed and unequal treaties. These treaties not only inflicted financial liability for war costs on the defeated, but also chipped away these Asian countries’ sovereign autonomy by stipulating the principle of extraterritoriality, accessibility of trade ports, and tariff rates. Documenting as well as formalizing the power inequality between regions, the treaty system forced China and Japan to come to terms with Western customs and concepts of diplomacy, international relations, and jurisprudence.

Treaty negotiations were also some of the earliest occasions in which China and Japan encountered the word “religion.” In 1858, both the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Japan and the U.S. and the Treaties of Tianjin attempted to address religion-related issues – the former specified American citizens’ religious rights in Japan and the latter Christian missionaries’ freedom to preach in China. In both cases, finding an indigenous term for “religion” proved difficult. In the end, Japanese leaders settled on the Buddhist term *shūhō* (lit. “sect law”) when translating the clause “Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion.”⁷ The Chinese opted for a different solution. For sentences such as: “The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by,”⁸ the decision was made to avoid a word-for-word translation. Instead, the Chinese version of the treaty listed Protestantism (*Yesujidu shengjiao*) and Catholicism (*Tianzhujiao*) side by side as two beneficiaries of the stipulation. In the following years, *shūkyō* arose in Japan to become the standard corresponding word for “religion.” Many who participated in the public debate on religious freedom (*shūkyō jiyū*) in the middle of the 1870s used this neologism in their contributions. By the end of the decade, it had become the accepted correlating word in Japan for the Western concept of religion. In China, both the government and the public continued to rely on older vocabulary for

7 Kajima M., *Bakumatsu gaikō: kaikoku to ishin* (Diplomacy at the End of the Tokugawa Period: Opening the Nation and Reforms), Tokyo 1970, p. 33; Kaijō gijutsu anzenkyoku, *Treaty between the United States of America and the Japanese Empire, Signed at Yedo, July 29th, 1858*, in: *Treaties and Conventions Concluded between Japan and Foreign Nations, Together with Notifications and Regulations Made from Time to Time, 1854–1870*, Yokohama 1871, pp. 31–39, here: p. 34. *Shūhō* had formerly been a term used only in Buddhism, denoting “a type of teaching or ethical restraint attached to a specific sect.” See J.Ä. Josephson, *When Buddhism Became a “Religion,”* in: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33/1 (2006), pp. 143–68, esp. p. 144.

8 These were words from the Sino-British Treaty of Tianjin.

understanding the foreign concept until the turn of the twentieth century. This delay in adopting a new term meant that the formation of the new concept largely occurred within the semantic boundaries of the word *jiao*, and did not appear as a conceptual rupture.

Before the twentieth century, most systems that we nowadays label as religions were grouped together under the rubric of *jiao*. Major creeds therefore all contained the graph in their appellations, such as Fojiao (*jiao* of Buddha) for Buddhism, Daojiao (*jiao* of the Dao) for Daoism, and Rujiao (*jiao* of the scholars) for Confucianism. Nevertheless, the category functions differently from “religion” on two levels. First, structurally, it inhabits another universe of meaning. Unlike *zongjiao*, which, as part of modern nomenclature, defines itself in contradistinction to non-religion (i.e., the secular), *jiao* does not invoke such a binary construct and does not represent an either/or demarcation. A more generic and thus inclusive label, *jiao* in itself does not suggest any differentiation of the legitimate from the illegitimate. Even the most acrimonious polemics between religious groups were rarely about denying the title of *jiao* to the opponents. This again is in contrast to *zongjiao*’s constant struggle to distinguish itself from its evil twin, *mixin*, or “superstition.” Second, on the semantic level, with the word’s root meaning in “doctrine,” *jiao* stresses the system of tenets around which a social group or movement revolves, regardless of whether the focus of these tenets is this-worldly or otherwise. With its meaning of “to teach and educate,” *jiao* also denotes an ability to enlighten and thereby initiate inner change in individuals. Underscoring the top-down effect, the word’s use creates a relatively passive role for followers. Robert F. Campany thus argues that the use of *jiao* stressed “the source of the teaching, the one who taught it.”⁹ His remark is further developed by Anthony C. Yu, who has pointed out that, since antiquity, the vertical relationship of “above” vs. “below” has been central to the semantics of *jiao*.¹⁰

While all major religious traditions in China used the word to construct their identities, *jiao* occupied a particularly conspicuous place in Confucianism. Not without a religious connotation, the Confucian discourse of *jiao* was nevertheless emphatically this-worldly. Since the classical period, *jiao* has often been invoked in its associated meaning of “education” as a marker of civilization, that which distinguishes humans from animals. This focus on *jiao*’s social and political bearing becomes more pronounced when it is combined in the compound phrase *jiaohua* (literally “to teach and transform”). The added character *hua*, “to effect change in a piecemeal manner,” brings out the supposed transformative aspiration in the Confucian notion of *jiao*. In the nineteenth century, when the Chinese first encountered the English word “civilization,” *jiaohua* was immediately invoked as the closest analogous term in Chinese.¹¹

9 R.F. Campany, On the Very Idea of Religions (In the Modern West and in Early Medieval China), in: History of Religions 42/4 (2003), pp. 287–319, here: p. 307.

10 A.C. Yu, State (as in note 1), p. 16.

11 Huang X., Wan-Qing Min-chu xiandai “wenming” he “wenhua” gainian de xingcheng ji qi lishi shijian (The Formation of Modern Concepts of “Civilization” and “Culture” and Their Historical Practice in Late Qing and Early Republican China), in: Jindaishi yanjiu 6 (2006), pp. 1–34, here: pp. 7–8.

Those who were educated in this tradition, i.e., the majority of the ruling class, also tended to view education and governance as closely intertwined. Ideally, true political leadership governs through teaching and teaches through governing; it sets moral examples and cultural guidance, and thereby creates order by inspiring behavioral changes in the people. To the Confucian, such an individual and social transformation constitutes the highest objective of politics, and the sole criterion for judging a regime's success, or even legitimacy. In reality, this outlook vested much cultural and moral authority in the powers that be, allowing the state to position itself as the guardian of correct teaching and to enjoy an exclusive prerogative to regulate religious affairs. Throughout imperial history, the state exercised this prerogative to buttress the stature of Confucianism.

From the perspective of the educated, a hierarchy thus existed within the category of *jiao*. Confucianism, the designated orthodoxy, resided at the pinnacle and constituted the “prototype” of the category.¹² The legitimacy of any given *jiao* could only be determined by mapping it against the orthodox doctrine. Despite their crucial importance to Chinese society, Buddhism and Daoism were legitimate only to the extent that they complemented the basic moral tenets of Confucianism. In the official ideology, their teachings and practices helped pacify the social order, but offered nothing of consequence for the task of perfecting the empire's moral fabric. On an even lower rung were various sectarian groups, with appellations such as *Bailianjiao* (teachings of the white lotus) and *Taipingjiao* (teachings of great peace). Placed within the sub-category of *xiejiao*, literally, “straying teachings,” or heresy, they were often viewed as social deviants that posed potential threats to the current order.¹³

How to insert Christianity into the Chinese landscape of *jiao* was the most fundamental question that Catholic missionaries faced when they arrived in the sixteenth century. Adopting the name *Tianzhujiào* (“teachings of the heavenly lord”), the Jesuits quickly switched from donning Buddhist vestments to wearing the Confucian robes and thereby aligned themselves with the official ideology of religious hierarchy. To present Christianity as something much like Confucianism, the Jesuits realized, was crucial to establishing legitimacy in the eyes of the Chinese elite.¹⁴ So the great Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–

12 For analyzing category construction through the “prototype effect,” see J.Ä. Josephson, Buddhism, (as in note 7), esp. pp. 145–8. Jonathan Z. Smith explains the working of a “prototype” most concisely: “A prototype functions in classification by providing an image of a commonplace example that then serves as an ideal or typical exemplar of a category with decisions as to whether another object is a member of the same category being based on matching it against features of the prototype ...” See J.Z. Smith, God Save This Honourable Court: Religion and Civic Discourse, in: *ibid.*, Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion, Chicago 2004, pp. 375–90, here: p. 377.

13 For a detailed analysis of this hierarchical order within the category of *jiao*, see Chen H., Confucianism Encounters Religion: The Formation of Religious Discourse and the Confucian Movement in Modern China, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999, pp. 21–53. According to Barend J. ter Haar, the appellation *Bailianjiao* that one finds in most historical sources is a label used by the anti-sectarian elite of late imperial times, rather than the autonym of a particular socio-religious organization. His argument helps illustrate my earlier point on the lack of value judgment in the use of *jiao* – even the ultimate symbol of religious illegitimacy counted as a *jiao*. See B.J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, Leiden 1992.

14 As Erik Zürcher has pointed out, all “marginal religions” in Chinese history carried the burden of proving their congruity with Confucianism. The Jesuits were only following a long-established pattern. See E. Zürcher, *Jesuit*

1610) opened *Tianzhu shiyi* (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1603) with an acknowledgement of the “five relationships,” the foundation of Confucian ethics.¹⁵ The influential catechism set out by Ricci explicitly argues that the Christian God (*Tianzhu*) is the same deity that the authors of the great Chinese classics called *Shangdi*, or “Sovereign-on-High.”¹⁶ Ricci argued that knowledge of God had existed in ancient times and was not foreign to the Chinese. He painstakingly extrapolated proofs from *Shijing* (The Book of Poetry) of an indigenous notion of Heaven and Hell. If legendary sage kings such as the founding rulers of the Shang Dynasty, King Wen, and the Duke of Zhou ascended to Heaven after death, he reasoned, then notorious tyrants such as Jie, Zhou, and Daoduo must have gone to Hell. “Since they behaved differently, the consequences would be different. This principle doubtlessly is universal.”¹⁷ The Jesuits also campaigned to discredit Buddhism and Daoism, relentlessly attacking what they called idolatry.¹⁸ They particularly ridiculed the growing trend to synthesize Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism into one system of *sanjiao* (lit. “the three teachings”). The divergence between Confucianism and the other two teachings, to them, was too large for such a project to make sense.¹⁹ Christianity was the only appropriate and faithful complement to Confucianism. Critics of the Jesuits, at the same time, decried Christianity as *xiejiao*.²⁰ In the mid-seventeenth century, lay Buddhists were particularly active in sponsoring anti-Christian writings under the title of “smashing heresy” (*po xie* or *pi xie*).²¹ Officially banned in 1724, the teaching of Christianity became licit once more after 1858, when the Treaties of Tianjin obliged the Chinese government to openly acknowledge the unobjectionable nature of Catholicism and Protestantism. When Christian missionaries came back to China in mid-century, those who aspired to spread the Gospel among the elite, or to enter into meaningful interlocution with the Confucians, drew on the example set by Ricci. In spite of their conscious censure of Catholic ritualism and papism, Protestant missionaries, now outnumbering their Catholic counterparts in China, inherited the cultural strategy and much of the vocabulary that the Jesuits had

Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative, in: D.E. Mungello (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning*, Nettetal 1994, pp. 31–64. For the Jesuits’ approach, see also E. Zürcher, *A Complement to Confucianism: Christianity and Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, in: C. Huang/E. Zürcher (eds), *Norms and the State in China*, Leiden 1993, pp. 71–92; J. Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, Trans. J. Lloyd, Cambridge, UK 1985, pp. 15–57; J.D. Young, *Confucianism and Christianity: The First Encounter*, Hong Kong 1983, pp. 9–39.

15 M. Ricci (Li Madou), *Tianzhu shiyi* (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), Xianxian 1922, p. 1.

16 M. Ricci, *Tianzhu* (as in note 15), pp. 32–34. Ricci’s use of *shangdi* to refer to the Christian God was controversial even among the Jesuits. It opened up a debate that lasted for centuries. For the history of the controversy among the Jesuits, see L.M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2007, pp. 85–89; for the nineteenth-century debate among the Protestant missionaries, see T.H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*, Seattle 2004, pp. 80–91.

17 M. Ricci, *Tianzhu* (as in note 15), p. 148.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 185–7.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 187–9.

20 Wang X., *Christianity and Imperial Culture: Chinese Christian Apologetics in the Seventeenth Century and Their Latin Patristic Equivalent*, Leiden 1998, pp. 144–53.

21 N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China: vol. 1, 635–1800*, Leiden 2001, pp. 511–3.

first invented. W.A.P. Martin, an influential American Presbyterian, for example, was not only familiar with Ricci's works but also aspired to be a Protestant Ricci.²² His most famous catechism, *Tiandao suyuan* (Evidence for Christianity, 1854), emphasized the alleged parallels between Christianity and Confucianism and denounced Buddhism and Daoism.²³ This continuity suggests that the Protestant missionaries, like their Catholic predecessors, recognized the “cultural imperative” in the mission field and were ready to work within the parameters it set.²⁴

This continuity in strategy helps explain the Confucian lexicon in Protestant writings in China. The Protestants, whose deep indebtedness to Catholic terminology has recently been demonstrated in Jost O. Zetzsch's study of the translations of the Bible in China,²⁵ largely inherited the narrative pattern and lexicon of the Jesuits, who, in order to emphasize the parallels between their religion and Confucianism, had adopted into their presentation of the Christian West many cultural tropes and idioms familiar to their target audience. Ricci, for example, gave the pope a new Chinese title: *Jiaohuawang*, literally crowning the Bishop of Rome “the King of *jiaohua*.”²⁶ The discourse of *jiaohua* continued to figure prominently in Christian missionaries' self-narratives in the nineteenth century. For their part, the Protestants, however, inscribed new standards of civilization into the familiar discourse. In their writings, the list of *jiaohua*'s markers expanded beyond the conventional scope of social prosperity and political stability, and included everything that the West stood for, from national wealth and power, to scientific and technological capacity, to the global network of trade and communication. Drawing on the Confucian assumption of interconnectedness between inner spiritual strength and outer material power, an assumption that the discourse of *jiaohua* encapsulated, missionaries now cited China's material backwardness as evidence of Confucianism's insufficiency, and argued that Christianization was China's only chance of national strengthening and modernization.²⁷ The change in historical context between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries allowed the Protestant missionaries to put a different spin on the Confucian vocabulary.

22 For Martin's career in China, see L.H. Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2004, pp. 108–39; R.R. Covell, *W.A.P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*, Washington (D.C.) 1978, pp. 89–96, 144–6.

23 W.A.P. Martin (Ding Weiliang), *Tiandao suyuan* (Evidence for Christianity), Taipei 1967, pp. 5a, 35a–b, 38b–39b, 62a–b, 74a–b.

24 E. Zürcher, *A Complement* (as in note 14), pp. 75–76.

25 J.O. Zetzsch, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Nettetal 1999, p. 37.

26 E. Zürcher, *China and the West: The Image of Europe and its Impact*, in: S. Uhalley, Jr./X. Wu (eds), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, New York 2000, pp. 43–61.

27 E. Faber (Hua Zhi'an), *Zixu* (preface), in: *Zi xi cu dong* (From West to East: The Spread of Christianity), Shanghai 2002, pp. 1–4, here: p. 3.

II.

The evangelical efforts of missionaries placed Christianity in the semantic field of *jiao*. After China's reinstatement as a mission field, the unprecedented political attention dedicated to the religion gave rise to a Chinese discourse on Christianity. Drawing on the missionaries' narrative pattern, this discourse nevertheless accentuated the religion's alienness to Chinese society. A sense of foreignness was thus inscribed into the Chinese conception of "religion" based on the image of Christianity.

The Treaties of Tianjin in 1858, together with the Beijing Convention in 1860, wrenched more from the Chinese government than a simple public acknowledgement of Christianity's goodness. The statement was followed by specific provisions that allowed Chinese subjects to practice the religion, and warranted Christian missionaries rights to travel, own property, and preach freely in China. Furthermore, the Chinese government's earlier decision to return all property confiscated during the Christian proscription to the original Catholic owners was also reiterated.²⁸ The treaties at the end of the 1850s thus opened up China's interior and thereby ushered in a new era of social contact with foreigners. Missionaries became the first group of Western nationals to travel legally beyond the treaty ports and to interact freely with local communities and authorities. In the mid and late decades of the century, numerous Christian-related legal disputes broke out all over China. Most of them were controversies over confiscated church property and civil conflicts between Christians and non-Christians. They also included large numbers of official complaints about treaty rights violations lodged by missionaries. In addition to revealing rising social tensions in the wake of the change in status for Christianity and its missionaries, these cases attested to the difficulties in implementing the treaty stipulations.²⁹

The publicity that Christian missionaries gained from these political, social, and legal developments probably contributed to the general consumption of their writings. Many felt the need to seek out missionary publications, not for spiritual guidance, but to educate themselves on the subject. The missionary writings, however, were not the only sources on Christianity. As the number of Christian missionaries in China grew in the second half of the nineteenth century, members of the gentry elite, mostly through their capacities as officials or bureaucrats, started to accumulate knowledge about them and their religion. Providing some kind of quick guide not only to the religion, but also to the related regulations and legal precedents, introductory essays by Chinese authors as well as selections of important rulings on Christian cases appeared. Often printed together, they gave basic information about the religion's origin, history, major branches, and tenets, along with a synopsis of the political and legal debates revolving around its existence in China.

28 The decision was made in 1846. See Wen Q. et al., *Chouban yiwu shimo* (A Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs), Taipei 1965, 2.2478: 1555b–1556b.

29 P.A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1963.

This second kind of sources provided a different type of information about Christianity from that found in missionaries' self-narratives, not least because they spoke from an outsider's perspective. The authors were exclusively non-Christian Chinese and often quite overt about their Confucian identity. Following the time-honored tradition, they treated Christian-related issues as a subject within the politics of *jiao*, and explained Christianity in light of its role in current political events. Based on observations of social and political behaviors, and biased in their own way, these summations of the ruling class's perceptions and opinions formed an distinct genre of literature on Christianity. Some elements of the images presented in these writings had a long-lasting impact on later history. One of them was the reinforcement of Christianity's foreignness. That Christianity came from a place called "the West" (*Xifang*) had long been known, since the Jesuits presented themselves as "the scholars from the West" (*Xiru*). The religion's Western origin was also repeatedly used to justify the suspicion and apprehension expressed by the Late Ming and Early Qing anti-Christian movements. However, as recent research has pointedly revealed, at the time when China was reopened as a mission field, some form of Christianity had been continuously practiced there for almost two centuries.³⁰ Moreover, the Qing government was not unaware of this. Its announcement in 1844 of a more tolerant attitude towards Catholicism was clearly intended for the faith's domestic followers.³¹ Nevertheless, this fact did not stop late nineteenth-century commentators from speaking of Christianity as "the Western religion" (*Xijiao*). Christianity's Western identity was arguably more entrenched after foreigners reappeared in China. That Western states would push for the inclusion of Christian missionaries' special rights in the international treaties was for the Chinese observers the first indication of the religion's being part of the West's imagined interest. In the subsequent conflicts, Catholic missionaries' behavioral pattern of invoking the treaty rights without discretion and defying the local officials' judicial authority and appealing instead for their national envoy's interference further encouraged the Chinese to see the Western church and state as coalesced forces. The fact that every foreigner travelling in the interior was on a religious mission and that every Western government was ready to give missionaries political support also intensified this stereotype. The West began to be imagined as the ultimate land of Christianity: all Westerners were Christian, and all Western nations Christian nations. The phrase *xijiao* was thus no longer a simple reference to a religion's place of origin. Its meaning morphed from "the religion from the West" to "the religion of the West." Christianity became the West's intellectual property and defining feature.³²

30 R.P. Madsen, *Beyond Orthodoxy: Catholicism as Chinese Folk Religion*, in: S. Uhalley, Jr./X. Wu (eds), *China* (as in note 26), pp. 233–49; R.E. Entenmann, *Catholics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan*, in: D.H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford 1996, pp. 8–23.

31 Wen Q., Chouban (as in note 28), 2.2435: 1530b.

32 This perception of Christianity's foreignness continued to pervade in the twentieth century. During the Republic era (1911–1949), for example, Christian organizations were handled by the Nationalist government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whereas those of all other religions were registered with the Ministry of the Interior. See R. Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2010, p. 36.

Still, the most convincing evidence of the West's ownership of Christianity was Westerners' self-representation as the guardians of Christians' "religious rights" around the globe. In China, most of the foreigners who positioned themselves as promoters of religious rights grounded their argument in the treaty system. The Treaties of Tianjin explicitly stipulated that "[p]ersons teaching it [the Christian religion] or professing it, ... shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any of such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with."³³ Some diplomatic envoys and missionaries thereby deemed it rightful for China's treaty partners to vigilantly ensure the stipulation's implementation. This position, however, was not unproblematic. The relevant provisions had never designated the method of enforcement or the power of interpretation. Whether the clause was applicable to Chinese subjects was another sticky matter. As some mission societies started to train their Chinese followers and send them out to undertake evangelical preaching, questions arose: Were Chinese preachers entitled to the protection of the treaties? Or should they be treated according to Chinese laws, and in the same manner as adherents of other religions?³⁴ Among all the treaty powers, the French government took the most interventionist approach and insisted that the treaty provisions were meant for the Chinese as well as the foreign nationals. This position made French missionaries protective of their congregations against harassment by non-Christians, the local gentry, and officials. When conflicts of any kind arose, the French were the least hesitant to invoke treaty rights to protect the Christian communities.

The French interference in religious politics entailed more than simply defending Catholic Chinese in trouble. Some of their actions had empire-wide consequences. In 1861, for example, the Franciscan missionaries in Shanxi sent forward a request for the official exemption of Chinese Catholics from paying the portion of community levy designated for local temple festivals. The request was grounded on a distinctively Christian outlook – a person could belong to one and only one religion, and the choice of faith was absolute and exclusive. To fully implement the treaty clause, according to these missionaries, the Chinese government should acknowledge not only the legitimacy of the faith but also its unique view of other (heathen) religions. They thus petitioned the government to excuse all Christians from any social obligations that benefited other religions. Having paid his due to the congregation, a Chinese Christian should therefore never be pressured into making further financial contributions to support local religious activities, especially since many of these activities were deemed heterodox practices (*yiduan*) by his church. The Franciscans' request, once taken up and endorsed by the French minister, led to an imperial edict in early 1862 and the exemption of thousands from their community dues for temple maintenance and construction, religious processions, and sacrificial offerings.

