

Thomas Sandkühler
Horst Walter Blanke (Hg.)

HISTORISIERUNG DER HISTORIK

Jörn Rüsen zum 80. Geburtstag

I'M STILL HOPING
THAT YESTERDAY
WILL GET BETTER



Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur

begründet von
Jörn Rüsen

herausgegeben von
Stefan Berger, Angelika Epple, Thomas Sandkühler,
Holger Thünemann und Markus Ventzke

Band 39



Thomas Sandkühler /
Horst Walter Blanke (Hg.)

Historisierung der Historik

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BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN · KÖLN · WEIMAR

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

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Lindenstraße 14, D-50674 Köln

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Umschlagabbildung: © Peanuts Worldwide LLC/Distr. Andrews McMeel
Syndicate/Distr. Bulls

Wissenschaftlicher Satz: satz&sonders GmbH, Dülmen
Einbandgestaltung: Michael Haderer, Wien

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISBN 978-3-412-50408-3

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Vorwort

Jörn Rösen, einer der wichtigsten Historiker der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, begeht im Oktober 2018 seinen 80. Geburtstag. Sein ganzes bisheriges akademisches Leben war durch die Arbeit an dem bestimmt, was Rösen zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn zu erneuern angetreten war: die Historik als Inbegriff der Theorie und der Methode der Geschichtswissenschaft. Sie zieht sich wie ein roter Faden durch Rösens weitergespanntes Œuvre, das im vorliegenden Band durch ein vollständiges Schriftenverzeichnis dokumentiert wird.

Als Friedrich Jaeger und wir vor nunmehr zwei Jahrzehnten die erste Festschrift für Jörn Rösen zusammenstellten, galt das Interesse von Herausgebern und Beiträgern den *Dimensionen der Historik*. Geschichtstheorie, Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichtskultur waren gleichgewichtig in den zahlreichen Aufsätzen vertreten, die Freunde, Kollegen und Schüler Rösen zu seinem 60. Geburtstag 1998 zueigneten.

Die zweite (oder richtiger: die dritte) Festschrift führte auf eine Tagung im Essener Kulturwissenschaftlichen Institut zurück, die 2008 den 200. Geburtstag von Johann G. Droysens „Historik“ mit der Feier von Jörn Rösens 70. Geburtstag verband. Aus dieser Tagung ging ein von Horst Walter Blanke herausgegebener Band *Historie und Historik* hervor. Beide bisher erwähnten Festschriften beinhalteten Schriftenverzeichnisse. Sie werden durch das Verzeichnis von Rösens Arbeiten im vorliegenden Band erweitert und ersetzt. Bis zum vergangenen Jahr hat der Jubilar mehr als 800 Aufsatz- und Buchpublikationen vorgelegt, darunter zahlreiche Übersetzungen in westliche, osteuropäische und asiatische Sprachen. Die wissenschaftliche