33 P.A. Cohen, *China* (as in note 29), p. 197.

34 For the ambiguity ingrained in the treaty provisions, see P.A. Cohen, *China* (as in note 29), pp. 196–9.

This exemption changed the fiscal structure of rural China, and, in 1881, was extended to Protestant Chinese.³⁵

To those Chinese who followed Western missionaries' actions closely, such a case easily reinforced the impression that Christianity was the West's intellectual property. The French ministry and missionaries were willing to intervene in China's fiscal operation on behalf of some Chinese subjects, and even to extend the treaty rights to them, on the basis of the Christian connection. By taking Chinese Catholics under their custody, missionaries also displayed a condescending confidence in representing the true spirit of the Christian religion. Catholic communities had existed for centuries in China. Yet they needed Westerners' assistance to spell out the religious rights to which they were entitled.

Missionaries' and the treaty powers' negotiations with the Chinese authorities also emphatically introduced the notion of religious exclusivity. The absence of Christians from the religious components of community activities caused much social and political tension.³⁶ In 1863, for example, a Chinese missionary affiliated with a Catholic church in Beijing, when traveling through a nearby village, was beaten by an angry crowd when he declined to join their villagers' prayer for rain and worship of the legendary Dragon King (*Longwang*).³⁷ A similar reason underlay another incident in the same area in 1864. A group of lower-level examination candidates provoked the Christian farmers of the same county into a group fight. Their argument: the Christians undeservingly benefited from the community's collective prayer for drought relief.³⁸ In 1866, the Zongli Yamen, the central bureau for international affairs, received a petition from the French minister for exempting Christian Chinese from all of the required rituals for degree holders and candidates. According to the minister, the requirements for candidates to bow to the image of Confucius before entering the premises of civil service examinations, and for provincial officials to pay homage to the city gods upon reporting to new posts, infringed upon Christians' conscience and deterred them from entering government positions.³⁹ Although this particular petition did not lead to any change in these ritual requirements, the Christian prohibition of participation in sacrificial offerings at the Confucius temples became well known before the 1880s. As a consequence, some educational officials at government schools started to use this as an excuse to reject Christians' candidacies altogether.⁴⁰

35 Zhang G. (ed.), *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* (Zongli Yamen Archives on Christian Affairs and on Cases and Disputes Involving Missionaries and Converts), Taipei 1974–81, I/1/44, 13–14. See also R.R. Thompson, *Twilight of the Gods in the Chinese Countryside: Christians, Confucians, and the Modernizing State, 1861–1911*, in: D.H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity* (as in note 30), pp. 53–72, esp. pp. 57–60.

36 For an analysis of the rising social tensions in Shanxi, see R.R. Thompson, *Twilight* (as in note 35).

37 Zhang G. (ed.), *Jiaowu* (as in note 35), I/1/526–532, 382b–385a.

38 Id., I/1/504, 351a–358a.

39 Id., I/1/160, 98b–99a.

40 Id., IV/1/311, 331a. The Qing state regulations explicitly required all students on state stipend to participate in sacrificial offerings at Confucius temples.

Although most of these Christian cases were resolved quickly and without much complication, once reported to the Zongli Yamen by local magistrates or missionaries, they became part of the permanent records and could be circulated as precedents. The Yamen would, every now and then, instruct local bureaucrats to keep abreast of these *cheng'an*, “set cases,” in order to stay up-to-date about how to handle Christian cases properly.⁴¹ These cases thus afforded China’s ruling class the most direct material on the Christian tenets and concept of religion. The emphasis on fixed boundaries between different faiths was in sharp contrast with the Confucian attitude toward religious others. Placing a premium on social and moral effects, a Confucian could generously extend endorsement to other *jiao* as long as they conformed to basic ethical and ritual norms and posed no threat to the existing order. In late imperial times, a wide range of sectarian practices, many with Daoist and Buddhist roots, were tolerated, or even incorporated into the state cult, because they “inculcate[d] the practice of virtue.”⁴² In 1858, the Chinese state resorted to the same justification for lifting the Christian ban, only to be confronted later with Christian disapproval of such practices of religious mingling. By the end of the century, an obstinate fixation with the community boundaries between believers and non-believers had become a recognized feature of the Christian faiths.⁴³

As issues related to the management of Christians in Chinese society loomed large in international and domestic politics, subtle changes occurred in the discourse of *jiao*. Due to Western missionaries’ significant roles in the creation of treaties, Chinese words forged or appropriated by missionaries for expressing particular Christian concepts were used in the multilingual documents that formed the paramount legal basis for Christian rights. After 1858, as foreign powers demanded greater protections for their citizens from the Chinese government, the contents of treaties were regularly announced throughout the empire.⁴⁴ Legal cases concerning missionaries and Chinese converts often entailed chains of communiqués sent back and forth between the Zongli Yamen, the foreign legations, and local governments.⁴⁵ The sheer volume of paperwork ensured that government officials at all levels grew familiar with Christian vocabulary.

The treaty system’s coming into force thus popularized the Christian discourse of *jiao* and added imperative to Christian terminology’s integration into the general language stock. Compound words coined by missionaries, such as *chuanjiao* (to transmit *jiao*), *ch-*

41 Id., IV/1/307, 323b.

42 See note 8.

43 See, for example, Lao N., *Xijiao yuanliu* (Origin and History of the Western Religion), in: *Geguo yuezhang zuan-yao* (Collection of Treaties with Various Nations), Taipei 1975, pp. 380–406, here: pp. 400–1. The collection was published in 1891. In addition the absolute demarcation of believers from non-believers, another characteristic of Christianity identified in Lao’s piece was its strict “religious rules” (*jiaogui*).

44 An early example of such a request, by the French minister after the ratification of the Treaty of Nanjing, can be found in Wen Q., Chouban (as in note 28), 2/2476, 1554a; 2/2498, 1568b. Similar requests for publicizing treaty stipulations can be found in Zhang G. (ed.), *Jiaowu* (as in note 35), I/1/8, 3; I/1/9, 4; I/1/15, 5–6; I/1/21, 7.

45 In Daniel H. Bays’s words, almost all Christian cases “involved the Zongli Yamen in haggling with foreign diplomatic representatives and the passing of documents back and forth between Beijing and local levels.” See D.H. Bays, *Christianity and the Dynamics of Qing Society*, in: *ibid.*, Christianity (as in note 30), pp. 3–7, here: p. 5.

uanjiao shi (the scholar who transmits *jiao*), *jiaohui* (the association of *jiao*), and *jiaotang* (the building of *jiao*), became commonplace in government communications and public discourse. Those who were concerned with political affairs in China learned to accept them as the designated expressions for “evangelism,” “missionaries,” “congregation,” and “chapel” respectively, and grew accustomed to the particular usage of *jiao* as the shorthand for Christianity. Newly invented administrative phrases attested to this change of practice. *Jiao'an*, “cases concerning *jiao*,” referred exclusively to Christian cases.⁴⁶ *Jiaowu*, “affairs concerning *jiao*,” now meant Christian affairs, and *jiaomin*, “people of *jiao*,” Chinese Christians. In all these instances, *jiao* lost its characteristic as a generic label and signified Christianity.

In its capacity as the shorthand for Christianity, *jiao* became the euphemistic maker of where the treaty privileges reigned. No matter how trivial, “Christian cases” had to be handled in compliance with diplomatic agreements and registered with the Zongli Yamen. *Jiaomin* referred not only a social group, but also a special tax category. *Jiao* in these cases signaled a discrete administrative area in which the Chinese subjects had to be treated according to the Western notion of religious rights. Catch phrases such as *min jiao xiangzheng*, “the people and the Christians feuding with each other,” and *min jiao xiang'an*, “the people and the Christians getting along with each other,” also drove a wedge between Christians and others, subtly removing the former from the category of *min*, i.e., of Chinese subjects.⁴⁷ *Jiao* not only referred to Christianity, but also demarcated a space beyond the reach of government authorities.

The massive injection of Christian elements into the semantic field of *jiao* occurred at a time when Western powers were at their most vigilant over China's political language. In the years leading to the First Opium War (1839–1841), official wording with regard to foreigners and foreign affairs had become a contentious issue in China's interactions with Great Britain. The Treaties of Tianjin resolved this issue by explicitly banning Chinese subjects from using the word *yi* (“foreigner, barbarian”) to refer to Westerners. The provision gave rise to a form of self-censorship among Chinese writers and publishers and resulted in a systematic purge of such wording in all publications.⁴⁸ The paranoia over the possible application of derogatory words to Westerners continued after 1858 and impelled the treaty powers to keep an eye on the diction of all official announcements. Foreign ministries in China routinely reviewed drafts of the government's proclamations and intervened in the preparation of circulars concerning foreigners. When an official statement of Christian rights was drafted as part of the travel documents for missionaries in 1862, for example, the French minister not only demanded to proofread the draft be-

46 Although historians sometimes applied the term *Jiao'an* to anti-Christian incidents before the nineteenth century, the term was basically a late nineteenth-century invention. See N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook* (as in note 21), p. 507.

47 For examples, see the imperial edicts of July 1891 and January 1898 in Cheng Z. (ed.), *Jiaoan zouyi huibian* (Collection of Memorials on Christian Cases), Shanghai 1901, shou/3a–3b, 4b.

48 L.H. Liu, *Clash* (as in note 22), pp. 31–34, 40–58, 70–71.

fore finalization, but also bluntly dictated the wording.⁴⁹ Under these circumstances, the Christianized discourse of *jiao* could not have prevailed without the tacit endorsement of these powers. It was part of the cultural and linguistic shift under semi-colonialism in China.

III.

With the West's political force behind it, Christianity slowly moved into the semantic center of the discourse on religion and rose to be the most frequent referent of *jiao* by the end of the nineteenth century. Without completely revising the meaning of the word, Christianity challenged the elite's Confucianism-centered view of religious hierarchy and presented an alternative model for conceptualizing the whole category. Retaining the original meaning of civilizing through teaching, *jiao* now had two prototypical referents. While the traditional association with Confucianism remained significant, the word's occurrences in the public domain increasingly conjured up the image of Christianity. This ambiguity of *jiao*'s primary referent created semantic uncertainty. In the 1890s, when Kang Youwei introduced his reformulated version of Confucianism, many of his readers saw only the specter of Christianity and accused him of clandestine proselytism.⁵⁰ Their evidence was nothing other than the choice of words made by Kang and his followers. Ye Dehui, in his polemic against Kang's disciple Liang Qichao, specifically built part of his argument around the word *chuanjiao*. Ye argued that Liang's adoption of the word conveyed a wrong idea about the Confucian tradition of knowledge transmission by drawing an analogy to Christian evangelism, giving away the author's secret admiration of the Western religion.⁵¹ Similarly, Kang Youwei's liberal embrace of terms such as *jiaohui* and *jiaoliu* (religious laws) in his political writings helped incite the rumor that he meant to convert the emperor to Christianity.⁵² While the reformers tried to re-appropriate these popular phrases for Confucian usage once again, their adversaries and critics adamantly clung to the words' Christian overtones.

The importation of *zongjiao* at the beginning of the twentieth century partially released the strain put on the semantic field by the struggle between the two models of *jiao*. With the graph *zong*, which since the times of *Shujing* (the Book of Documents) and *Zhuangzi* had had the meaning of "tracking something to its source, purpose, or first principle[,] or ... elevating or exalting a person or a concept to its fundamental or ultimate signifi-

49 Zhang G. (ed.), *Jiaowu* (as in note 35), I/1/10–21, 5–9.

50 Kang referred to the accusation that he attempted to "smuggle Christianity into Confucianism" in a letter written in 1891. See Kang Y., *Da Zhu Rongsheng shu* (A Reply to Zhu Yixin), in: Jiang Y./Wu G. (eds), *Kang Youwei quanji* (Complete Works of Kang Youwei), Shanghai 1990, vol.1, pp. 1034–43, here: p. 1036.

51 Ye D., "Du xixu shu fa" shu hou (Afterword to "Methods of Reading Books of Western Learning"), in: Su Y. (ed.), *Yijiao congbian* (A Collection of Writings Defending the Teachings), Taipei 1971, pp. 301–16, here: p. 304.

52 V. Goossaert, 1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?, in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 65/2 (2006), pp. 307–36, here: pp. 313–4.

cance,”⁵³ the compound term distinguished itself from *jiao* by shifting emphasis to the followers’ undivided devotion and esteem, a quality that had particularly been associated with the Christian religion. Two prominent cases in the early days of the term’s circulation in China particularly attested to this semantic attribute. In 1904, the Qing government declared the Confucian classics to be China’s *zongjiao*.⁵⁴ Two years later, upon the elevation of Confucius worship to the level of Grand Sacrifice, the imperial edict again referred to the Western practice of designating a national *zongjiao* to justify the alteration.⁵⁵ On both occasions, the term was enlisted to convey the nation’s complete dedication to its shared culture.

Even in this early period of semantic imprecision, the otherness of *zongjiao* to Chinese culture had already been established. Liang Qichao, in his 1902 announcement of apostasy, famously rebutted Kang Youwei’s endeavor to fit Confucianism into the Christian model of religion. The endeavor, according to Liang, was based on a misconception of *zongjiao*. According to him, things labeled *zongjiao* in the West all shared two unique qualities: first, the ability to inspire a leap of faith, that is, a suspension of commonsensical reasoning in its followers, and, second, acrimonious condemnation of other religions. Both of these qualities were absent in the teachings of Confucius. To call Confucius’s moral guidance a religion was thus a distortion of its true nature.⁵⁶ One month later, Liang further expanded this position in another essay and declared that China had no “religion.”⁵⁷ Liang Qichao’s essays have been identified by modern scholars as a milestone in the history of *zongjiao*. They were some of the first writings in Chinese that fluently deployed the word in its modern sense. Incidentally, these essays also contained the earliest annunciations of a “secular China.” The linguistic maneuvering and the intellectual stance, though concurring in the same group of texts, however, resulted from two distinct processes. While China’s linguistic indebtedness to Japan was indisputable, to consider religion as the ultimate otherness of the nation’s selfhood was never a mainstream

53 A.C. Yu, *State* (as in note 1), p. 10. Anthony C. Yu has based his summary of the graph’s semantic functions on Dai Kan-Wa jiten (Comprehensive Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), and Hanyu da cidian (Comprehensive Dictionary of Chinese Lexica). See p. 153 (footnote 12) in Yu’s book. I have also consulted *Ciyuan* (Origins of Lexica), which quoted *Shujing* (The Book of Documents) and *Shijing* (The Book of Poetry) as the earliest sources for this verbal meaning. See *Ciyuan*, Taipei 1988, p. 440. According to Yu, both the graph’s principal meaning as ‘ancestor, ancestral lineage, and ancestral temple’ and its derived verbal meaning discussed here predated and funded the semantics of its Buddhist usage after the religion arrived in China. The medieval Buddhist appropriation of the graph continuously drew on, and thus preserved, this root meaning of “to revere something/someone as the ultimate and the highest.” See A.C. Yu, *State* (as in note 1), pp. 9–14.

54 Zhang B./Rong Q./Zhang Z., *Xuewu gangyao* (Outline of Educational Principles), in: Taga A., comp., *Kindai Chūgoku kyōikushi shiryō: Shinmatsu hen* (Documents in the History of Education in Modern China: the Late Qing), Taipei 1976, pp. 209–25, here: p. 212. This early example of identifying the sacred texts as the religion of China exemplified the term’s semantic elusiveness immediately after its importation.

55 Xuebu, Benbu zhang zou: Daizou Xingbu zhushi Yao Darong chengqing sheng Kongmiao wei dasi zhe (Memorials and Reports of the Board: on Behalf of Yao Darong, Major Clerk, Board of Punishment to Request the Elevation of Confucius Temple to Grand Sacrifice), in: *Xuebu guanbao* 11 (1906), pp. 228–29, 248, here: p. 229.

56 Liang Q., *Bao jiao fei souyi zun Kong*, in: Wu S. et al. (eds), *Yinbing shi* (as in note 4), vol. 3, pp. 1343–49, here: p. 1344.

57 See footnote 4 above.

attitude in the Meiji era. Instead, as suggested in this article, the roots of the religion's constructed foreignness had to be found in the specific manner in which Christianity re-entered China in the contentious world of the nineteenth century.

FORUM

Faschismusbild und Faschismusinterpretationen: Die *Sopade* und die *Giustizia e Libertà* im Vergleich

Francesco Di Palma

ABSTRACT

This article argues that the Sopade, the exile executive of the German Socialdemocratic Party, and Giustizia e Libertà, the Italian socialist group founded in Paris in 1929, elaborated similar interpretations of fascism out of common theoretical impulses from for instance the French or Belgian socialist avant-garde. Their most influential leaders, e.g. Rudolf Hilferding and Friedrich Stampfer on the one hand, Carlo Rosselli and Gaetano Salvemini on the other, believed in the momentous character of fascism in Europe. They considered it a barbaric, civilisation-breaking regime, and at the same time stressed the unique chance for humanist and social rebirth antifascism offered. Being in control of large portions of the respective socialdemocratic press, they were, despite organisational and political setbacks in exile, able to strongly influence the German and Italian antifascism by pleading for the assimilation of an antidogmatic and antireformist, liberal and federalist socialism.

Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist die vergleichende Behandlung der politisch-ideologischen Prozesse, welche die Entwicklung der deutschen Sopade und der italienischen Giustizia e Libertà seit den zwanziger Jahren charakterisierten und ihr Faschismusbild nachhaltig prägten. Eine solche systematische Gegenüberstellung kann helfen veraltete historiographische Deutungen zu berichtigen, welche sich im Laufe der Jahre festigen konnten. Die Giustizia e Libertà wurde 1929 von einer Gruppe von Dissidenten, darunter Ex-Politiker und Intellektuelle, ins Leben gerufen.¹ Die Formation um Carlo Rosselli

1 Giustizia e Libertà, im Weiteren GL. Unter den Gründern der Partei waren der Wirtschaftsprofessor und sozialli-

vertrat zunächst unterhalb des breit gefächerten Antifaschismus einen demokratischen, „voluntaristischen“ Sozialismus. Der Zusammenschluss heterogener Aktivisten in Paris ging aus einer schon längst aktiv wirkenden sozial-liberalen Plattform hervor, die sich unter anderem auf die Lehre Giuseppe Mazzinis (1805–1872) und Piero Gobettis (1901–1926) berief und Zeitschriften wie *„Il becco Giallo“*, *„L'Unità“* und *„Il Quarto Stato“*² herausgegeben hatte.

Am 31. Juli 1931 kam es zum Aktionspakt zwischen der Sozialistischen Partei Italiens (PSI) und der GL, deren Vorstände sich in Paris trafen und dadurch die *Concentrazione antifascista* (antifaschistische Front)³ stärkten. Die GL stieg somit zur „einheitlichen Bewegung der revolutionären Tätigkeit in Italien“ auf.⁴ Es ist tatsächlich beinahe unmöglich, die Geschichte beider Formationen zu jenem Zeitpunkt zu trennen: Die Zusammenarbeit im Exil war die unumgängliche Bedingung nicht nur für den Erfolg bei den propagandistischen Anstrengungen, sondern auch für die Absicherung des Weiterbestehens beider Parteien.

In den ersten drei Jahren ihrer Existenz stellte die GL ihr Handeln darauf ab, in den Untergrund des Widerstands in Italien einzudringen, um von dort das kommunistische Primat zu untergraben und demokratische Parolen weiterzugeben.⁵ Antrieb war die tiefe Verbitterung gegenüber den traditionellen liberalen Konzepten des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts und deren Hauptakteuren, die den aufkeimenden Faschismus und die Gefahr durch Mussolini unterschätzt bzw. nicht aufzufangen gewusst hatten. Eine feste Überzeugung bestand darin, dass nur eine energische Propaganda gegen das Regime sowie eine politische Neuerziehung, zuerst der wenigen und anschließend der Masse, zur Überwindung der Diktatur führen werde.

Mit dem Begriff „Sopade“ verbindet man die Geschichte der SPD im Exil seit Ende 1933 und während des Zweiten Weltkrieges bis 1945. Bei der Sopade handelte es sich um einen sogenannten Rumpfvorstand, dessen Autonomie nicht sofort von den im Lande gebliebenen Genossen anerkannt und auch nicht durch eine offizielle Wahl bestätigt wurde. Nichtsdestotrotz konnte sich der Prager Vorstand zumindest ab 1934, d. h. seit dem Erscheinen seines revolutionären Manifestes, als Garant und Bewahrer der sozialdemokratischen Tradition durchsetzen und so auch die ideologische Führung der in Deutschland verbotenen Partei übernehmen. Dies rechtfertigt aber nicht die Annahme, dass die Prager Sopade mit der Weimarer SPD identisch war, wie die Politik des Exils und die Entwicklungen nach 1945 zeigen sollten.

berale Theoretiker Carlo Rosselli (1899–1937), der Historiker Gaetano Salvemini (1873–1957), die Sozialrepublikaner Emilio Lussu (1890–1975), Francesco Fausto Nitti (1899–1974) und Alberto Cianca (1884–1966). Dazu u.a. G. Salvemini, *Memorie d'un fuoriuscito*, Mailand 1960; F. Di Palma, *Liberaler Sozialismus in Deutschland und in Italien im Vergleich. Das Beispiel Sopade und Giustizia e Libertà*, Berlin 2010 (im Erscheinen), S. 152–165.

2 Vgl. N. Tranfaglia, Carlo Rosselli, dall'interventismo a Giustizia e Libertà, Bologna 1968, und P. Bagnoli, Carlo Rosselli. Tra pensiero politico e azione, Florenz 1985.

3 Diese sollte sich bis zum 5. Mai 1934 halten. Dazu ausführlich: S. Fedele, *Storia della concentrazione antifascista 1927–1934*, Mailand 1976.

4 Patto d'Azione. Archiv der GL, Florenz, Sekt. III, Heft 2, Nr. 8.

5 Vgl. E. Modena-Burkhardt, Von Giustizia e Libertà zum Partito d'Azione, Zürich 1974, S. 2–3.

Das Verbot traf die Partei am 23. Juni 1933. Durch die Verschärfung der Repressionsmaßnahmen im Lande durch die SA und die Einführung einer strengen Zensur wurden gewichtige Koordinationsorgane der SPD, wie die Presseorgane, lahmgelegt. Darüber hinaus beschnitt der erzwungene Zusammenschluss der gesamten Gewerkschaften die Bindung dieser an die Basis der Wählerschaft. Hilflos und regelrecht politisch abgekapselt rief der Parteivorstand eine Konferenz zusammen, die über die Unheil verheißende Lage beraten sollte. Am 27. April 1933 kamen die Parteispitzen im Reichstag zusammen. Abgesehen von der allgemeinen Orientierung der Konferenz, die als vereinigender Anlass gedacht war, traten auf der Sitzung tiefe Divergenzen bezüglich der gegen das sich verfestigende Regime Hitlers einzuleitenden Schritte hervor. Zwei unterschiedliche Ansichten prallten aufeinander: Auf der einen Seite die Gruppe um Friedrich Stampfer (1874–1957), den Chef-Redakteur des „*Vorwärts*“, der sich entschieden für die sofortige Errichtung einer SPD-Auslandsvertretung engagierte, welche vor allem für die Propagandaarbeit zuständig sein sollte; auf der anderen Seite der Kreis um Paul Löbe, den ehemaligen Reichspräsidenten, welcher die Befürchtung eines weitgehenden Presseverbots für unangemessen und übertrieben hielt und aus diesem Grunde den Vorschlag Stampfers als eine gefährliche Provokation gegen die neue Regierung wertete. Am 4. Mai beschloss die SPD in einer Sondersitzung die Errichtung einer Vertretung im Ausland.⁶ Dazu wurden die folgenden Mitglieder ernannt: Otto Wels als Vorsitzender, Hans Vogel (1881–1945), Siegmund Crummenerl (1892–1940), Friedrich Stampfer, Paul Hertz (1888–1961) und Erich Ollenhauer (1901–1964), die den „Rumpfvorstand“ der SPD, die Sopade, bildeten.

Zu den geläufigsten Verallgemeinerungen, welche die Geschichte beider Gruppierungen begleiten, gehört zum einen die Annahme, die Sopade sei ausschließlich „Treuhänderin“ der Weimarer SPD gewesen⁷, ihr Beitrag zum sozialistischen Antifaschismus wäre politisch zu „einfältig“ gewesen und ihre propagandistische Aktivität folgte überlieferten starren Schablonen. Zum anderen ist behauptet worden, dass die *Giustizia e Libertà* nur partiell dem sozialistischen Widerstand, sondern vielmehr dem bürgerlichen zuzuordnen sei, denn in ihr ruhten zu viele auseinander strebende Tendenzen, darunter republikanische, elitäre oder sogar anarchistische,⁸ welche das einheitliche Bild der Gruppe verzerrten und es im Allgemeinen erschwerten, ihr Handeln im Dickicht der antifaschistischen Opposition genau zu erfassen.

In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Italien erschienen zwischen Mitte der sechziger und Ende der siebziger Jahre erstmals zahlreiche Publikationen über die Sopade

6 Die erste kurze Etappe der Auslandsvertretung war Saarbrücken im Saarland, seit 1933 bis 1938 Prag, dann Paris bis 1941 und zuletzt London bis Kriegsende. Vgl. W. Pyta, *Gegen Hitler und für die Republik: die Auseinandersetzung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie mit der NSDAP in der Weimarer Republik*, Düsseldorf 1989.

7 Vgl. L. J. Edinger, *Sozialdemokratie und Nationalsozialismus. Der Parteivorstand der SPD im Exil von 1933–1945*, Hannover 1960; Erich Matthias, *Sozialdemokratie und Nation*, Bonn 1964.

8 Vgl. A. Garosci, *Vita di Carlo Rosselli*, Rom 1945; F. Invernici, *L'alternativa di Giustizia e Libertà*, Mailand 1987; Modena-Burkhardt, *Giustizia e Libertà* (Anm. 5).

und die GL.⁹ Diese Veröffentlichungen waren vorwiegend auf die Darstellung innerparteilicher Beziehungen beschränkt und lieferten im Allgemeinen eine Rekonstruktion der von beiden Parteivorständen betriebenen Politik.

Als die beiden Vorstände sich jeweils in Paris bzw. Prag zusammenfanden, um die künftigen Exilformationen ins Leben zu rufen, wiesen sie nur zufällige, für die Ausformung ihrer Widerstandspolitik jedoch kaum zu überschätzende Gemeinsamkeiten auf, die zum Teil auf persönliche Beziehungen zurückgingen. Bindeglieder solcher Annäherungen waren wichtige Politiker beider Parteien oder Personen, die diesen nahe standen. Einerseits war Gaetano Salvemini¹⁰ als profilierter „Kenner“ der deutschen Sozialdemokratie sowie entschlossener Befürworter des Föderalismus die Schlüsselfigur der frühen Rezeption alternativer programmatischer Konzepte des „dritten Weges“.¹¹ Andererseits war der Einfluss Carlo Rosselli¹² gewichtig: Seine Auseinandersetzung mit dem deutschen Neukantianismus¹³ und der Umgang mit den Militanten des ISK (Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund)¹⁴ prädestinierten ihn zur Aufnahme eines undogmatischen Marxismus mit revolutionären und antimaterialistischen Zügen. Gleichfalls war bekannt, dass Silvio Trentin (1885–1944) und die Gebrüder Rosselli¹⁵ während ihrer Aufenthalte in Berlin Anfang der zwanziger Jahre einflussreiche Bekanntschaften hatten schließen können (z. B. mit Rudolf Hilferding, Fritz Adler, Otto Bauer und Julius Deutsch),¹⁶ welche sie über die Exiljahre durch regelmäßige Korrespondenz aufrecht erhalten konnten.

So erscheinen die GL und die Sopade als zwei vergleichbare politische Einheiten, denn sie wiesen Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede auf, auf welche die Entwicklung des gesamten gemäßigten sozialdemokratischen Lagers zurückgeführt werden kann. Ihr Vergleich wirft Fragen auf, die zur Vergegenwärtigung interkultureller und intergesellschaftlicher Sichtweisen und Perspektiven beitragen und weit über die Existenz der analysierten Parteien hinausreichen.¹⁷ Die Untersuchung der propagandistischen Bestrebungen beider

9 Ebenda, sowie W. Abendroth, *Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, Frankfurt a.M. 1964; P. Grasmann, *Sozialdemokratie gegen Hitler 1933–1945*, München 1976; H. J.L. Adolph, *Otto Wels und die Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokraten: 1894–1939*, Berlin 1971.

10 Gaetano Salvemini, ab 1901 Geschichtsprofessor an der Universität von Messina, dann Pisa und Florenz. Mitarbeit an mehreren sozialdemokratischen Zeitschriften, darunter der „*Critica Sociale*“ und „*Il Quarto Stato*“. Dazu G. Quagliarriello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, Bologna 2007.

11 Zu diesem Aspekt A. Landuyt, *Carlo Rosselli e la cultura europea di „terza via“*, in: A. Bechelloni, *Carlo e Nello Rosselli e l'antifascismo europeo*, Mailand 2001, S. 127–140.

12 Carlo Rosselli stammte aus einer wohlhabenden Familie der Toskana mit jüdischem Hintergrund. Ab 1925 Wirtschaftspräsident an der Universität von Genua, von 1926 bis 1929 Mitarbeit am sozialdemokratischen Periodikum „*Il Quarto Stato*“ zusammen mit Pietro Nenni. 1929 gründete er die GL. Dazu ausführlich S. Pugliese, *Carlo Rosselli: socialist heretic and antifascist exile*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999.

13 Seine Beziehungen zum neukantianischen Philosoph Leonard Nelson (1882–1927) von der Universität von Göttingen waren bekannt. Vgl. A. Landuyt, *Carlo Rosselli* (Anm. 11), S. 127–140; F. Di Palma, *Liberaler Sozialismus* (1), S. 9 f. sowie Z. Ciuffoletti/P. Bagnoli (Hrsg.), *Scritti politici e autobiografici*, Manduria 1992.

14 Der ISK, von Leonard Nelson gegründet, lehnte den Kommunismus sowie den Marxismus des Erfurter Programms der SPD ab. Hierzu ausführlich U. Vorholt, *Die politische Theorie Leonard Nelsons*, Baden-Baden 1998.

15 Carlo und Nello Rosselli (1900–1937).

16 A. Landuyt, *Carlo Rosselli* (Anm. 11), S. 137.

17 Vgl. H. Siegrist, *Perspektiven der vergleichenden Geschichtswissenschaft. Gesellschaft, Kultur und Raum*, in: H. Kaelble/J. Schriewer (Hrsg.), *Diskurse und Entwicklungspfade. Der Gesellschaftsvergleich in den Geschichts-*

Gruppen bildet eine Folie, an der ihre allgemeine Stellungnahme nicht nur zur politischen Lage, sondern auch zur Gesellschaft und ihrer Kritik im faschistischen Zeitalter erfasst und ausgewertet werden kann.

Die Faschismusinterpretationen

In der Wahrnehmung der faschistischen Drohung spiegelte sich die politische Linie beider Parteien im Exil: Zunächst der revolutionäre Ausbruch, jeweils aus mehr oder weniger strategisch-propagandistischen Gründen, die „Herabsetzung“ aller Absichten auf erzieherische Projekte, die Abwägung eines Zusammengehens mit den Kommunisten (Einheitsfront), das Zurückweichen auf liberalere Ansichten und schließlich die Chance einer revolutionären Neugeburt durch die ideologische und militärische Teilnahme am Spanischen Bürgerkrieg. An jeder dieser Etappen setzte eine Diskussion ein, die durch die parteiinternen mitunter sehr divergierenden Strömungen angefacht wurde und sich in der Behandlung von Kernfragen wie z. B. der Rolle der Eliten, der Mittelschichten und der Neustrukturierung der Gesellschaft niederschlug.

Was augenscheinlich am meisten beeindruckte, war der entschlossene, auf Gewalt setzende Auftakt. Das Exil-Manifest beider Parteien war der erste Ausdruck deren Bereitschaft, zu konspirativen Mitteln zu greifen, und stellte die erste „ethische“ Antwort auf die faschistischen Diktaturen dar. Der Gängelung des Volkes und Unterdrückung jeder liberalen Freiheit konnte nur mit Aufsehen erregenden, auf die Aufrüttelung und Neuerziehung der Gesellschaft zur Demokratie ausgerichteten Maßnahmen begegnet werden. Es ist kein Zufall, dass beide Parteien stark auf den „humanistischen“ Aspekt des sozialistischen Widerstands verwiesen und darin die Chance erkannten, die Wiederbelebung von Demokratie, sozialem Zusammenleben und liberaler Freiheit zu fördern. Dem Wirrwarr der faschistischen Ideologie musste durch Arbeit „von unten“ standgehalten werden, denn seine einzigen Produkte seien „leere Redensarten und platte Allgemeinheiten“,¹⁸ die nur dazu taugten, die durchproletarisierte Masse der Mittelschicht (vor allem Bauern, Angestellte, Handwerker), die gegen diese durch ökonomische Faktoren eingeleitete Proletarisierung kämpfen, anzusprechen und ihren Hass gegenüber den traditionellen Parteien und demokratischen Strukturen in den Integrationsprozess faschistischer Politik zu kanalisieren.

An die oben skizzierte Analyse der Natur des Faschismus knüpfte bei Rudolf Breitscheid (1874–1944) das Bedürfnis einer gesamten Infragestellung der Tätigkeit und Erörterung der Fehler und der Fehleinschätzungen der SPD während der Weimarer Republik an.

und Sozialwissenschaften, Frankfurt a. M. 1999, S. 305-339; H. Kaelble, Die interdisziplinären Debatten über Vergleich und Transfer, in: ders./J. Schriewer (Hrsg.), Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Frankfurt a. M. 2003, S. 469-493; J. Kocka, Comparison and Beyond, in: History and Theory 42, 2003, S. 39-44; M. Middell, Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis, in: Comparativ 10, 2000, S. 7-41.

18 R. Breitscheid, Die Überwindung des Faschismus, in: Protokoll des Leipziger Parteitages, 1931, S. 88.

Die Diskussion über die sich profilierende totalitäre Staatsgewalt diente zur Selbstkritik und Revision eigener Missgriffe, wollte jedoch zugleich ein Zeichen an die Arbeiterschaft setzen, die hiermit auf eine neue, sich an der Zukunft orientierende Partei hoffen konnte. Gerade in der „Programmlosigkeit“ der NSDAP, führte Breitscheid weiter aus, sehen viele „sozial Schwache“ die beste Alternative gegen die dahinvegetierende liberal-kapitalistische Welt.

Der Glaube an die Brüchigkeit des Faschismus war eine unabänderliche Komponente der sozialistischen konspirativen Arbeit. Die sofortige Aktion und Vermittlung minimaler Ziele war Bestandteil des Kampfes gegen das Regime und stellte die Weichen für die zukünftige Reorganisation des Staates im sozialistischen Sinne.

Schon in dieser anfänglichen Beteuerung „voluntaristischer“ Merkmale erfolgte das allmähliche Abrücken vom starren Marxismus der Weimarer SPD. Wie viel dieses Abrücken bedeutete, kann daran abgelesen werden, dass die SPD-Spitze vorbehaltlos die offizielle Linie der Partei angriff und daraus ihre Mitschuld am Kollabieren demokratisch-parlamentarischer Instanzen ableitete. Dieses Damokles-Schwert lastete nicht auf dem „Gewissen“ der GL. Ihre Absicht, das sozialdemokratische Lager einer gründlichen Erneuerung zu unterziehen, empfand sie als moralische Pflicht und nahm sie als unabhängige, innerhalb der italienischen antifaschistischen Emigration ideologisch führende Formation wahr.

Unmittelbar vor der „Machtergreifung“ 1933 profilierten sich die Entwicklungslinien einer allgemeinen Faschismustheorie, auf die man später, während des Exils, immer wieder zurückgreifen würde. Rudolf Breitscheid und Rudolf Hilferding waren sich im Klaren über die kapitalbedingte Natur der nationalsozialistischen „Gegenrevolution“, prangerten die Zusammenarbeit politischer Spitzen mit den Großindustriellen und Großgrundbesitzern an, negierten aber deren offene, enthusiastische Teilnahme am nationalsozialistischen Ethos. So bedeutete das Zusammengehen von traditionellen Machtzentren und neuer politischer Elite keinen Sieg der Letzteren im ideologischen Sinne. Die konservativen Kräfte in Deutschland „denken zwar nicht faschistisch“, ¹⁹ waren aber, aus Not und Bequemlichkeit, auf die Kooperation mit der NSDAP und deren den Status quo erhaltende Herrschaftsform angewiesen.

Rudolf Hilferding führte die Bemerkungen Breitscheids weiter: „Krieg und Inflation“ ²⁰ seien die Triebfeder des faschistischen Aufmarsches. Der Krieg und seine Folgen haben die zerstörerische Kraft entfaltet, die das Heer der „Deklassierten“ und der „Unzufriedenen“ sowie der politisch „Unerfahrenen“ (er bezieht sich hier vor allem auf die Jugendlichen) geschaffen hat. Das psychologische Moment deckte sich also hier mit dessen Hintergrund: Diese Deklassierten fühlten sich nicht nur „in ihrer ökonomischen Existenz unsicher, benachteiligt oder zurückgeworfen“, sondern auch „in ihrer sozialen und politischen Geltung beeinträchtigt.“ ²¹ Die absolute Krise habe heftig zugeschlagen und

19 Ebd., S. 93.

20 R. Hilferding, In der Gefahrenzone, in: Gesellschaft, Nr. 10, 1930.

21 Ebd.

keine (Mittel-)Schicht ausgespart: Die Bauern und die Handwerker, die Angestellten sowie die Intellektuellen hatten am jäh erfolgten Verschwinden bewährten und vertrauten demokratischen Bodens schwer zu tragen.

Ihre Rebellion war gegen die Klasse und deren Organisation (Partei, Gewerkschaften) gerichtet, die am besten die Durststrecken des Ersten Weltkrieges überstanden hatte: die Arbeiterschaft. Die konvergierenden Hassgefühle der Mittelschicht gegenüber den Proletariern rechtfertigten aber an sich nicht die Verbreitung der Gedanken Hitlers sowie die Ergreifung und die Verfestigung der Macht durch die Nationalsozialisten. Hilferding bezweifelte die genuine, tiefe ideologische Erfassung der Gesellschaft durch die nationalsozialistische Propaganda. Der „Hitlerismus“ sei für ihn eher zufälliger Katalysator nationalistisch-konservativer Merkmale als ihr unausweichliches Produkt. Diese Formel bildete ein neues Feld für die Konstatierung der relativen und gegenseitigen Unabhängigkeit der NSDAP und ihrer Anhängerschaft. Der Faschismus, so Hilferding, „bedeutet für all diese Schichten etwas Verschiedenes, den Kampf gegen die besonderen Symptome, unter denen sie in der Nachkriegsentwicklung besonders leiden“, was sich in seinem Wirtschaftsprogramm widerspiegele, das „unzusammenhängend, unklar und widerspruchsvoll“²² sei.

Es war damit ein Interpretationsmuster gegeben, welches über die verbreitet faszinierend anmutende Kraft der NSDAP hinaus aus der partiell zufälligen Koinzidenz von demokratiefeindlichen Tendenzen der Mittelschicht und restaurierenden Absichten im Großkapital und Großagrariertum bestand. Dieses Bündnis stellte das „ausnahmsweise naturgemäße“ Ineinanderfließen konservatorischer und reaktionärer Ansichten unter der Schirmherrschaft gewaltbereiter politischer Macht dar. Anstelle einer objektiven Betrachtung und Abschätzung des kausalen Zusammenhangs zwischen politischer „Entartung“ und sozialem Umbruch der Nachkriegszeit wurde ohne weiteres auf das innigste, augenscheinlichste Ziel der „neuen“ Mittelschicht aufmerksam gemacht: D. h. mittels eines totalitären Staates die Vernichtung aller sozialdemokratischer Instanzen und die Streichung jeder Errungenschaft der Arbeiterschaft um möglichst breite Spielräume innerhalb der Gesellschaft zu gewinnen.

Die Interdependenz zwischen dem Aufkommen bzw. der Verfestigung faschistischer Grundelemente und der Weltwirtschaftskrise blieb weiterhin undefiniert und nährte zahlreiche, oft stark divergierende Spekulationen über die Form und den Ursprung totalitärer Grundzüge. Es ist jedoch allgemein festzustellen, dass kaum ein sozialdemokratischer Theoretiker bis 1933 die Ansicht vertrat, der Faschismus resultiere vorwiegend aus der schlechten Konjunktur der Jahre 1928 bis 1930. Die Krise habe zwar der Hitler-Bewegung den entscheidenden „Ruck“ gegeben, auf sie könne man aber keineswegs die Urheberchaft des politischen Umbruchs zurückführen.

Alfred Braunthal (1897–1980) sprach von einem „reaktionären Antisozialismus mittelständischer Schichten.“²³ In seinen Ausführungen spielte er darauf an, dass die NSDAP

22 R. Hilferding, Unter der Drohung des Faschismus, in: Gesellschaft, Nr. 1, 1932, S. 9.

23 A. Braunthal, Der Sozialismus der Nationalsozialisten, in: Jahrbuch der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, 1930, S. 421.

in völliger Autonomie handle und ihre Ziele verfolge, ganz abgesehen von großkapitalistischen Beeinflussungen. Das ursprüngliche NSDAP-Programm, welches 1920 veröffentlicht wurde, betrachtete er als den allgemeinen Versuch, die durch die monopolistische Kartellisierung der Wirtschaft ausgelöste Proletarisierung des Mittelstands zu lindern bzw. zu stoppen. Demgemäß ziele der Faschismus darauf ab, die verelendete Mittelschicht mit dem Versprechen aufzufangen, sie vor den totalitären Erscheinungsformen der Großindustrie zu schützen. Er beabsichtige gleichsam die Errichtung einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft, ohne das traditionelle proletarische Substrat zu fördern, was aber nicht bedeuten sollte, dass er bei Bedarf auf großkapitalistische Unterstützung zur Erfüllung seiner Wünsche verzichten würde.

In diesem Sinne war die Analyse von Alexander Schiffrin (1901–1951) exemplarisch. Man solle den Faschismus nicht als „fertigen Auswuchs“ der instabilen sozialen bzw. katastrophalen wirtschaftlichen Lage der späten zwanziger Jahre ansehen; das „Verdienst“ der NSDAP sei vielmehr darin zu erkennen, dass ihre Politik meisterhaft die Mittel der Gewalt und der „intensiven“ (terroristischen) Technik zu handhaben und den Hebel der geistigen Massenhysterie und der psychologischen Provokation anzusetzen wusste.²⁴

Dem Faschismus irrational-gauklerische²⁵ Züge zuzuschreiben, barg in sich strategische Absichten: Zum einen die Beschwörung seiner Kraft bzw. seiner Erfassung der Gesellschaft, zum anderen das Bedürfnis, die breite Anhängerschaft der Partei auf eine grenzenlose Widerstandsarbeit vorzubereiten und die Gefahr der „attentistischen“ Haltung zu bannen. Mit anderen Worten diente der Versuch Schiffrins dazu, die Natur des Nationalsozialismus theoretisch so zu erfassen, dass jedwedes Beharren auf dogmatischen Positionen sowie der Fehler, das nationalsozialistische Regime deterministisch zu rechtefertigen, vermieden werden konnten.

Dem Irrationalen, dem „unbegründeten“ Erfolg der NSDAP konnte nur durch erzieherische Bemühungen entgegengewirkt werden. Ähnlich wie bei Breitscheid und Hilferding wird der Nexus zwischen Spätkapitalismus und Faschismus eher als ein indirekter hingestellt. Schiffrin und die anderen Theoretiker der SPD waren zu der Zeit wohl damit beschäftigt, jeden forciert instrumentalen Zusammenhang zwischen politischen Ansätzen und ökonomischen Mechanismen auseinander zu halten. Die Botschaft an die Arbeiterschaft blieb jedoch klar: Die politischen Macht- und die Wirtschaftszentren nutzten sich gegenseitig aus. Daraus ließ sich jedoch kein klares Verhältnis bezüglich des Ursprungs und der Bedingungen dieser Tendenz feststellen. Der Faschismus sei nicht von Natur aus kapitalistisch eingestellt so wie die Großindustriellen nicht nationalsozialistisch dächten. Eins stehe aber fest: Aufgrund der zutiefst „beschädigten“ sozialen Lage und der Einengung und Lähmung der mittelständischen Freiheit, mache sich der Faschismus zum Erzfeind des Proletariats.

24 A. Schiffrin, Parteiprobleme nach den Wahlen, in: Gesellschaft, Nr. 11, 1930.

25 Ebd., Schiffrin spricht von einem „gauklerisch-reaktionären“ System.

Carl Mierendorff (1897–1943)²⁶ wies dabei auf die hohe Anfälligkeit der kleinbürgerlichen Schicht für die nationalsozialistische Propaganda hin. Die Zerrüttung des Arbeitsmarktes durch den kapitalistischen Konzentrationsprozess bedrohe die Mittelschicht mit chronischer Arbeitslosigkeit und dränge sie allmählich in Armut und Bedeutungslosigkeit. Das Hitler-Regime offerierte allen vom „sozialen Abstieg“ bedrohten Klassen, ihre Rolle innerhalb der Gesellschaft aufrecht zu erhalten und sich gegen die schon seit je als verdächtig und feindselig empfundene Arbeiterschaft zu behaupten. Mierendorff hob also den antirevolutionären Charakter mittelständischer Denkweise, ihren „geistigen“ Stumpfsinn bzw. deren Minderwertigkeitskomplex hervor und bezeichnete die Koinzidenz all dieser Faktoren als Ursache antidemokratischer, antiparlamentarischer Gefühle, die zum Anwachsen und zur Verbreitung des nationalsozialistischen Ethos beigetragen hätten.

Der Antifaschismus der GL erwuchs zunächst aus der Analyse des gescheiterten liberalen „Versuchs“ des 20. Jahrhunderts, wobei der Faschismus als dessen Erbe betrachtet wurde. Die Anprangerung der Fehler und der Missverständnisse im sozialdemokratischen Lager stellte einen der Hauptpfeiler der Partei-Theorie dar; die Bezugnahme auf die Grundwerte des italienischen *Risorgimento* diene sowohl der Konzipierung eines neuen politischen Lebens als auch der starken Abgrenzung von der Geschichte jener Parteien, die sich nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg nicht gegen den aufkeimenden „Mussolinismus“ zu wehren wussten.

Die Kritik der liberalen Regierungen deckte sich also mit der Ausarbeitung einer gesamten Faschismusdeutung. Die GL war eine Partei des Antifaschismus, ihr Programm sah in der illegalen Widerstandsarbeit seine höchste Aufgabe vor. Insofern war sie frei von jedweder „historischen“ Bindung und von jeglicher Verpflichtung ihrer Anhängerschaft gegenüber und konnte somit als revolutionäre Kraft mit dem Ziel antreten, dem Faschismus, der „die Fragen des Friedens durch die Methoden des Krieges zu lösen“²⁷ suchte, zu begegnen.

Der Erste Weltkrieg hatte eine ganze Reihe von sozialen und psychologischen Faktoren heraufbeschworen, deren Breite und Bedeutung kaum eine traditionelle, demokratische Partei in Italien hätte beikommen können. Der Eifer und der Enthusiasmus der „Demokratischgesinnten“, die im Krieg die Überwindung des hoch korruptierten liberalen Staates vom Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts bzw. die Möglichkeit der Rückeroberung italienischen Bodens (*Interventisten*) gesehen hatten, täuschten viele, insbesondere diejenigen, die sich nach einem stärkeren Staat sehnten, über die reale Zielsetzung faschistischer Gewaltanwendung hinweg und machten sie anfälliger für die Propaganda der *Fasci*.

Dieses „revolutionäre Ferment“²⁸ der Nachkriegszeit, so die GL-Beobachter, bezwecke paradoxerweise eine Art Immobilismus, der durch die hetzerische Aktivität der faschistischen *Squadre* hervorgerufen und kompensiert wurde. Die Zeit des „*Aventins*“ war sein

26 C. Mierendorff, Gesicht und Charakter der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung, in: Gesellschaft, Nr. 6, 1930.

27 E. Nolte, Die faschistischen Bewegungen, Bd. IV, München 1966, S. 64.

28 So der Biograf von Carlo Rosselli, A. Garosci, Vita (Anm. 8), S. 25.

auffälligster Ausdruck. Die meisten Intellektuellen und nicht-faschistischen Politiker der Zeit waren dem Umbruch, den der Faschismus eingeläutet hatte, nicht gewachsen. Das Regime Mussolinis ließ erst nach dem Mord an Giacomo Matteotti im Juni 1924 eine außerparlamentarische Opposition zu, deren Tätigkeit jedoch zur Zersetzung demokratischer Allianzen, der Fragmentierung ihres Zusammenhalts und der Verschärfung des totalitären Charakters des Staates führte.²⁹

Gaetano Salvemini, Historiker und Politiker, der die Leute um die GL und insbesondere Carlo Rosselli stark beeinflusste, räumte ein, dass der Faschismus in der Natur des alten Italiens eingebettet sei und als logische Konsequenz des korrumpierten liberalen Staates Giovanni Giolittis in Erscheinung trete.³⁰ Ob die Erziehung zur politischen Kultur und Selbstständigkeit allein ein geeignetes Mittel zur Vorbeugung und zum Kampf gegen den Faschismus war, soll hier nicht erörtert werden. Es war jedoch bezeichnend für eine ganze Generation von Intellektuellen und sozialdemokratischen Politikern, dass sie lange nach dem Marsch auf Rom dem liberalen Ideal der schrittweise erfolgenden Erziehung der Massen nachhingen und weiterhin auf die disziplinierende bzw. politische Wirkung von Zeitschriften und Zeitungen vertrauten, selbst nachdem jegliche liberale Freiheit abgeschafft worden war.

Der Beitrag von Piero Gobetti (1901–1926) zur Analyse der italienischen Gesellschaft und zum bedrohlichen Anwachsen der Partei Mussolinis wurde zum Bezugspunkt für die spätere Entwicklung der GL. Anfang 1922 gründete er eine neue antifaschistische, liberal-gesinnte Zeitschrift, „La rivoluzione liberale“. Ihr Ziel war es, eine Revision der gesamten politischen Erfahrungen seit dem *Risorgimento* bis zur Gegenwart im Dienste des Kampfes gegen die Diktatur vorzunehmen. Anders als Salvemini, der insbesondere die liberalen Regierungen („i governi della malavita“)³¹ für die katastrophale Lage in Italien für verantwortlich erklärte, verwies Gobetti auf eine allgemeine Mitschuld und ein Manko an Erneuerungsstreben. Dies lähme vor allem jene politischen Kräfte, z. B. die Linken, bei denen der Faschismus auf äußerste Kritik stieß und die dennoch kaum eine handlungsfähige Opposition auf die Beine zu stellen in der Lage waren. Das allmähliche Verelenden demokratischer Tendenzen im Sog des Faschismus sei insofern kein erstaunliches Geschehen, sondern im Gegenteil „die Autobiographie der Nation.“³²

Die Kritik an der PSI von Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts war ein immer wiederkehrendes Element in seinen sowie in Carlo Rossellis Ausführungen und bildete ein neues Feld für eine umfassende Debatte nicht nur über Ziele und Methoden des Sozialismus, sondern auch über die Partei, deren Struktur und die von ihr auszuübenden Funktionen. Die

29 Mussolini sprach nach dem Scheitern des „Aventins“ von einem „napoleonischen Jahr“ (1924–26), in dem fast jede politische Opposition ausgeschaltet und das Parlament aufgelöst wurde. Vgl. P. Lombardi, *Per le patrie libertà: la diffidenza fascista tra „mussolinismo“ e Aventino (1923–1925)*, Mailand 1990.

30 Gaetano Salvemini hatte in seiner Tätigkeit als Publizist und Herausgeber schon in der Zeit zwischen 1911–20 mit seiner Zeitschrift „L'Unità“ für eine sozial-demokratische Neuorganisation des Staates plädiert. Vgl. G. Quagliariello, Gaetano Salvemini (Anm. 10), S. 78f.

31 Übers.: „die kriminellen Regierungen“.

32 P. Gobetti, *Elogio della ghigliottina*, in: *La Rivoluzione liberale*, 23.11.1922, S. 7.

erstarnte Doktrin der PSI, die sich nicht über die allgemeine Ausarbeitung von Losungen und die Propagierung bürgerlicher Tendenzen hinaus zu entwickeln schien, verband er mit ihrer fehlender Autonomie und Unfähigkeit, sich vom rigiden Dogmatismus und dem daraus resultierenden Zentralismus ihrer Struktur loszusagen. Ähnlicher Meinung war Gobetti. Er war kein Sozialist im traditionellen Sinne, verstand sich eher als „liberaler Revolutionär“, der die Arbeiterschaft und das Bauerntum als alleinige Träger demokratischer und liberaler Denkweisen ansah. Das System der Selbsthilfeorganisationen und der starken Dezentralisierung der Gewalten, ganz nach den liberal-sozialistischen Vorstellungen der Zeit, begrüßte er als Basis für die Neugeburt der italienischen Gesellschaft. Doch als die Fesseln des Regimes nach dem Scheitern der Aventin-Front enger wurden, meinte er nur in der Einheitsfront der Arbeiterbewegung eine Lösung gegen den Faschismus zu erblicken: Der intellektuelle Liberalismus von Anfang der „La rivoluzione liberale“ wich allmählich dem Drang nach Aktion und Miteinbeziehung aller der Arbeiterschaft nahe stehenden Kräfte. Der Einfluss Gobettis auf die GL war daher sowohl für deren politische Ausrichtung im Exil als für die Erarbeitung der Zukunftsvisionen enorm.

Carlo Rosselli und Pietro Nenni, einer der PSI-Anführer, die zusammen die Zeitschrift „*Il Quarto Stato*“³³ herausgaben, waren der Ansicht, der Faschismus sei nicht mit den Mitteln traditioneller Parteien zu bekämpfen. Sie betonten die Notwendigkeit einer Einheitsfront, welche Arbeiter, Bauern und Mittelstand umfassen sollte, wobei die Arbeiterschaft allein wegen ihrer historisch emanzipatorischen Kraft die führende Rolle innehaben würde.

Der Faschismus war ihrer Auffassung nach Ausdruck einer radikalen Entartung des Bürgertums, welches, eingekesselt zwischen Arbeiterschaft und Großunternehmertum, sich für das anscheinend geringste Übel entschieden hatte, nämlich für die Staatsform, die ihre Interessen am besten vertreten könnte. Die ewige Antithese der modernen Welt, Bürgertum und Arbeiterschaft, oder bürgerliche und sozialistische Gesellschaft, könne also, so die beiden, nur im Namen einer sozialistischen Bewegung überbrückt werden: Die Arbeiterschaft diene dem historischen Ziel, in der Demokratie die Wiederaufwertung ihres Status und durch ihre eigenen sozialen Charakteristika die einzig mögliche Garantie für Gerechtigkeit und Autonomie zu gewährleisten. Bezeichnend war in ihren Artikeln die Wahl des Wortes „Bewegung“ anstelle von „Partei“: Die Einbeziehung der Massen in einen demokratisierenden Prozess lasse sich am besten durch eine umfassende Anwendung demokratischer, antisektiererischer Formeln verwirklichen. Nur so ließen sich jene revolutionären Kräfte mobilisieren, die unentbehrlich für den Kampf gegen die Diktatur und darüber hinaus für die Errichtung eines soliden, demokratischen Staates seien.

33 Die Zeitschrift „*Il Quarto Stato*“ erschien ab März 1926 bis November 1926 mit insgesamt dreißig Nummern. Vgl. L. Rocca, *L'attualità del socialismo liberale di Carlo Rosselli*, Manduria 2006, S. 103-121.

Silvio Trentin,³⁴ Exponent des linken Flügels der GL und führende Figur der marxistischen Seite der Formation, wies genauso auf die Notwendigkeit einer Vorrangstellung der Arbeiterschaft im Kampf gegen das Regime hin. Er bezeichnete das Aufkommen der „mussolinischen“ Bewegung als das Erstarken reaktionärer Tendenzen, wobei das „politische Gewissen“, in Italien seit der Zeit der katastrophalen liberalen Regierungen unterentwickelt oder nahezu abwesend, jetzt durch proklamatorische Fertigslogans ersetzt und der Masse als Beruhigungsmittel verabreicht werde. Auch hier tauchte die Ansicht von der faschistischen Gewalt und ihrer Faszination als Fortsetzung oder Verlagerung des Politischen auf eine andere, bislang noch nie angesprochene „sentimentale“ Ebene auf. Nur die Arbeiterschaft, so Trentin, besitze die Kraft und den Willen, sich der faschistischen Barbarei zu widersetzen.

Doch ihm lag jeglicher strategischer Schulterschluss mit bürgerlichen Kräften fern: Seiner Ansicht nach war es Aufgabe allein der Arbeiterschaft, sich als Speerspitze des Widerstands zu profilieren und in Form einer breiten Einheitsfront (jedoch innerhalb der Grenzen des Proletariats) als wichtigster Kontrahent des Faschismus anzutreten.

Es kommt nicht von ungefähr, dass bei den Faschismusinterpretationen der Sopade das ökonomische Moment stärker in Erscheinung trat als bei der GL. Das war eher das Resultat perspektivischer Differenzen, welche mit der unterschiedlichen industriellen Tradition und dem Entwicklungsgrad der jeweiligen Länder, deren historischen sowie politischen Rahmenbedingungen zusammenhingen.

Rosselli wies in seiner für die GL grundlegend gewordenen Abhandlung „Socialismo liberale“³⁵ darauf hin, dass die PSI die Schuld für das Anwachsen des Faschismus in Italien fast allein trage. Verknöchert und gelähmt in ihrer dogmatischen „Erwartung“ der Geschichte habe sie die Gefahr Mussolini völlig ignoriert oder unvorbereitet wahrgenommen. Rosselli prangerte die absolute Abwesenheit von Aktivismus der sozialistischen Partei an und weitete die Anklage auf die ganze italienische Gesellschaft aus.³⁶

Ohne Aktion könne man dem Faschismus keineswegs ein Ende bereiten. Hier verdichtete sich ein Thema, welches die theoretische Entwicklung der GL bestimmen sollte. Diese verstand sich als liberal-sozialistische Partei, ihr Ziel war aber die Errichtung der proletarischen Gesellschaft. Die GL war nicht marxistisch im dogmatischen Sinne des Wortes, versuchte jedoch, die liberalen Aspekte der Lehre von Marx herauszuarbeiten und an die Arbeiterschaft weiterzugeben.

Jede theoretische Anstrengung bei ihr, insbesondere in Hinsicht auf die Analyse und die Bekämpfung des Faschismus, war „konstitutiv“, d. h. sie verwies auf die Überwindung der gegenwärtigen Lage und auf die Errichtung einer neuen gesellschaftlichen Struktur. Die Aufforderung, zu den Grundsätzen des liberalen Marxismus zurückzukehren, deckte

34 Silvio Trentin (1885–1944), Juraprofessor, war Sohn wohlhabender Großgrundbesitzer. Obwohl er nie in Paris residierte, nahm er beachtlichen Einfluss auf die Politik der GL. 1935 aufgrund ideologischer Meinungsverschiedenheiten kurzzeitig aus der Partei ausgetreten, sollte er nach dem Tod Rossellis 1937 zu einer der Hauptpersönlichkeiten der Formation werden.

35 C. Rosselli, *Socialismo liberale*, Rom 1945, S. 61.

36 Die Italiener seien „moralmente pigri“: übers.: „moralisch faul.“ Ebd., S. 109.

sich also mit der antifaschistischen Politik der Gruppe: Nur in der Wiederentdeckung eines genuinen „Voluntarismus“ (Pragmatismus) sei die Wiedergeburt einer sozialistischen Bewegung aus der Asche der Diktatur möglich.³⁷

Der Drang nach unmittelbarer Aktion inspirierte die Aktivität der zukünftigen GL-Mitglieder und wurde teilweise auch dadurch ermöglicht, dass die GL *de facto* noch nicht existierte. Diese Einstellung war in der SPD in weit geringerem Maße vorhanden. Dafür sind zumindest zwei Gründe verantwortlich: Zum einen die Tatsache, dass zu der Zeit, als die SPD-Mitglieder sich zum ersten Mal mit der nationalsozialistischen Gefahr auseinandersetzten, die Republik noch am Leben war, zum anderen, dass die SPD bis 1933 und damit bis zu ihrem Verbot im Juni jenen Jahres allem Anschein nach nicht mit einer solchen Verschärfung totalitärer Maßnahmen binnen so kurzer Zeit gerechnet hatte.

Aber die Begründung hat auch eine theoretische Dimension. Wie oben schon dargestellt, schrieben die meisten SPD-Theoretiker der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung politische Selbstständigkeit zu. Dies ging teilweise darauf zurück, dass der nationalsozialistische Erfolg erst unzureichend analysiert worden war. Die forcierte Akzentuierung des Zusammenhanges zwischen politischem und ökonomischem Moment, d.h. der Hinweis auf das Zusammenspiel reaktionärer Instanzen im Großunternehmertum und Politik, klammerte den Aspekt der „gewaltigen“ Anziehungskraft der NSDAP völlig aus und negierte deren sozialpsychologische Kraft. Dies resultierte wohl zum einen aus einem Mangel an empirischen Daten, durch welche man das Ausmaß und die Beschaffenheit der Bedrohung durch die NSDAP hätte genau erfassen können, zum anderen aus der Hoffnung, das nazistische Regime um das Jahr 1930 noch mit parlamentarischen Mitteln verhindern und dadurch der SPD zu neuem Leben verhelfen zu können.

In beiden Parteien wurde jedoch auf die parasitäre Entwicklung des Faschismus hingewiesen. Es traten in den darauf angelegten Analysen jedoch deutliche Unterschiede zutage, die bezeichnend für die Haltung beider Formationen in den Jahren der Illegalität sein würden. In der SPD wurde wiederholt und in erster Linie³⁸ die destabilisierende Kraft der „Kapitalkonzentration“ und ihrer Folgen in der breiten Masse betont. Der Wechsel des Mittelstands zum Faschismus wurde zunächst als Konsequenz materieller Not betrachtet, was aber wenig über die Bedingungen dieser massiven politischen Veränderung zu sagen vermochte.³⁹ Hier zeichnete sich ein auffälliger Widerspruch zur Mittelstandstheorie der Sopade ab: Zum einen wurde der Mittelstand quasi als „Initiator“ der faschistischen Bewegung bezeichnet, zum anderen ihm eine erstaunliche politische Hilflosigkeit in der Zeit der Wirtschaftskrise Ende der zwanziger Jahre attestiert.

Die Leute um die GL hingegen verneinten die Selbstständigkeit des italienischen Mittelstands und stellten den Faschismus als das passive Resultat der Zentralisierung der Gewalt und der Knebelung der Bourgeoisie dar – Entwicklungen, die schon vor dem

37 C. Rosselli, Un nuovo movimento italiano, Archiv der GL, Florenz, Sektion III, Faszikel I, Dok. 8 (ohne Datum).

38 Vgl. R. Hilferding, Gefahrenzone (Anm. 20).

39 Die konjunkturellen Schwierigkeiten bewirkten nicht immer und unbedingt eine Hinwendung des Mittelstands zum Faschismus. Vgl. A. Schweitzer, Die Nazifizierung des Mittelstandes, Stuttgart 1970.

Machthantritt Mussolinis im Gange waren. Der technokratische Aspekt der Regierungen vor Mussolini und seine Akzentuierung nach 1922 habe eine breite Schicht industrieller Bürokratie ins Leben gerufen, deren Bindung an die untergeordneten Klassen und an die Arbeiterschaft nur instrumenteller Natur sei. Die Frage des Mittelstands in Italien wurde faktisch von einem ganz anderen Blickwinkel angegangen. Der Faschismus sei, so die GL-Theoretiker, „die Autobiographie der Nation“, ein fast naturgemäßer Auswuchs. Das außerordentlich starke Ineinandergreifen der Exekutive und der Finanzwelt, ohne die Förderung des Bildungssystems und der materiellen Besserstellung der Gesellschaft, habe den Nährboden für die passive Haltung Mussolini und seinen *Squadre* gegenüber vorbereitet sowie das Proletariat weiterhin an Mitwirkungsmöglichkeiten gehindert und im Allgemeinen verunsichert.⁴⁰

Die Appelle zur Einheit der Arbeiterklasse, die beide Parteien mit großem Nachdruck bis zum Ausbruch des Spanischen Bürgerkrieges an ihre Anhängerschaft richteten, ließen die Tendenz erkennen, dass sie zwar der Vorstellung einer effektiven Front mit Wohlwollen gegenüberstanden, jedoch keineswegs bereit waren, ihre eigenen Zielstellungen denjenigen der kommunistischen Exilgruppen unterzuordnen.⁴¹ Dies war ein eindeutiges Zeichen dafür, dass sowohl der Prager Vorstand als auch die Pariser Leitung der GL die Wirksamkeit einer „spontanen“ Mobilisierung nicht nur unterschätzten, sondern ihr keinerlei politisch relevante Bedeutung beizumessen schienen.

Die Geschichte beider Organisationen bis zum Spanischen Bürgerkrieg hatte sich dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass all ihre Anstrengungen und ihre politischen Entscheidungen dem Gemeinwohl der arbeitenden Klasse galten. Sie zielten auf eine kompromisslose Berücksichtigung der ethischen Aufgabe des Sozialismus ab, nämlich das Streben nach Freiheit. So fielen beide Parteien einer übertriebenen Idealisierung anheim, bei der oft die praktische Ausübung von Widerstand ignoriert wurde. Doch die rapiden Umwälzungen auf der internationalen Ebene bewirkten auch jene symbiotische Annäherung, welche die Gruppen in einer fast entgegengesetzten Richtung und bis zum Ausbruch des Spanischen Bürgerkrieges erlebte. Sie fand im Verhältnis zwischen Liberalismus und Sozialismus ihren Nährboden. Die GL, in der Zahl ihrer Anhänger stark geschrumpft und immer geschlossener um ihren Anführer, Carlo Rosselli, stehend, vervollkommnete mit der Teilnahme am spanischen Konflikt jene partielle Rückwendung zum „demokratischen“ Marxismus, welche seit 1934, d.h. seit dem Ende der *Concentrazione antifascista*, eingesetzt hatte. Die Sopade gab nach ihrem „scheinrevolutionären“ Auftakt ihr Bekenntnis zum liberalen Sozialismus kund, welches im Manifest von 1936 und später in den Wiederaufbauprogrammen konkretisiert wurde.

Die oppositionelle Strategie der Sopade und der GL stützte sich unverkennbar auf schon bewährte Schemata, die sie teilweise aus den zwanziger Jahren übernommen hatten.

40 Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà, N. 3, Juni 1932, S. 9.

41 Vgl. B. Hebel-Kunze, SPD und Faschismus. Zur politischen und organisatorischen Entwicklung der SPD 1932–1935, Frankfurt a. M. 1977; W. Saggau, Faschismustheorien und antifaschistische Strategien in der SPD. Theoretische Einschätzungen des deutschen Faschismus und Widerstandskonzeptionen in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik und in der Emigration, Köln 1981, S. 50–81.

Diese wurden jedoch regelmäßig an die aktuellen Herausforderungen angeglichen, die sowohl aus internen Disputen als auch aus externen Störfaktoren hervorgingen. In der frühen Phase der Illegalität überwog insbesondere die Frage, ob die sozialdemokratische Wählerschaft ungeachtet der traditionellen „attentistischen“ Politik ihrer Anführer bereit war, mit den Kommunisten einen Kompromiss zu schließen und einen gemeinsamen Kampf auszufechten. Aus dieser während des gesamten Exils fortwährenden Diskussion gingen etappenweise die bedeutendsten Grundelemente hervor, welche die Geschichte der Parteien in den dreißiger Jahren kennzeichneten: der revolutionäre Ausbruch; die Abstellung der Propaganda auf erzieherische Projekte; der (gescheiterte) Versuch eines Zusammengehens mit den anderen sozialistischen Gruppierungen zur Bildung einer Einheitsfront; die Aneignung gemäßigter, liberal-sozialistischer Ansichten; und der „unsichere“, jedoch theoretisch inspirierende und dynamisierende Umgang mit dem Spanischen Bürgerkrieg. In jeder dieser Etappen entflammten tief greifende Debatten, in denen gleichzeitig die Kompaktheit und die Brüchigkeit beider Organisationen ans Licht traten, und zwar insbesondere bei der Behandlung von Kernthemen wie der Faschismusdeutung, der Rolle der Eliten und des Mittelstands, des Föderalismus und der Neustrukturierung der Gesellschaft nach ihrer Befreiung vom Faschismus.⁴²

Eine Verlagerung der traditionell auf parlamentarischem Boden durchgeführten Tätigkeit auf die antifaschistische, konspirative Propaganda musste Hand in Hand mit einem strikt durchorganisierten Gebrauch der illegalen Mittel sowie mit langfristig ausgerichteten Versuchen zur Erfassung der breiten Gesellschaft gehen. Das bedeutete vor allem eine Revision und Umstellung des theoretischen Gedankenguts auf Rekrutierungsmaßnahmen und die Realisierung minimaler Zielsetzungen unter Beibehaltung einer proletarisch orientierten, auf die Zukunft weisenden und Freiheit versprechenden Stoßrichtung. Die Sopade und die GL bemühten sich vorrangig, im Rahmen ihrer antifaschistischen Aktivität eine Basis zu schaffen, die nach dem Sturz der Diktaturen und der Wiedereinführung der zivilen Rechte sowohl der Neuentstehung einer nationalen Identität als auch der Propagierung und Gestaltung eines gesamteuropäischen Konzeptes gerecht werden sollte. Der Übergang von zentralistischen zu föderalistischen Konzepten ging sowohl auf die theoretische Entwicklung der Exilzeit als auch auf die Erfahrung des bewaffneten Konfliktes zurück, welche die Unangemessenheit des parlamentarischen Ringens in der Vorkriegszeit und der konstitutionellen Monarchie als Statthalter und Garanten demokratischer Werte endgültig aufgedeckt hatten.

Die Führungen der Sopade und der GL brachten ihre Verurteilung jener „katechistischen“ Version des Marxismus offiziell, und zwar in Verbindung mit der antifaschistischen Propaganda, welche ihre Hauptaktivität im Exil darstellte, zum Ausdruck. Die Vorstellungen eines neuen Sozialismus hatten insofern einen Bezug zur Realität, als sie daran anknüpften, dass die faschistische Machteroberung ein Zeichen für das Scheitern des Parlamentarismus sowie der bürgerlichen Ausrichtung der sozialdemokratischen

Parteien Europas gewesen war. Demnach ging der Kampf um die Wiederherstellung demokratischer Kräfte in der „versklavten“ Heimat mit der Suche nach übergeordneten Werten, wie Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit, einher.

So stellte der Faschismus den Ansatzpunkt für die umfassende Revision früherer Positionen dar. Die darauf folgende Unterbindung der Freiheit und das Verbot aller demokratischen Parteien sei nur Resultat der Passivität und der kurzsichtigen Konformität vorhergegangener Parteileitungen gewesen, welche die Idee des „Klassenkampfes“ der Absicherung materieller Konzessionen an die Arbeiterschaft geopfert hätten. Rosselli konnte somit Italien spöttisch das Land nennen, wo „nichts mehr passierte“, ⁴³ d.h. wo Mussolini sich der Schwäche und der politischen Unreife der Nation bzw. ihrer Führungskreise hatte frei bedienen können. Dem ähnelten die Kommentare vieler Mitglieder der Sopade, z.B. Breitscheids oder Schiffrins, welche in den frühen Jahren des Exils wiederholt auf die verfehlte Auseinandersetzung der Weimarer SPD mit der sich offensichtlich vollziehenden „Gärung im Proletariat, die soziale Krise des Mittelstands“ sowie mit den „Änderungen in der Aufnahmefähigkeit und Reaktionsart der Massen“ ⁴⁴ verwiesen.

Die Appelle zur künftigen Dezentralisierung der Gewalt und zu einer pragmatischen Handhabung der sozialistischen Lehren fanden ihre konkrete Umsetzung in der Revision der überkommenen Ideologie unter dem vielschichtigen Einfluss des liberalen Labour-Sozialismus. Darauf nahmen außerdem die avantgardistischen Lehren aus Frankreich und Belgien aus den frühen dreißiger Jahren einen kaum zu überschätzenden Einfluss, wie die umfangreiche Reflexion über ihre Grundsätze in den Presseorganen beider Formationen belegte. Die „Sozialistische Aktion“, die „Zeitschrift für Sozialismus“ und die Wochenschrift „Giustizia e Libertà“ gingen intensiv auf die vermutlich viel versprechenden Theorien unter anderem von Henri de Man oder Marcel Déat ein, deren Erörterung Aufschlüsse zur Einheitsfront und zur Organisation der Wirtschaft nach dem Kriege erbrachte. ⁴⁵

So verstand man die umfassende Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft meistens als Umstellung zunächst im sozialistischen Lager. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die nationalsozialistische Diktatur kaum noch Raum zur politischen Freiheit und zur Zusammenarbeit mit den restlichen demokratischen Formationen zuließ, hieß es, sich über die tradierten Positionen hinauszuentwickeln, um einen neuen Sozialismus darzubieten. Dies bedeutete vorherrschend, über die Tradition hinausgehend die entschlossene Ablehnung des reformistischen Weges zu formulieren und umzusetzen.

„Der Faschismus hat mit eiserner Hand sämtliche Voraussetzungen für eine reformistische Arbeiterbewegung weggefégt. Jene historische Etappe ist vorbei.“ ⁴⁶ Schiffrin warnte vor einem Rückfall in die bürgerliche Politik der Weimarer SPD und stellte die

43 C. Casucci (Hrsg.), *Opere scelte di Carlo Rosselli. Scritti dell'esilio*, (Bd. 1), S. 72, Turin 1989. Dazu grundsätzlich P. Dogliani, *Il fascismo degli Italiani*, Turin 2008.

44 A. Schiffrin, *Partei-probleme*, in: *Vorwärts*, 7.3.1930, S. 18 f.

45 Dazu F. Di Palma, *Liberaler Sozialismus* (Anm. 1), S. 294-330.

46 A. Schiffrin, *Revolutionäre Sozialdemokratie*, in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, Nr. 3, Dezember 1933.

Bedingungen heraus, welche die zukünftige Arbeit der Sopade bestimmen sollten: „Die Sozialdemokratie kann nur als revolutionäre Partei auferstehen, revolutionär in den Methoden und in den Zielsetzungen.“⁴⁷

Doch was bedeutete das in der Praxis? Was stellten Schiffrin und seine Kollegen für die Widerstandsarbeit in Aussicht? „Die deutsche Arbeiterklasse“, argumentierte Schiffrin weiter, „umfasst die Hälfte der Nation, sie ist das größte proletarische Massiv Europas und der Welt“. Dem fügte er hinzu, dass trotz ihrer Kapitulation vor dem Faschismus, die allein durch reformistische Methoden unmöglich abzuwenden gewesen wäre, „bedeutet der Tod des Reformismus nicht das Ende der Sozialdemokratie.“⁴⁸ Die Sozialdemokratie, so Schiffrin, sei älter als die reformistische Praxis und „die Voraussetzung der Kontinuität der Sozialdemokratie ist der Bruch, der bewusste, offene und rücksichtslose Bruch mit eigener Vergangenheit und der alten Form der Organisation.“⁴⁹

Eine Reihe grundlegender Aufschlüsse waren in dem skizzierten Beitrag Schiffrins in den Vordergrund geraten. Zunächst die Idee des ideologischen Bruchs als notwendige Etappe zur Aufrechterhaltung der Tradition: Kontinuität als politische „Erinnerung“, aber keinerlei dogmatische Erstarrung, ferner die Einsicht in die Stärke der Arbeiterbewegung sowie der werktätigen „Masse“ (d. h. der an sie sozial angrenzenden Schichten) und in die notwendige Restrukturierung der Partei und ihrer Bindeglieder zur Basis.

In Anknüpfung an die gängigen technisch-organisatorischen Devisen, derer sich die Sopade in der Anfangsphase der Exilzeit reichlich bediente, baute der Vorstand auf der marxistisch-revolutionären Lehre auf, um den Grundgedanken der Einheit im Arbeiterlager zu beteuern und seine perspektivische Stoßrichtung zu umreißen. Je größer die faschistische Bedrohung, „umso entschiedener muss die Umstellung der sozialdemokratischen Kader durchgeführt werden, desto stärker soll die Anziehungskraft der sozialistische Idee wirken.“⁵⁰ Welche Form des Sozialismus zu bevorzugen sei, erklärten die Sopade-Mitglieder damit, dass die neue SPD nicht „die national-liberale Partei des Weimarer Staates“ sein solle, sondern vielmehr die Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus. Denn „demokratisch“ stehe nicht im Gegensatz zum revolutionären marxistischen Sozialismus, es sei vielmehr sogar sein Bestandteil.

Die faschistische Diktatur in Deutschland sei nicht ausschließlich ein deutsches „Resultat“, sondern ein „Produkt“ des Kontinents, den sie gespalten und gesprengt habe. Auf deutschem Boden erklimme die europäische Tragödie des ideologischen Egoismus und seines gewaltsamen Sieges über dem Humanismus ihren Gipfel. Die Lösung dagegen liege in den Händen der Massen und in denen des gesamten europäischen Volkes: „Der demokratische Sozialismus hat als bewegende Kraft der antifaschistischen Revolution für

47 Ebd.

48 Ebd.

49 Ebd. Dazu vergleichend, unter anderen R. Hilferding, Die Zeit und die Aufgabe, in: Zeitschrift für Sozialismus, Nr. 1, Oktober 1933; F. Stampfer, Beitrag zur Selbstkritik, in: Kampf, August 1933; K. Böchel, Das Prager Manifest, in: Zeitschrift für Sozialismus, Nr. 6, 1934; R. Breitscheid, The collapse of the Social Democrats, in: The new Statesman and Nation, 24.6.1933.

50 A. Schiffrin, Sozialdemokratie (Anm. 46).

Deutschland zwei politische Aufgaben zu erfüllen: das Bündnis des Proletariats mit der Mittelklasse zu ermöglichen und Deutschland nach Europa zurückzuführen.“⁵¹ Daran schloss sich ideell Carlo Rosselli an, der provokativ zu bedenken gab, dass nur der entschlossene Wille des Volkes, sei es durch heftigsten Widerstand oder notfalls durch einen Bürgerkrieg, den Faschismus zum Sturz bringen könne. Der „Krieg“ gegen den Faschismus erfasse alle Sphären des Lebens und erfordere extreme Tapferkeit und Glauben an die liberal-sozialistische Lehre.⁵²

Dies sei die zugrunde liegende Bedeutung des gesamten sozialdemokratischen Antifaschismus: sein Bestreben nach Einheit in der Arbeiterschaft, die Suche nach einem Zusammenschluss mit den benachbarten sozialen Kreisen und nicht zuletzt das Heranwachsen in eine europäische, föderale Dimension. Die gewünschte Rückkehr zum „genuinen“ revolutionären Marxismus bedeutete in diesem Rahmen keineswegs die Aneignung eines privilegierten theoretischen Schemas für die Arbeiterschaft, d.h. die Verschärfung einer Klassenkampfstrategie. Im Gegensatz dazu stellten die Parteitheoretiker einen moralischen Anspruch an die werktätigen Massen, von denen sie sich revolutionäre Kampfbereitschaft im Namen der europäischen Zivilisation versprachen, die unter der Knute des kontinentalen Faschismus unterzugehen drohte.

Der vorliegende Essay versteht sich als Beitrag zur Widerstands- und Faschismusforschung, über die in den letzten Jahren eine intensive methodologisch-theoretische Diskussion geführt worden ist. Die lebhafte Kontroverse um den Begriff „Faschismus“,⁵³ der für den hiesigen Zweck jedoch nur von marginaler Bedeutung ist, markiert nur einen ihrer Höhepunkte. Im Anschluss an diese Debatten wäre noch zu prüfen, ob die transnationalen Beziehungen unter europäischen Widerstandsorganisationen über wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen hinaus signifikante Transfers einschlossen oder sogar als Verflechtungsverhältnis zu verstehen sind und damit als *entangled history* geschrieben werden können, was in der einschlägigen Historiographie nach wie vor eine Lücke darstellt.⁵⁴

51 Ebd.

52 C. Rosselli, *La Guerra che torna*, in: *Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà*, November 1933. Dazu vergleichend unter anderen, U. Calosso, *Antiroma*, in: *Giustizia e Libertà*, 25.5.1934; N. Chiaromonte, *Tentativo di parlar chiaro*, in: *Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà*, Juni 1933.

53 Grundlegend zum Faschismus, unter anderen: E. Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche: action française, italienischer Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus*, (5. Aufl.) München 2000; C. Iordachi (Hrsg.), *Comparative fascist studies: new perspectives*, London 2010; W. Wippermann, *Faschismus: Eine Weltgeschichte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute*, Darmstadt 2009; B. Mantelli, *Kurze Geschichte des italienischen Faschismus*, Berlin 2008; P. Dogliani, *Fascismo* (Anm. 43); W. Schieder, *Faschistische Diktaturen: Studien zu Italien und Deutschland*, Göttingen 2008; L. Klinkhammer (Hrsg.), *Dittature, opposizioni, resistenza: Italia fascista, Germania nazionalsocialista, Spagna franchista*, Mailand 2005; R. Griffin/W. Loh/A. Umland (Hrsg.), *Fascism past and present, West and East*, Stuttgart 2006; A. Bauerkämper, *Der Faschismus in Europa*, Stuttgart 2006. Weiter führend zur Totalitarismusforschung, unter anderen: R. Löwenthal (Hrsg.), *Faschismus – Bolschewismus – Totalitarismus: Schriften zur Weltanschauungsdiktatur im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2009; M. Geyer/S. Fitzpatrick (Hrsg.), *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism compared*, Cambridge 2009.

54 Zu einer gesamteuropäischen komparativen Untersuchung des antifaschistischen Widerstands und dessen Netzwerke sind nach wie vor nur Ansätze zu verzeichnen: G. R. Überschär (Hrsg.), *Handbuch zum Widerstand gegen Nationalsozialismus und Faschismus in Europa 1933/39 bis 1945*, Berlin (im Erscheinen); M. Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi rule in occupied Europe*, London 2008; L. Rapone, *La socialdemocrazia europea tra le due*

Ebenso unterbelichtet ist die Analyse von informellen, biographischen und personalen Netzwerken mit ihrem „sozialen Kapital“ im gesamteuropäischen Antifaschismus, welche wichtige Fragestellungen wie die Handlungskoordination der Untersuchungsobjekte oder die Handlungspraxis der daran beteiligten Akteure mit ihrer kulturgeschichtlichen Dimension behandeln soll.⁵⁵

guerre: dall'organizzazione della pace alla resistenza al fascismo (1923–1936), Rom 1999; G. van Roon (Hrsg.), Europäischer Widerstand im Vergleich, Berlin 1985.

- 55 Zum an Pierre Bordieu angelehnten Konzept von „sozialem Kapital“ und zu seiner Relevanz für die Netzwerk-Forschung: P. Bordieu, Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital, in: R. Kreckel (Hrsg.), Soziale Welt. Sonderband 2: Soziale Ungleichheiten, Göttingen 1983, S. 183–198; zur Bedeutung der Netzwerke als Agenturen der „Vergesellschaftung“ und „Vergemeinschaftung“: D. Nohlen (Hrsg.), Lexikon der Politik, Bd. 7: Politische Begriffe, München 1998, S. 676–679; M. E. J. Newman / A.-L. Barabási / D. Watts (Hrsg.), The structure and dynamics of networks, Princeton N.J. / Oxford 2006.

BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

Natalie Zemon Davis : Leo Africanus. Ein Reisender zwischen Orient und Okzident, Berlin: Wagenbach 2008, 398 S.

Rezensiert von
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Der Held dieses ebenso weltoffenen und interesseweckenden wie ungestalten und fragwürdigen Buches trägt viele Namen: al-Hasan al-Wazzan, Giovanni Leone, Johannes Leo de Medicis, Yuhanna al-Asad. Die Namenswechsel erzählen die Geschichte eines in Granada geborenen und im marokkanischen Fes aufgewachsenen muslimischen Rechtsgelehrten und Diplomaten, der 1518 von christlichen Piraten verschleppt und dem Papst Leo X. übergeben wurde, bevor er der Gefangenschaft mithilfe einer Konversion entkam und in der Folge in Rom als Kompilator und Autor mehrerer gelehrter Werke auf Latein und Italienisch eine neue Existenz aufbaute, bevor er nach 1527 im Zuge der Plünderung Roms nach Nordafrika zurückkehrte, wo sich seine Spuren verlieren. Ein weiterer Beiname, den seine Autorin

Natalie Zemon Davis ihm wiederholt verleiht, ist „Schelmenvogel“. Er bezieht sich auf eine Fabel, die Yuhanna „der Löwe“ in seinem Hauptwerk wiedergibt, einer Kosmographie und Geographie Afrikas:

„Es war einmal ein Vogel, der konnte sowohl an Land als auch unter Wasser leben. In der Luft lebte er mit anderen Vögeln zusammen, bis der König der Vögel von ihm die Steuern einforderte. Unverzüglich flog der Vogel hinunter ins Meer und sagte zu dem Fisch: ‚Du kennst mich. Ich bin einer von euch. Dieser Nichtsnutz von einem Vogelkönig will Steuern von mir.‘ Der Fisch hieß ihn willkommen, und so blieb er ‚beruhigt und getröstet‘ bei ihnen, bis der König der Fische vorbeikam und ebenfalls Steuern von ihm forderte. Daraufhin schoss der Vogel aus dem Wasser und flog zu den Vögeln zurück, wo er dieselbe Geschichte wieder erzählte. So machte er weiter, ohne jemals Steuern zu bezahlen.“¹

Für Yuhanna stehen Wasser und Luft für Granada und Afrika. Den Schmähern seiner Schrift, die aus Afrika stammen, werde er sagen, er sei aus Granada, und umgekehrt. Der echte Schelmenvogel entgeht der Erklärungsnot wie den Steuern. Davis erweitert diese charmante Trickserie – im amerikanischen Originaltitel „Trickster Travels“ deutlicher hervorgehoben – durchaus zu Recht auf Yuhannas Doppelstellung zwischen Afrika und Europa

sowie zwischen Islam und Christentum. Zu einfach sei deshalb die Erklärung vor allem vieler neuerer muslimischer Historiker, die Yuhanna eine reine Scheinkonversion unterstellen, also einer taqiya nach islamischem Recht, der Verheimlichung des eigenen Glaubens und der Religionsausübung unter erzwungenen Umständen.

Das Ausbleiben eines Flucht- oder Auschiffungsversuches über einen so langen Zeitraum hinweg spricht laut Davis für eine andere Erklärung. Leitfaden seines neuen Lebens in Italien sei die Neugier gewesen, auf das in islamischen Augen Fremde und doch Verwandte, so zum Beispiel auf die stets vereinheitlichenden und harmonisierenden Strukturen des römischen Kirchenrechts, die im Kontrast zu den vier konkurrierenden Schulen des sunnitischen Rechts gestanden hätten. Und so wurde „Leo Africanus“ zum Kulturvermittler im allerbesten Sinne. Zunächst suchte er die Nähe anderer Außenseiter, wie in Bologna mit dem jüdischen Übersetzer Jacob Mantino, mit dem er ein hebräisch-arabisch-lateinisches Wörterverzeichnis erstellte. Danach korrigierte er in seiner „Geographie Afrikas“ die antike, nebulöse, exotische, oft auch sexualisierte Vorstellung der Europäer vom afrikanischen Kontinent. Das „fabelhafte, monströse, ewig neue Afrika“, so Davis, „wurde von Yuhanna al-Asad auf den Boden der Realität geholt, mit all seinen Städten, Dörfern, Bergen und Sandwüsten, seinen Dynastien und Stämmen, den blutigen Kriegen, den klappernden Webstühlen und den schweren Hämmern des Alltags“ (S. 155). Andererseits machte Yuhanna im Renaissance-Italien selbst die neue Erfahrung einer „inneren Unabhängigkeit“ (S. 245). Er lockerte in seinem Buch „Berühmte Männer bei den Ara-

bern“ die strengen Regeln auf, in denen man sich als arabischer Wissenschaftler in eine Überlieferungstradition zu stellen hatte, und verwob in seiner „Geographie Afrikas“ die Gepflogenheiten einer Rihla, also eines arabischen Reiseberichtes, zu weniger ich-zentrierten Schilderungen.

Jedoch muss er sich in einem Italien, in dem zu jener Zeit zum Beispiel vehement zum Krieg gegen die Türken geblasen wurde, als nicht nur fremd, sondern unerwünscht und verfeindet begriffen haben, weswegen er sich, so Davis, unter seinesgleichen, also gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Außenseitern am wohlsten gefühlt habe.

Schon Recht früh im Buch ist klar, dass sich Davis Yuhanna als Exponenten einer islamischen Aufklärung vorstellt. Man lese nur die Stelle von der fabelhaften Wirkung der Sarmakpflanze, von welcher die Bewohner des Atlasgebirges annahmen, dass eine Jungfrau die Unschuld verlöre, wenn sie allein über sie hinwegschritte, eine, wie von Yuhanna messerscharf geschlossen, erfundene Geschichte, um eine Penispenetration zu verschleiern (S. 56). Unter dem Einfluss der kritischen Humanisten in Rom sei zudem das Wissen des Arabers um die Anfechtbarkeit heiliger Texte gewachsen. Wichtigster Beleg ist für Davis eine Passage aus der „Geographie Afrikas“, in welcher Yuhanna sagt, die Bezeichnung Alexanders des Großen als „Prophet“ sei einer „Tollheit Muhammads im Koran“ entsprungen.² Yuhannas „Herausgeber“ Ragusio hatte viele islamfeindliche Spitzen des Autors im Nachhinein von sich aus hinzugefügt, doch diese Frevelei gegen Muhammad steht bereits im Originalmanuskript. Yuhannas neuerworbene Skepsis machte es wohl möglich, so Davis, zumindest einzelne Teile und Äußerungen

im nach religiöser Vorstellung als Ganzes geoffenbarten Koran in Zweifel zu ziehen. Sie hat sicher Recht, dass Yuhanna hier nicht nur dem Druck seiner christlichen Förderer nachgegeben hat, wiederholen sich solche Ausfälle gegen den Propheten doch im ganzen Manuskript sonst kaum. Davis' Beweisführung über die Beweggründe des Leo Africanus ist stets nachvollziehbar, wenn sie auch häufig auf schwachen Füßen daherkommt. Hingegen ist Davis' biographische Methode für einen Mann, über dessen Leben man kaum mehr weiß als das, was Ragusio schreibt und der Autor selbst an Selbstzeugnissen liefert, an mehr als einer Stelle fragwürdig und populärwissenschaftlich. Aus Literatur und anderem Quellenmaterial zeigt uns Davis spekulativ, was Yuhanna gesehen, gehört, gelesen, getan, ja gedacht haben dürfte oder könnte. Immerhin verschweigt sie uns die Problematik dieses Vorgehens von Anfang an nicht (vgl. S. 16). Das hört sich dann – wohlgemerkt innerhalb eines ganz kurzen Absatzes – manchmal so an: „Wir können uns vorstellen, dass al-Wazzan es gern sah, wenn seine Frau kochte, nähte und spann, wie man es von einer guten Ehefrau in Fes erwartete. Wir können uns auch vorstellen, wie er ihr zuhörte, wenn sie erzählte, was sie von der geschmückten Terrasse auf dem Dach gesehen hatte, wo sie und andere Frauen des Hauses sich von Zeit zu Zeit aufhielten. Ebenso können wir uns vorstellen, dass er, wie auch seine Frau und die Kinder, in dem um die Brunnen im Innenhof ihres Hauses angeordneten Wasserbecken an heißen Tagen ein Bad genommen haben, etwas, woran er sich noch Jahre später erinnerte. Und wir können uns vorstellen, wie er seiner Frau zuschaute, wenn sie

sich zum Ausgehen ankleidete, so wie es Brauch war in Fes...“ (S. 41).

Die hierdurch gewonnene Anschaulichkeit wird durch eine enervierende Mitteilbarkeit negativ aufgewogen. Vielleicht hätte es nicht nur der Wissenschaftlichkeit, sondern auch der Lesbarkeit des Buches keinen Abbruch getan, wenn Davis doch stärker von der Quellenlage ausgegangen wäre – statt die damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten im Apparat zu verstecken – und sich von dort aus gewissenhaft und behutsam zum Versuch einer Persönlichkeitsskizze ihres Helden durchgearbeitet hätte. Auch die zum Teil recht verschachtelte und inhaltlich häufig von der eigentlichen Sache wegführende Absatzgliederung stellt ein stilistisches und inhaltliches Manko dar. Ebenfalls zumindest ungeschickt sind Davis der erste Einstieg in das Thema und der Ausblick im letzten Kapitel „Verwandtschaften“ gelungen. Der weiße indische Elefant, Geschenk König Manuels von Portugal an Papst Leo X. und zeitgenössische Sensation, soll zu Beginn irgendwie mit dem unbekannten Schicksal Yuhannas in Verbindung gebracht werden, doch hängt diese Episode ohne sinnvolle Verknüpfung mit dem Thema gleichsam in der Luft. Schwerwiegender noch ist der verfehlt Ausblick. Es mag sein, dass Yuhanna und der französische Schriftsteller François Rabelais „als Wesen ihrer Zeit“ (S. 268) gewisse Ähnlichkeiten in ihren Erfahrungen und Auffassungen von Kultur, Religion und Krieg aufweisen, doch haben sich die beiden weder in Rom getroffen noch gar auch nur eine einzige Zeile voneinander nachweislich gelesen. Davis gelingt es hier nicht, die beiden Geschichten sinnvoll aufeinander zu beziehen. An der Stelle, an der sie ihre Ergebnisse bezüglich eines eu-

ropäisch-arabischen Kulturtransfers hätte präsentieren und vom biographischen Element hätte lösen müssen, zieht sie eine weitere Lebensgeschichte hinzu und gibt ihren roten Faden zuliebe der fixen Idee einer biographischen Spiegelung auf. Trotz dieser Einschränkungen liegt hier eine meistens kurzweilige und bereichernde neue Biographie dieses Wanderers zwischen den Welten vor, welche die bislang vorliegenden Abhandlungen Oumelbanine Zhiris und Dietrich Rauchenbergers ergänzt, indem sie das Leben von „Leo dem Afrikaner“ auf die darin angelegten Aspekte des Kulturtransfers zuspitzt.³

Anmerkungen:

- 1 Ursprünglich stammt die Geschichte aus einer arabischen Sammlung mit dem Titel „Hundert Geschichten“; Davis, S. 116.
- 2 Nach mehrfacher Erwähnung wird die Passage auf S. 234 erstmals ausführlich zitiert.
- 3 O. Zhiri, *L'Afrique au miroir de l'Europe. Fortunes de Jean Léon l'Africain à la Renaissance*, Genf 1991; D. Rauchenberger, Johannes Leo der Afrikaner. Seine Beschreibung des Raumes zwischen Nil und Niger nach dem Urtext, Wiesbaden 1999.

Jörn Leonhard / Ulrike von Hirschhausen: Empires und Nationalstaaten im 19. Jahrhundert (= Freiburg Institute of Advanced Study, Rote Reihe, Bd. 1), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2009, 128 S.

Rezensiert von
Roland Ludwig, Hanau

Das Buch von Jörg Leonhard und Ulrike von Hirschhausen entspringt einem größer angelegten Forschungsprojekt zu den multiethnischen Großreichen Großbritannien, Habsburg, Russland und Osmanisches Reich im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Warum aber „Empires“? Warum nicht Imperien? Leonhard und von Hirschhausen geben in diesem wohl als Darlegung bereits vorliegender Ergebnisse ihrer Studien konzipierten Band keine Begründung ihrer Begriffswahl. Der Leser kann somit nur rätseln, warum auf den durchaus eingeführten Begriff Imperien verzichtet wurde.¹

Und wieso „Empires und Nationalstaaten“? Es handelt sich bei dem vorliegenden Band keineswegs um eine vergleichende Arbeit zu „Empires“ und Nationalstaaten, sondern ausschließlich um eine Studie zu den vier oben genannten Imperien. Der Buchtitel ist daher irreführend. Erwähnung finden nationalstaatliche Ordnungs- und Integrationsvorstellungen als Tendenz in den untersuchten „Empires“, da sie zu einem Prozess der Angleichung zwischen Nationalstaaten und „Empires“ gehören.

Aber was bietet der schmale Band mit seinen gut 100 Textseiten? Eine selektive und ausschnitthafte Untersuchung von ausgewählten Imperien der Neuzeit. Die Kriterien für die Auswahl werden nicht verdeutlicht. Ausgangspunkt ist die Frage nach historischen Alternativen zum Nationalstaat. Leonhard und von Hirschhausen arbeiten dabei an einem weitgehend vernachlässigten Thema der europäischen Historiographie, vernachlässigt aber auch nur, wenn das weite Feld der auf die Ökonomie bezogenen Imperialismusdebatten ausgeblendet wird, was die Autoren mit (vielleicht zu) großer Souveränität tun. Ein neues Forschungsfeld lässt sich selbstverständlich leichter und unbeschwerter betreten, wenn die als überholt betrachteten Diskurse links liegen gelassen werden. Konkret untersuchen die Autoren imperiale Deutungskulturen am Beispiel der symbolischen Repräsentation der „Empires“ durch Monarchien und Dynastien. Der politisch-konstitutionelle Funktionsverlust der britischen Monarchie wurde ersetzt durch das imperiale Element im monarchischen Selbstverständnis und in den Repräsentationsformen: die Monarchie als Empire-Symbol. In der Habsburgermonarchie wurde die übernationale Dynastie zur Klammer der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen, was anders als in einer transpersonalen Dynastie wie in der britischen über die Person des Monarchen erreicht wurde. Die Romanov-Dynastie wurde seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr, wie seit Jahrhunderten üblich, als fremdländisch dargestellt, sondern die imperiale Expansion wurde als national-russische Aufgabe gedeutet. Betont wurde nun die Einheit von Herrscher und Volk im Zeichen eines populären Nationalis-

mus. Im Osmanischen Reich ermöglichte die programmatische Verbindung von Sultanat und Kalifat eine religiöse Selbstinszenierung des Sultans als geistlicher Führer aller Muslime, aber die Repräsentationspolitik blieb letztendlich anachronistisch und schöpfte aus erfundenen Traditionen. Die Klassifizierung der Bevölkerung als Erfassung und Beherrschbarmachung der multiethnischen Gesellschaft der „Empires“ ist ein zweiter Schritt der Untersuchung. Volkszählungen, nach 1850 übernommen von Nationalstaaten, waren Teil der Herrschaftsstrategie, und dienten der Erschließung unbekannter Räume und halfen Ordnung zu schaffen oder zu stabilisieren. Die Motive konnten sein: Die Feststellung von Steuerzahlern und Soldaten, aber auch gesellschaftsreformerische Bestrebungen (Habsburg) oder ethnische Exklusion (Russland). In Indien führte der britische All-India-Census zu einer Verfestigung der Kategorie Kaste, die als nationales Solidaritätsprinzip diente, was dem kommunitaristischen Nationalismus eine soziale und ideologische Basis bot.

In einem dritten Untersuchungsfeld sehen sich Leonhard und von Hirschhausen die Rolle der imperialen Militärs an. Dabei interessiert sie in erster Linie die allgemeine Wehrpflicht, die im Habsburgerreich, in Russland und im Osmanischen Reich eingeführt wurde. Die Einführung der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht war teilweise durch militärische Niederlagen motiviert. In Russland blieb das Militär isoliert von der Gesellschaft; daran änderte auch die allgemeine Wehrpflicht nichts. Im Osmanischen Reich blieb trotz aller anderslautenden Absichtserklärungen die Wehrpflicht vor 1914 faktisch auf Muslime beschränkt. In der Habsburgermonarchie

ging es von vornherein um ein multiethnisches Wehrpflichtmodell, das der Integration der einzelnen Nationalitäten in einer übernationalen „Schule des Volkes“ diente. Der Integrationserwartung widersprach jedoch vielfach die praktische Umsetzung bzw. die gesellschaftliche Realität: Fernbleiben der Rekruten von der Musterung (vor allem außerhalb der österreichischen Kronländer) und die ungarischen Autonomiebestrebungen im Hinblick auf die militärische Struktur.

Großbritannien war ein Ausnahmefall, da hier die Wehrpflicht erst 1916 während des Ersten Weltkriegs eingeführt wurde. Multiethnizität hatte es in den britischen Kolonialstreitkräften jedoch faktisch durch den hohen Anteil irischer, schottischer und walisischer Rekruten bereits früher gegeben. Eine größere Beteiligung der Dominions und der indigenen Bevölkerung wurde mit dem Burenkrieg aktuell. Eine multiethnische britische Armee des Empires wurde nach 1900 schrittweise von einer Idee zur Realität.

Der Kern der abschließenden Aussage der Studie zu den Imperien im 19. Jahrhundert ist der Befund einer tendenziellen Angleichung und Mischung zwischen „Empires“ und Nationalstaaten, was in der Anlehnung der „Empires“ an nationalstaatliche Ordnungs- und Integrationsvorstellungen zum Ausdruck kam. In den Nationalstaaten wurden zunehmend imperiale Elemente wie in der überseeischen Expansion oder der Herrschaftslegitimation genutzt. Trotz aller national-homogenisierenden Staatsbildungen hat die Polyethnizität der Imperien im Nationalstaat überlebt. Es ist auch kaum angebracht, vom 19. Jahrhundert als einem Jahrhundert der Nationalstaaten zu sprechen. Die Ausführungen

von Leonhard/von Hirschhausen zu den nationalisierenden „Empires“ und imperialisierenden Nationalstaaten implizieren, dass der Nationalstaat als Projekt, als nation-building, ein Elitenprojekt ist. Dieser Aspekt hätte eine stärker typologisierende und systematisierende Untersuchung verdient.

Anmerkungen:

- 1 Auch H. Münkler, *Imperien. Die Logik der Weltherrschaft – vom Alten Rom bis zu den Vereinigten Staaten*, Berlin 2005 und J. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 2009 kommen ohne den Anglizismus aus.

Iris Borowy (Hrsg.): *Uneasy Encounters. The Politics of Medicine and Health in China 1900–1937*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang 2009, 230 S.

Rezensiert von
Klaas Dykmann, Roskilde University

Der von Iris Borowy herausgegebene Sammelband beschreibt die Wechselwirkungen zwischen westlicher und (traditioneller) chinesischer Medizin vor dem Hintergrund politischer Instabilität, Fremdaggression und interner Reformbemühungen in China während der Zeit vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Der Band hilft viele Schlagworte zu verstehen, die heute zur Erklärung der Geschichte und aktuellen Positionierung Chinas bemüht werden. Darunter fallen die nationale

Stärke, eine selektive Aneignung externer Methoden oder die Wechselwirkung und Mischung aus Über- und Unterlegenheitskomplex als Ergebnis eines Zusammentreffens westlicher und chinesischer Wissensordnungen, Selbstverständnisse, Philosophien, Technologien und Machtpolitiken. Die Aufsatzsammlung vermag es vor allem dank der gehaltvollen Einleitung und des abschließenden Beitrags zur Rolle der Gesundheitsorganisation des Völkerbundes (beide verfasst von der Herausgeberin), sowohl verschiedene Perspektiven auf diese ereignisreiche Zeit anzubieten als auch immer wieder Verknüpfungen aufzuzeigen.

In der Einleitung führt Iris Borowy kenntnisreich in den ereignisvollen Untersuchungszeitraum ein: Zwischen 1900 und 1949 erlebte China eine turbulente Phase, in der nach der Revolution von 1911 die chinesische Republik entstand, gleichbedeutend mit dem Ende einer zweitausendjährigen Monarchie. Das öffentliche Leben in dieser Zeit war geprägt von politischer Instabilität, dem Wirken von „warlords“ und zunehmend von gewaltsamen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der Kommunistischen Partei und den Nationalisten der Kuomintang. Dies mündete in den anschließend zum Mythos erhobenen „Langen Marsch“ 1934-1936. Zur selben Zeit litt China unter japanischer Aggression, die bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg fort dauerte. Zwischen 1927 und 1945 werden die Toten in China auf 15-20 Millionen geschätzt: „In short, it was a period of exceptional violence, insecurity and suffering. It was also a time of an amazing transformation of one of the most populous countries on Earth from a feudal, largely pre-industrial state via fragmented chaos to reinven-

ted mass organization“ (S. 9). Modernisierung galt als eine der Schlüsselnarrative in der chinesischen Historiographie für das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. China stand vor der Aufgabe, die Bewahrung eigener Traditionen mit dem Druck, westlichen Fortschritt zu adaptieren, in Einklang zu bringen: „...the events are framed in a narrative in which concepts of old and new, foreign and domestic, destructive and constructive, international and national lose part of their contradictory qualities but serve as intertwined elements of a global and transnational adaptation to times of rapid development“ (S. 9/10). Wechselwirkungen in Medizin und Gesundheit reflektierten diese ambivalenten sino-westlichen Beziehungen, trugen aber auch dazu bei: Medizin mit ihren zweitausendjährigen Wurzeln drückte die beeindruckenden kulturellen Errungenschaften des chinesischen Reiches aus und diente als ein Element des Überlegenheitsempfindens gegenüber dem Westen (S. 10). Technologisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell waren China und der Westen um 1800 gleichauf; 50 Jahre später war China nicht mehr wettbewerbsfähig. Ebenso hatte sich um 1800 die chinesische Medizin als ebenso (un)wirksam wie die Medizin in Europa erwiesen – Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zeigte sich die westliche Medizin hingegen eindeutig überlegen bezüglich des Wissens über Anatomie, Chirurgie und, kurz darauf, Bakteriologie. Chinesische Mediziner sahen sich einer von ihrer eigenen Überlegenheit überzeugten westlichen Medizin gegenüber, die weniger durch akademischen Austausch, sondern vielmehr mittels kolonialer Kriegsführung ihren Anspruch geltend machte: Medizin wurde ein wesentlicher Teil,

wenn nicht eine bedeutende Plattform der imperialistischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen China und westlichen Ländern ebenso wie verschiedene Bestrebungen einer Modernisierung. Somit fanden die in diesem Band beschriebenen Ereignisse auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen statt: auf einer medizinischen als Wettbewerb zwischen bio-theoretischen Modellen; 2) auf einer politischen als Kampf um Einfluss und Kontrolle; und 3) auf einer sozioökonomischen als Streben nach Modernisierung und Identität (S. 10/11). Nach 1911 folgte das republikanische China einem Plan für ein modernes, staatskontrolliertes Gesundheitssystem, besonders während der Nationalistischen Republik (1928-1949): Westliche Medizin stellte das Modell für den unmittelbaren ebenso wie für dessen langfristigen Aufbau dar. Dazu gehörten medizinische Ausbildung, Gesundheitszentren und Krankenhäuser in Städten und auf Dörfern. Die Kuomintang wurde mit westlicher Medizin assoziiert, vermutlich deshalb wandte sich die KP chinesischer Medizin zu, aber auch, da westliche Medizin sich in China als unzureichend erfolgreich erwies (S. 14/15). Allerdings griff die traditionelle Medizin auch modernes medizinisches Wissen auf und entwickelte sich fort: Sie „erfand wieder“ eine Tradition durch die selektive Annahme jener Elemente, die sich für die Erfordernisse der neuen Lage eigneten (S. 15). Imperialismus förderte und verlangsamte zugleich eine Modernisierung in China: „Since modernity came from – and with – European agents, modernization inevitably involved an element of Westernization so that in an uneasy dichotomy, fighting against the West entailed embracing it“ (S. 19). In der chinesischen Be-

wegung zur Selbststärkung herrschte die Annahme vor, westliche Techniken und Wissen zu adaptieren, um China mehr Kraft zu verleihen – Konservative sprachen sich indes dagegen aus, die „Barbaren“ zu imitieren (S. 19). Dieser immanente Widerspruch zwischen der Opposition gegen fremde Präsenz in und Einfluss auf China auf der einen Seite, sowie Aufrufen zu einer weitreichenden Verwestlichung auf der anderen Seite, blieb ungelöst (S. 22). Da sich der Band gerade dieses komplizierten und vielschichtigen Themas annimmt, erweisen sich die Erkenntnisse über die Medizingeschichte hinaus als überaus relevant und bereichernd.

Nach der Einleitung behandeln sieben Aufsätze Teilaspekte des Sammelbandthemas. Qiusua Ma widmet sich der Rolle westlicher Medizin bei der Reform Chinas und untersucht dafür zwei Fallbeispiele: Die christlich-missionarische medizinische Ausbildung seit den 1830er Jahren und das Medizinprogramm der Rockefeller-Stiftung. Beide Programme endeten mit der Gründung der Volksrepublik China (S. 35). Gemeinsam war beiden ein starker Glaube an den universalen Wert des Christentums und der westlichen Zivilisation sowie die religiöse oder moralische Verantwortung, China zu „retten“ und zu reformieren: „To the missionaries and the Foundation, China's modernization was a question of „Christianization“ or „Westernization“, and Western medical knowledge provided a powerful tool“ (S. 52, 56). China wurde hierbei als ein Laboratorium für westliche Religion, Ideen und politische Systeme angesehen. Beide Entwürfe zeigten demnach kulturimperialistische Elemente auf (S. 52/53). Für die Missionare stand die Bekehrung möglichst

vieler Chinesen im Vordergrund, während der Rockefeller-Stiftung mehr ein Wandel der chinesischen Mentalität durch die Lehre der wissenschaftlichen Methode am Herzen lag. Im Gegensatz zu den Missionaren, die besonders auf die Armen abzielten, nahm die Rockefeller-Stiftung dezidiert Führungseliten ins Visier (S. 55).

Im Beitrag von Florence Bretelle-Establet werden die französischen Apotheken im südlichen China betrachtet. Bretelle-Establet hebt hervor, wie die Ziele des Projekts sich veränderten, als sich die politischen Hintergründe in China und Frankreich wandelten. Schließlich behandelt sie anhand einer Untersuchung der medizinischen Aktivitäten in verschiedenen kolonialen Einrichtungen an unterschiedlichen Orten den Charakter und die Bedeutung der französischen Medizin in Südchina (S. 63). Als Resultat verweist die Autorin darauf, dass die Bedeutung der medizinischen Aktivitäten der Franzosen viel mehr von der Intelligenz und Beharrlichkeit der einzelnen Ärzte in China abhing als von den sich verändernden und ungereimten Politiken der hohen Kreise in der französischen Kolonialverwaltung (S. 84).

Der Aufsatz von Liping Bu befasst sich mit Sozialdarwinismus, öffentlicher Gesundheit und Modernisierung in China zwischen 1895 und 1925. Sowohl für die Reformen als auch für die Revolutionäre galten die eigene Stärke Chinas sowie die Ganzheit der chinesischen Nation als übergeordnete Ziele (S. 97). Dementsprechend wurde der Sozialdarwinismus vom Kleinen auf Nationalstaaten übertragen und der „nationale Körper“ den individuellen Chinesen überstellt, was sich mit dem Streben nach „nationaler Stärke“ erklären lässt (survival of the fittest) – und

auch heute noch in kommunistischer, maoistischer und konfuzianischer Lesart fortdauernd wiederentworfen wird (S. 98). Neben einer Mentalität der „totalen Verwestlichung“ herrschte in der chinesischen Öffentlichkeit zugleich ein starkes Misstrauen gegenüber jeder fremden Aktivität in China (S. 116). Die Bewegung für eine öffentliche Gesundheitsausbildung verbreitete die Ideen westlicher Medizin und bewarb diese als wesentlichen Bestandteil von Modernität (S. 117). Schließlich wurde westliche Medizin nicht ein Werkzeug kolonialer, sondern antikolonialer Politik in China (S. 25).

Liew Kai Khiun analysiert die Pestpräventionsdienste in der Mandschurei. Wenn gleich 60.000 Menschen der Lungenpestepidemie von 1910 zum Opfer fielen, so bot diese auch eine entscheidende Gelegenheit für den chinesischen Staat, seine Kontrolle über die Gebiete zu stärken, die nicht unter fremder Gesetzgebung standen. Die Organisation einer hochkarätigen internationalen Medizinkonferenz zum Thema Pest und die anschließende Einrichtung der Dienste zur Prävention in der Mandschurei stellte ein modernes Gesicht der neuen Republik zur Schau, die sich in ihren öffentlichen Gesundheitsdiensten westliche biomedizinische Diskurse aneignete (S. 142). Während für gewöhnlich Kolonialmedizin mit der Ersetzung indigener Bürokratien und Traditionen durch moderne/europäische Einrichtungen gleichgesetzt wird, zeigte das Beispiel der Präventionsdienste ein anderes Bild: Der Bau von Krankenhäusern, die Pestberichte und andere Maßnahmen zur öffentlichen Gesundheit schienen eher die Autorität des chinesischen Staates gestärkt als geschwächt zu haben, wenn auch

eine Zurückweisung von Traditionen der Preis dafür war (S. 142).

David Luesink analysiert das Referenzwerk *History of Chinese Medicine*. Die Verfasser, K. Chimin Wong und Wu Liande, verfolgten damit die Absicht, auf die Kontroversen in der chinesischen Medizin einzuwirken und zeigten sich bemüht, diese beizulegen. Für Luesink stellt das Buch ein wesentliches Dokument zum Verständnis der Geschichte und Historiographie der Medizin in China dar (S. 150). Er macht darin zwei Kontroversen aus: Es geht um die Beziehung zwischen indigener und westlicher Medizin sowie um die Beziehung zwischen chinesischen und ausländischen Ärzten in Bezug auf die Führungsrolle der neuen Medizin. Das 1928 von der Nationalistischen Regierung errichtete Gesundheitsministerium wurde geführt von Ärzten, die in Japan, den USA und Europa ausgebildet worden waren. Diese entschlossen sich rasch, die indigenen Mediziner zu kontrollieren und niederzuhalten. Der Versuch der aggressiven Modernisierer, die traditionelle Medizin auszurotten, führte zu einer Einigung traditioneller Praktiker, die sich fortan in Lobbyarbeit übten (S. 152). Luesink stellt sich auf die Seite der jüngeren medizinischgeschichtlichen Forschung, die sich gegen die Unvermeidbarkeit der Vorherrschaft westlicher Medizin ausspricht und deren Entwicklung eher als ausgehandelt, zufällig und wechselseitig beschreibt (S. 166/167).¹

Socrates Litsios behandelt den letztlich misslungenen Versuch der Rockefeller-Stiftung in den 1930er Jahren, ihr medizinisches Projekt mit der öffentlichen Gesundheitsarbeit in China in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Der Aufsatz

hebt vor allem das Bemühen bestimmter Einzelpersonen hervor, die bei diesen Bestrebungen maßgeblich waren, besonders wird auf den Stiftungsmitarbeiter John Grant abgehoben. Grants Bemühungen vertrugen sich jedoch nicht mit der Überzeugung in der Rockefeller-Stiftung, dass es den Regierungen oblag, die Verantwortung für die Gestaltung öffentlicher Gesundheitspolitik zu tragen. Dies war einer der Hauptgründe, warum dieses Vorhaben größtenteils scheiterte. Grants Lehre ermutigte jedoch chinesische Mediziner, sich der präventiven Medizin anzunehmen – ein Gebiet, auf dem diese die Grundlage für das künftige chinesische Gesundheitssystem zu schaffen bestrebt waren. Diese Errungenschaft allein hat einige mit Fug und Recht dazu ermuntert, Grant als „Vater der Primary Health Care“ zu bezeichnen (S. 197), einem später besonders in den 1970er Jahren, sehr populären Grundversorgungsmodell. Litsios Beitrag dient als Fallbeispiel für die tiefgründigen Debatten im republikanischen China.

Mit Iris Borowys Aufsatz zu den Versuchen des Völkerbundes, das nationale Gesundheitssystem in China zu reformieren, schließt den Sammelband ab. Weniger bekannt als die Unfähigkeit des Völkerbundes, die japanischen Angriffe auf China (1931 und 1937) zu verhindern, zu beenden oder anfangs gar zu verstehen, ist, dass dieses Unvermögen auch eine vielversprechende Einbindung der Gesundheitsorganisation des Völkerbundes in China beendete: „It was an inglorious end of a singular experiment: providing large-scale international assistance for the comprehensive re-organization of the health system under the short-lived and ill-fated National Government“ (S. 205).

Wenngleich kurz nach 1937 sowohl die Nationalistische Regierung als auch der Völkerbund zu existieren aufhörten, handelte es sich bei dem Versuch, mithilfe der Gesundheitsorganisation ein modernes Gesundheitssystem in China aufzubauen, um mehr als eine Episode: „Never before or afterwards did an international health organization – or any organization – dare engage in an effort of that scale to re-organize a public policy system, and never before or afterwards did a Chinese government ask for it.“ Mit all seinen Begrenzungen war das Projekt der Völkerbundeinrichtung dennoch vermutlich der weitreichendste Versuch, China durch soziale Entwicklung in die moderne Welt zu integrieren. Allerdings erwies sich dieses Unterfangen auch nicht als frei von imperialistischen Untertönen, da die Pläne allesamt Kopien europäischer Institutionen darstellten, das Medizinkonzept genuin westlichen Ursprungs war und es keinen Versuch gab, chinesische medizinische oder kulturelle Traditionen einzubinden (S. 223). Also, so könnte man argumentieren, stellte dies einen Versuch dar, China nach westlichen Vorgaben zu modernisieren. Abschließend hält Borowy fest, dass man nur spekulieren könne, wie sich Medizin und Gesundheit in China entfaltet hätten, wären die Entwicklungen nicht unterbrochen worden: Ein westlicheres System, das mehr in die internationale Gemeinde eingebunden und weniger in der chinesischen Kultur verwurzelt wäre? (S. 223 f.).

Die Aufsätze in *Uneasy Encounters* berücksichtigen den neuesten Stand der Forschung, bieten aber sogleich empirisch reichhaltiges Material. Zweifelsohne handelt es sich bei diesem Band um eine sehr wertvolle Aufsatzsammlung, die nicht nur

Sinologen interessieren dürfte, sondern auch Historiker der Medizingeschichte sowie der transnationalen Netzwerke und der Globalgeschichte.

Anmerkung:

- 1 “While the History of Chinese Medicine explicitly desired to subordinate the old medicine to the new, by embedding the former into the teleology of its modern history and spreading this relatively positive account around the world, paradoxically it may be credited with helping spread seeds of doubt about the absolute authority of western biomedicine that Wang and Wu [die Autoren der *History*, K. D.] were themselves trying to establish” (S. 167).

Martin Klimke / Joachim Scharloth
(Hrsg.): 1968 in Europe. A History of
Protest and Activism, 1956–1977
(= Palgrave Macmillan Transnational
History Series), Basingstoke:
Palgrave Macmillan 2008, 344 S.

Rezensiert von
 Christof Dejung, Konstanz

Schon für Zeitgenossen war der transnationale Charakter der Protestbewegungen der späten 1960er Jahre evident. Der Berliner Vietnamkongress, der Prager Frühling und die blutig niedergeschlagenen Studentenproteste in Mexiko schienen irgendwie miteinander verknüpft und darüber hinaus in Beziehung zu Phänomenen wie der Hippiebewegung oder dem Woodstockfestival zu stehen. Wie genau all dies zusammenhing, bereitete nicht zuletzt den da-

maligen Regierungen Kopfzerbrechen. Ein CIA-Report mit dem Titel „Restless Youth“ musste jedoch im September 1968 kleinlaut zugeben, dass man unfähig sei, präzise Aussagen über die Motivation der weltweiten Jugendbewegung zu machen. Die CIA machte für diesen Umstand „the somewhat unfocussed nature of the movement itself“ verantwortlich.

Vier Jahrzehnte später versucht der von Martin Klimke und Joachim Scharloth herausgegebene Sammelband „1968 in Europe“, der die Beiträge von 29 Autorinnen und Autoren aus 14 Ländern vereinigt, dem Rätsel auf die Spur zu kommen. Im Gegensatz zu den zahlreichen Studien, die nach Ansicht der Herausgeber die Protestbewegungen der 1960er Jahre vor allem aus einem nationalen Blickwinkel untersucht hätten, will der Band das Thema aus einer gesamteuropäischen Perspektive angehen, um Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen einzelnen Ländern herauszuarbeiten und so die Basis für weiterführende vergleichende Studien zu bereiten. Die magische Jahreszahl „1968“ wird dabei als Metapher für die Proteste während der „langen 1960er Jahre“ zwischen 1956 (dem Jahr der Aufstände in Polen und Ungarn) und 1977 (der Klimax des Linksterrorismus in Deutschland und Italien) bezeichnet. Es geht also weniger um eine Ereignisgeschichte als vielmehr um eine Analyse der Umwälzungen, die in diesen gut zwanzig Jahren erfolgten. Als kleinster gemeinsamer Nenner der Protestbewegungen in Ost- und Westeuropa fungierten die Infragestellung des durch den Kalten Krieg entstandenen Blockdenkens, eine meist antikapitalistische Grundhaltung sowie die Betonung der internationalen Solidarität. Dazu kam die Orientierung

an einer globalen Populärkultur, die durch lange Haare, das Hören von Rockmusik und durch das Aufkommen von Ikonen wie Che Guevara oder Jimi Hendrix gekennzeichnet war. Grundsätzlich neu war zudem das Aktionsrepertoire, das Teach-ins, Go-ins oder Straßentheater umfasste. Diese Protestformen, die nach Ansicht der Herausgeber die „1968er“ grundsätzlich von ihren historischen Vorläufern unterschieden, sollten nicht nur ein gesellschaftliches Umdenken bewirken, sondern auch die Protestierenden selber verändern: einerseits, indem sie die „gesellschaftliche Repression“ durch die Reaktion von Passanten oder den Einsatz von Ordnungskräften am eigenen Leib verspürten, andererseits, indem die gemeinsame Aktion für einen kurzen Moment eine andere Gesellschaftsordnung antizipieren ließ, in der die alten Normen durch eine neue Form der Gemeinschaft ersetzt wurden.

Die Beiträge des Sammelbandes sind in drei Sektionen aufgeteilt. Teil eins widmet sich den kulturellen Wurzeln der 1968er-Bewegung. Niek Pas schildert in seinem Artikel, wie die niederländische Provo-Bewegung Mitte der 1960er Jahre mit neuen Protestformen experimentierte, bei denen die Strasse als Bühne und der öffentliche Raum als Agora benutzt wurde. Michael Frey beschreibt das Revival der internationalen Friedensbewegung in den 1950er Jahren und legt dar, inwiefern das pazifistische Gedankengut sowohl die Drittweltbewegung und die Studentenbewegung beeinflusste, als auch das zu dieser Zeit vorherrschende Blockdenken in Frage stellte. Weitere Artikel beschäftigen sich mit dem Situationismus (Thomas Hecken und Agata Grzenia), der britischen Neuen Linken (Madeleine Davis) und der Bedeu-

tung der Musik für die Bewegungen der 1960er Jahre (Detlef Siegfried). Besonders hervorzuheben ist hier der Beitrag von Jakob Tanner, der sich mit dem Zusammenhang von Motion und Emotion beschäftigt. Dem Körper kam nach Ansicht Tanners eine zentrale Bedeutung zu, indem er für die Angehörigen der Gegenkultur ein Medium darstellte, um etwas über sich und die Welt herauszufinden. Der Slogan *Sex & Drugs & Rock'n'Roll* bezeichnete dabei Praktiken, mit denen die Teilnehmenden sich über die Authentizität ihrer Gefühle klar werden wollten. Trotz des hohen Stellenwertes von Emotionen sei die Gegenkultur aber keineswegs antirational gewesen, sondern zeichnete sich durch ein hohes Bedürfnis an theoretischer Reflexion aus. Dass die Erwartungen, Hoffnungen und Ängste dieser Generation zu einer Bewegung gebündelt werden konnte, hatte gemäß Tanner wesentlich mit deren medialer Vermittlung durch Fernsehen, Musik, Filme oder Fotos zu tun – ein Umstand, der den technikkritischen Angehörigen der Gegenbewegung oft nicht bewusst war.

Im zweiten Teil des Bandes findet sich die Protestgeschichte einzelner europäischer Länder. Die jeweiligen Kapitel sind dabei nach einem einheitlichen Raster aufgebaut, welcher die Organisationsstruktur der jeweiligen Bewegungen, eine Beschreibung von Protestformen und Schlüsselerignissen sowie eine kommentierte Bibliographie umfasst. Die einzelnen Artikel stellen die Protestereignisse in sechzehn Staaten vor. Sie behandeln dabei nicht nur Westeuropa – mit Beiträgen zu Westdeutschland (Martin Klimke), Frankreich (Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey), Großbritannien (Holger Nehring), Nordirland (Niall ó Dochartaigh), Belgien (Louis Vos), Italien

(Jan Kurz und Marica Tolomelli) und der Schweiz (Nicole Peter), – sondern auch Osteuropa – mit Aufsätzen zur Tschechoslowakei (Jan Pauer), Polen (Stefan Garsztecki), Ostdeutschland (Timothy S. Brown), Rumänien (Corina Petrescu und Serban Pavelescu), Ungarn (Máté Szabó) und Jugoslawien (Boris Kanzleiter) –, sowie Skandinavien (Thomas Ekman Jørgensen) und die damaligen Diktaturen Griechenland und Spanien (Kostis Kornetis). Durch die Vielfalt der Länderbeispiele wird deutlich, wie groß trotz vorhandener Ähnlichkeiten – etwa in Bezug auf die Popularität der angloamerikanischen Populärkultur – die Unterschiede zwischen den Protestbewegungen waren. In Osteuropa waren spielerische Formen des Protestes, wie etwa Sit-ins, kaum möglich. Hier mussten die Protestbewegungen wesentlich konspirativer vorgehen. Bereits das Tragen von westlicher Kleidung oder das Hören von westlicher Musik konnte zu Repressionen führen. Und während in Deutschland, Frankreich und Großbritannien das Gedankengut der Neuen Linken die Proteste beförderte, war die Studentenbewegung in Belgien stark von einer flämisch-nationalistischen Ideologie beeinflusst.

Der dritte Teil beschäftigt sich mit den Folgen der 68er Bewegung auf das folgende Jahrzehnt. Dabei schildert Dorothea Hauser, wie bewaffnete Gruppen in Deutschland und Italien in dem Moment auf den Plan traten, als sich abzuzeichnen begann, dass die Studentenbewegung an Dynamik verlieren würde. Mit der Frauenbewegung (Kristina Schulz) und der Umweltbewegung (Christopher Rootes) wird die Geschichte von zwei thematischen Bewegungen geschildert, die die

politische Agenda bis weit in die 1980er Jahre hinein prägten. Philipp Gassert gibt in seinem bemerkenswerten Beitrag zu bedenken, dass die 68er zwar eine kulturelle Demokratisierung angestrebt hätten, der parlamentarischen Demokratie aber äußerst skeptisch gegenüber gestanden seien. Ironischerweise führte die marxistische Rhetorik der 68er jedoch dazu, dass die europäischen Konservativen, die sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg weiterhin eine autoritärere Form der politischen Herrschaft gewünscht hätten, nach 1968 zu einem Bekenntnis zur demokratischen Staatsform gedrängt wurden, was letztlich zu einer Stabilisierung der westlichen Demokratien geführt habe. Auch osteuropäische Intellektuelle wie Vaclav Havel oder Adam Michnik verfolgten ursprünglich das Ziel einer Erneuerung des Sozialismus. Erst in den 1980er Jahren begannen sie sich für die Einrichtung einer Demokratie westlicher Prägung einzusetzen, wie sie nach 1989 erreicht wurde.

Alles in allem bietet der Band zahlreiche Aufsätze von hoher Qualität. Besonders hervorzuheben ist, dass er sich nicht auf Westeuropa beschränkt, sondern durch die Gegenüberstellung von west- und osteuropäischen Länderbeispielen einen vergleichenden Blick auf die Protestbewegungen dies- und jenseits des eisernen Vorhangs erlaubt. Dennoch seien zwei kritische Anmerkungen erlaubt. Erstens vermag der Aufbau des Bandes nicht vollständig zu überzeugen. So bleibt der Zusammenhang zwischen den einzelnen Länderkapiteln im zweiten Teil und den mehr auf bestimmte Themen fokussierten Beiträgen der Teile eins und drei unklar. Zudem erscheint die Abgrenzung zwischen den einzelnen Teilen nicht völlig logisch. So wird etwa die

britische neue Linke sowohl in Teil eins (durch Madeleine Davis) wie auch in Teil zwei (durch Holger Nehring) behandelt. Zweitens wird aus der Lektüre des Bandes nicht wirklich deutlich, was das Besondere der Jahre 1956 bis 1977 gewesen sein soll, die durch den Begriff der „langen 1960er“ ja als eigene Epoche gekennzeichnet werden. Eine theoretische Abstützung dieser Periodisierung unterbleibt jedoch. Es bleibt vor allem unklar, warum das Jahr 1977 den Endpunkt dieser Epoche darstellen soll, wo doch viele Bewegungen wie die Umwelt- oder die Friedensbewegung gerade in den 1980er Jahren ihren Höhepunkt erreichten. Dem Rezensenten zumindest würde eine Periodisierung, die von den späten 1960er bis zum Wendejahr 1989 reichen würde, gerade in Bezug auf das soziokulturelle Umfeld der Post-68er, wesentlich plausibler erscheinen. Trotz dieser Einschränkungen wird dieser Band aufgrund seiner Materialfülle und seiner geographischen Reichweite ein unverzichtbares Basiswerk für die kommende Beschäftigung mit dem Thema darstellen.

**Ronan Deazley, Rethinking
Copyright. History, Theory and
Language, Cheltenham: Edward
Elgar Publishing 2006, 201 S.**

Rezensiert von
Isabella Löhr, Heidelberg

Mit dem Internet und den digitalen Medien verwandelten geistige Eigentums-

rechte sich in einen stark umkämpften Gegenstand: Urheber wie Autoren und Künstler, Verwerter wie Verlage und Musikunternehmen und die Öffentlichkeit in Person von Usern und Rezipienten, Kulturschaffenden und Wissenschaftlern streiten darüber, wie Urheberrechte eingesetzt werden können, so dass sie den Bedürfnissen aller beteiligten Gruppen gerecht werden und einem sinnvollen Ausgleich konkurrierender gesellschaftlicher Interessen erzielen. Mit „Rethinking Copyright“ leistet Deazley einen Beitrag zu genau dieser Diskussion, indem er die Anfänge der angloamerikanischen *copyright*-Tradition kritisch auf den Prüfstand stellt. Seine Frage lautet, ob die im 20. Jahrhundert so exklusiv gewordenen Rechte der Urheber – und damit auch der Verwerter – überhaupt noch in einem Zusammenhang stehen mit den Anliegen der ersten angloamerikanischen Urheberrechtsgesetzen im 18. Jahrhundert? Oder, so seine Frage, waren diese nicht viel stärker als es heute eingestanden wird, als ein zeitlich befristetes Privileg konzipiert, das gesellschaftliche Interessen in eine Balance bringen sollte anstatt die Rechte der Autoren und Verwerter einseitig zu schützen? Um es vorwegzunehmen: Deazley kritisiert die einseitige Ausrichtung der gegenwärtigen nationalen, europäischen und internationalen Urheberrechtsgesetzgebungen an den Rechteinhabern, indem er auf den Kerngedanken des ersten Urheberrechtsgesetzes weltweit verweist (der britische *Statute of Anne* von 1710), durch die zeitliche Befristung von Urheberrechten kulturelle Güter möglichst zügig der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen und so vor allem der öffentlichen Bildung zu dienen. Deazley entfaltet diese These in insgesamt fünf thematischen Kapiteln:

drei historische Kapitel, die den Zeitraum von 1710 bis 1912 abdecken, gefolgt von zwei systematischen Kapiteln mit prinzipiellen Überlegungen über Aufgaben und Funktionen geistiger Eigentumsrechte.

Deazley beginnt bei den beiden berühmten Gerichtsurteilen *Millar v. Taylor* (1769) und *Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774), um die keine historische Analyse der rechtlichen Dimensionen von Kultur herumkommt, und die in den Worten von Christopher May und Susan K. Sell, beinahe schon eine „totemic importance in all histories of copyright“¹ haben. Auch Deazley verankert seine Analyse in der Interpretation dieser „Urszenen“. Seine zentrale These lautet, dass mit dem zweiten Fall eine Denkfigur in die Rechtspraxis einzog, die im Verlauf der gerichtlichen Praxis der folgenden 150 Jahre eine solche Eigendynamik gewann, dass Urheberrechte sich von einem Instrument, das auf gesellschaftlichen Ausgleich zielte, in ein Rechtsinstrument zum primären Schutz von Autoren und Verwertern verwandelte. Deazley argumentiert, dass das Urteil von 1774 zwar das aus der *common law*-Tradition stammende unbefristete Recht der Verleger, ein Manuskript zu vervielfältigen, ungültig machte zugunsten der zeitlichen Befristung des Gesetzesrechts. Aber, so sein Argument, wegen einer unpräzisen zeitgenössischen Dokumentation der Urteilsbegründungen der einzelnen Richter schlich sich trotzdem der Gedanke ein, es gäbe fern aller Gesetzesrechte letztlich doch ein Gewohnheitsrecht des Autors auf sein Werk, das gegenüber den öffentlichen Teilhabeinteressen in die Waagschale geworfen werden konnte. Dagegen setzt Deazley die Interpretation, dass die Richter des *House of Lords* nicht über die Frage entschieden,

ob es ein gewohnheitsrechtliches „publication right“ der Autoren gebe, dem jedes Gesetzesrecht in letzter Instanz unterstehe (S. 18). Vielmehr hätten die Richter darüber entschieden, ob es ein Gewohnheitsrecht auf das „right to first publish“ gebe (S. 19), sie also ausschließlich den Publikationsprozess im Auge gehabt hätten. Daraus schlussfolgert Deazley, dass der berühmte Fall *Donaldson v. Beckett* nicht die Geburtsstunde eines auf den Autor zentrierten Kulturbegriffs gewesen sei, wie mehrheitlich in der Forschung behauptet, sondern dass die Richter „acted in the furtherance of much broader social goals and principles. The pre-eminence of the common good as the organising principle upon which to found a statutory system of copyright regulation was championed, while the notion of an authorial copyright at common law had been declared not to exist“ (S. 23). Einmal aufgedeckt, verfolgen die drei historischen Kapitel die Folgen dieser zeitgenössischen Fehlinterpretation des Urteils oder, wie Deazley es nennt, den „myth of Donaldson“ (S. 6). Deazley zeigt, wie die fehlerhafte Wiedergabe der Urteilsbegründungen in den Gerichtsprozessen nach 1774 ein Eigenleben gewann, die letztlich darin mündete, dass der *Copyright Act* von 1911 das veröffentlichte und das unveröffentlichte Werk schützte. Damit, so Deazley, hatten Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung primär das Wohl der Autoren in den Mittelpunkt gerückt und die ursprüngliche Konzeption hinter sich gelassen, dass geistige Eigentumsrechte nicht dem Wohl des Einzelnen, sondern der Öffentlichkeit und der öffentlichen Bildung zugute kommen sollten. In den zwei konzeptionellen Kapiteln erläutert Deazley Aufbau und Zielsetzung

geistiger Eigentumsrechte. Dafür erklärt er das Verhältnis von geschützten Werken, der sogenannten *public domain* (in seiner Definition die urheberrechtlich geschützten Werke, die wegen gesetzlicher Ausnahmeregelungen frei verfügbar sind) und den so genannten *intellectual commons*, die er als die Gesamtheit des Gesagten und Geschriebenen einer Gesellschaft beschreibt. Im letzten Kapitel fragt Deazley, warum es in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten nicht gelungen sei, das Konzept der *public domain* zu etablieren und die Rede vom Eigentum an immateriellen Gütern zugunsten öffentlicher Interessen und der Bevorzugung des öffentlichen Wohls ins Wanken zu bringen. Um eine Antwort zu geben, wie es zu diesem „expanding process of proprietarianist enclosure of the public domain“ kam (S. 150), wirft Deazley einen kursorischen Blick auf die Sprache von Gesetzgebern, Richtern und Rechtswissenschaftlern. Diese, so seine These, hätten sich einer Sprache bedient, die die Idee eines naturrechtlich begründeten Eigentumsanspruches der Autoren gegenüber der Öffentlichkeit forciert und damit langfristig eine rechtliche Beschneidung der öffentlichen Interessen grundsätzlich befördert habe.

Deazley schließt sein Buch mit der Feststellung, dass das „eigentliche“ Ziel geistiger Eigentumsrechte im frühen 18. Jahrhundert in England nicht das Wohl des Autors, sondern dass der Öffentlichkeit gewesen sei und man zu diesem Paradigma zurückkehren sollte. Obwohl eine solche normative Wendung der Argumentation durchaus problematisch ist, ermöglicht sie es Deazley, in den Kern der aktuellen Diskussionen vorzudringen und einen polemischen, zugleich aber gut begründeten

und sehr bedenkenswerten Beitrag zu leisten. Problematisch ist die Materialfülle, mit der Deazley den Leser konfrontiert. Sie erschwert die Lektüre, weil Deazley Zitate reihenweise entfaltet, ohne sie zu resümieren, so dass man bisweilen in den zahlreichen Beispielen verloren geht. Seine ausschließliche Konzentration auf Großbritannien ist für das 18. Jahrhundert sinnvoll, für das 19. Jahrhundert würde man sich allerdings wünschen, dass er den Einfluss der kontinentaleuropäischen Diskussion um den *droit moral* des Autors und seine Auswirkungen auf die britische Diskussion einbezogen hätte, da gerade von der Internationalisierung dieser Rechtsvorstellung über multilaterale Abkommen ein starker Impuls auch auf die britische Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung ausging. Daher ist das Buch allen Lesern zu empfehlen, die sich für die angloamerikanische Tradition des *copyright* interessieren und das Verhältnis von Gemeinwohl und Individuum historisch erkunden wollen.

Anmerkung:

- 1 Ch. May, S. K. Sell, *Intellectual Property Rights. A Critical History*, Boulder, CO 2006, S. 94.

Matthias Schmoeckel / Werner Schubert (Hrsg.): Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen (= Rheinische Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte Bd. 12), Bonn: Nomos 2009, 619 S.

Rezensiert von
Daniel Reupke, Saarbrücken

Der vorliegende Sammelband ist das Ergebnis einer Tagung zum Thema „Internationales Notarrecht im Wandel der Zeit“, veranstaltet vom Rheinischen Institut für Notarrecht (Matthias Schmoeckel) der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn im September 2007. Der nun erschienene Tagungsband wurde herausgegeben von Schmoeckel und dem Altmeister der Notarrechtsgeschichte in Deutschland, Werner Schubert (Kiel). Sie versammeln auf 619 Seiten 19 muttersprachliche Aufsätze namhafter Autoren. Die einzelnen Beiträge sind handwerklich saubere Normengeschichtsschreibung in chronologischer Darstellungsweise von den Anfängen bis heute. Der Band selber ist gegliedert nach Ländern, wobei der Ausbreitung des Notariats von Italien aus, sowie der Bedeutung Frankreichs Rechnung getragen wurde.

Die Veröffentlichung war bereits für den Herbst 2008 vorgesehen und vielleicht hat dieser ehrgeizige Zeitplan dazu geführt, dass kein Spielraum mehr gegeben war, eine ausführliche Einleitung zu schreiben, die einen roten Faden entwickelt, um die einzelnen nationalen Notarrechte in ei-

nen europäisch-transnationalen Kontext einzubetten. Auch fehlt ein ursprünglich gehaltener Vortrag zum Baltikum. Des Weiteren sind einigen Aufsätzen anderssprachige Zusammenfassungen beigegeben, was leider gerade nicht auf die weniger geläufigen Fremdsprachen zutrifft; Forschungsüberblicke und Literaturverzeichnisse hingegen bieten fast alle Aufsätze. Die Erschließung wird durch ein Inhaltsverzeichnis bewerkstelligt, dem eine knappe Autorenliste folgt; ein Sachregister sucht man vergebens.

„Das moderne Notariat kam aus Frankreich [...]“ – so Danuta Janicka auf Seite 495. Janicka meint damit die letzte der drei Traditionslinien, aus deren Verflechtung das europäische Notariat in seiner heutigen Ausprägung entstand.¹ Seine Geschichte begann mit den notarii und den tabelliones in der Antike – erstere stellten ihre Fähigkeit des Schreibens in den Dienst von Menschen, die schriftlich fixierte Dokumente benötigten, letztere verzeichneten Schriftstücke in Listen.

Die erste Linie stammt aus dem antiken Rom bzw. dem Byzantinischen Reich. Das lateinische Notariatsrecht wurde von Justinian I. im 6. Jahrhundert kodifiziert und danach von der Kirche getragen und verbreitet. Die zweite kam aus den oberitalienischen Kaufmannsstädte, wo im 11. Jahrhundert unabhängig vom antiken Vorbild ein öffentliches Notariat entstand, welches dem Bedarf entsprang, geschäftliche Handlungen zu verschriftlichen und Rechtssicherheit für die Beteiligten zu gewährleisten. Der dritte Teil der Notariatsrechtstradition stammt aus der Zeit nach der Französischen Revolution: Das Gesetz „contenant organisation du Notariat“ vom 25. Ventôse des Jahres XI nach der Revo-

lution (16. März 1803) – die so genannte Loi Ventôse – vereinheitlichte und systematisierte die Rechtszustände.

Die Geschichte des Notarrechts ist eine Geschichte der Professionalisierung: Von Anfang an bedurfte es bestimmten Papiers, formalisierten Aufbaues und Zeugen, um eine Urkunde zu erstellen. Die Notare führten ein öffentliches Amt, durch ihre Unterschrift wurden öffentlicher Glaube und Vollstreckbarkeit sichergestellt. Ausbildungsvorgaben, Zulassungsvoraussetzung – bald meist ein Studium – und die ständische Selbstverwaltung folgten als dritter Schritt.

So leben byzantinische Vorbilder noch in der modernen griechischen Notariatsordnung (NotO im Folgenden als allgemeine Abkürzung) wie Helen Saradin-Mendelovici in ihrem Beitrag zu berichten weiß. In Süditalien kam es im Hochmittelalter durch die Gesetze Kaiser Friedrichs II. und durch die Loi Ventôse nach 1803 zu geringfügigen Änderungen (Orazio Condorelli). Von den folgenden Vereinheitlichungen nach der Gründung des italienischen Nationalstaates (1861 / 1870) berichtet Maria Gigliola di Renzo Villata. Frank Roumy erläutert, wie das Ventôse-Gesetz in Frankreich – eigentlich eine Mischung aus Elementen des gemeinen und des norditalienischen Rechts – bis heute nur behutsam modernisiert werden brauchte.

Beinahe beispielhaft ist die Abfolge in Spanien: Im Mittelalter gab es kirchliche Schreiber und auf einzelne Territorien beschränkte Verordnungen, die sich meist auf das lateinische Recht bezogen. Im 15. Jahrhundert traten Elemente des Gemeinen Rechts hinzu. Eine moderne Notariatsordnung wurde 1862 erlassen. Diese überdauerte die Franco-Diktatur und

wurde bis heute nur geringfügig angepasst (Rafael Garcia Pérez).

Die Schweiz, so Michele Luminati, stellt sich bedingt durch ihre zentraleuropäische Lage und regionaler Spezifika als ein Mischgebiet dar. Während in der Südschweiz bald das norditalienische Notariat rezipiert wurde, übernahm man in der Nordschweiz mit Verzögerungen die Reichsnotarordnung (s. u.). Auch bestand ein Stadt-Land-Gegensatz, da hier französische Elemente aufgegriffen wurden, während dort die traditionellen Schreibereien weiter bestanden.

Nördlich der Alpen gab es lange ein nebeneinander von kirchlichen und kaiserlichen Notaren, dem erst 1512 mit der Reichsnotarordnung (RNotO) durch Kaiser Maximilian I. ein Rahmen gegeben wurde. Der zunehmende Einfluss einzelner Territorialherren gegenüber Papst und Kaiser führte zu regional zersplitterter Gesetzgebung und zu einem Bedeutungsverlust kirchlicher Notare. Einheitlichkeit wurde erst langsam nach der deutschen Reichsgründung 1871 resp. nach der deutschen Einheit 1899 hergestellt (Werner Schubert).

Christian Neschwara konstatiert für Österreich die gleichen Phasen wie sie sich schon in Deutschland zeigten: Die RNotO wurde von den absolutistischen Herrschern zugunsten der Kirche verändert. Nach einem Versuch im Umfeld der Revolution von 1848 kam es erst 1871 zu einer neuen Rechtsetzung, die Vorbild für viele osteuropäische Staaten wurde.

In Russland lokalisiert Martin Avenarius die Anfänge eines Notariats erst in der Frühen Neuzeit. 1866 wurde eine NotO erlassen. Nach ihr waren die Notare Staatsbeamte in Rangklassen wie Notar, Obernotar und Börsennotar. Die Sowjetunion

hielt an diesem System fest, ermöglichte den einzelnen Teilrepubliken allerdings auch, eigene Gesetze zu erlassen. 1993 wurde in der Russischen Föderation eine neue Ordnung gegeben.

Für Polen konstatiert Danuta Janicka eine zersplitterte Rechtsetzung. Einhergehend mit wechselnden Besitzverhältnissen nach den Teilungen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts rezipierte man zunächst französisches, dann russisches Recht. Das nach der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit (1918) geschaffene Notariat wurde 1945 zum Staatsnotariat gewandelt. 1991 wurde eine neue Ordnung erlassen.

Betrachtet man sich Holland (Sebastiaan Roes) und Belgien (Fred Stevens) fallen deutliche Gemeinsamkeiten auf: In beiden Ländern gibt es zunächst in den Städten offizielle Schreiber. In beiden Ländern werden im 16. Jahrhundert verbindliche Prüfungs- und Zulassungsregeln erlassen. Im frühen 19. Jahrhundert übernahmen beide die *Loi Ventôse*, das lediglich in Holland 1999 durch eine grundlegende Novellierung abgelöst wurde.

Auch in England (Nigel Ramsay) und Schottland (John Finlay) gibt es im 12. bzw. 13. Jahrhundert Schreiber und öffentliche Notare. In England traten bis zum Bruch mit Rom auch kirchliche Notare auf; die letzten spezifisch schottischen Ausprägungen verschwanden um 1900. Seit der Frühen Neuzeit war eine deutliche Professionalisierung eingetreten: Die in ständischen Interessenverbänden organisierten Schreiber (*scriveners company*) hatten einheitliche Ausbildungsvorgaben und bedurften der staatlichen Zulassung. Diese Grundlagen wurden bis heute nur behutsam modernisiert. In den skandinavischen Ländern offenbart sich ein hetero-

genes Bild: Für Dänemark berichtet Ditlev Tamm von kaiserlichen und ab dem 17. Jahrhundert von landesherrlich bestellten, öffentlichen Notaren in Kopenhagen. Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde französisches Recht rezipiert. In Norwegen (Hans Fredrik Marthinussen und Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde) fixierten im Frühmittelalter berufsmäßige Schreiber Urkunden. 1935 erhielt das Notariat durch das Landregistrierungsgesetz neue Bedeutung, aber erst 2002 wurde eine Ordnung erlassen. Für Schweden und Finnland hingegen schreibt Heikki Pihlajamäki „a history of the Nonexistent“ (S. 441). Zwar gab es um 1300 kirchliche Schreiber und notarii publicii, doch mit der Reformation verschwanden diese und wurden durch boni homines – ehrwürdige Vertrauensmänner – ersetzt; Urkunden fertigten die Gerichte. Während in Finnland mehrere Versuche scheiterten, eine NotO zu etablieren, wurde in Schweden 1882 die Institution eines öffentlichen Notariats geschaffen, welches nie Bedeutung erlangte.

Die globalgeschichtliche Sicht auf das Notarrecht räumt den USA, sowie Latein- und Südamerika in den Band ein besonderer Platz ein: Auf beiden Kontinenten brachte die Kolonialherrschaft der Europäer auch deren notarrechtlichen Traditionen mit. So galt in Louisiana französisches, in Florida spanisches Recht, in New England waren juristisch versierte, freiberufliche Schreiber tätig, in Südamerika waren die Schreiber zum Teil von den Vizekönigen der eigenstaatlichen Kolonien ernannt. In den USA (Mathias Reimann) gab es im 19. Jahrhundert den Gegensatz zwischen *civil law notary* und *notary public*, erster war Jurist, letzter nur Schreiber. Beide Ausprägungen verschwanden bis Ende des 20. Jahrhun-

derts der Bedarf an juristisch qualifizierten Vertragsgestalter wieder stieg, so dass der *civil law notary* teilweise per Gesetz wieder eingeführt wurde. In den südamerikanischen Staaten herrscht bis heute regionale Zersplitterung. Beispielsweise führte Argentinien (Reinhard Duve) 1853/60 eine NotO ein, die den einzelnen Provinzen großzügige Gestaltungsspielräume gab.

Betrachtet man die inhaltliche Dichte der Beiträge, so kann man sagen, dass die Geschichte des Notarwesens im Sinne einer Normengeschichte weitestgehend geschrieben zu sein scheint. Neue Ergebnisse sind nur für bislang wegen ihrer Quellenlage unberücksichtigt gebliebene Zeiträume und Regionen (z. B. 19. Jahrhundert in Polen) oder für (außereuropäische) Gebiete, in denen es kein Notariat im klassischen Sinne gibt, zu erwarten (z. B. Lateinamerika, ehemalige europäische Kolonien). Bei guten Quellenbeständen rückt zunehmend die Frage nach der Person des Notars, seiner Arbeitsweise bzw. Beurkundungspraxis und seinen Lebensumständen in den Vordergrund. Im Beitrag von Werner Schubert wird daher auch ganz deutlich das Desiderat einer Sozialgeschichte des deutschen Notariats – vergleichbar mit der Sozialgeschichte der Rechtsanwälte von Hannes Siegrist² – vorgetragen. Luminati und Ramsay bieten in ihren Aufsätzen bereits prosopographische Ansätze oder erste Sozialstatistiken (S. 289 f. und 408–413). Dieses insbesondere auch an Nicht-Rechtshistoriker gerichtete Forschungsvorhaben ist weiterhin bei Neschwara, Roumy und Stevens erkennbar.

Unbeschadet geringer Mängel ist der vorliegende Sammelband zur Geschichte des Notars der europäischen Tradition durch die wissenschaftlicher Qualität und seinen

Umfang auf dem Wege zu der geplanten Publikationen einer deutschen Notariatsgeschichte im Jubiläumsjahr der RNotO 2012 ein erster Standard im Bereich der Historiographie des Notarrechts.

Anmerkungen:

- 1 Für einen Überblick: HRG, Artikel Notariat, Berlin, 1984, Bd. 3, S. 1043-1049.
- 2 H. Siegrist, Advokat, Bürger und Staat. Sozialgeschichte der Rechtsanwälte in Deutschland, Italien und der Schweiz (18.-20. Jh.), Frankfurt/Main 1996.

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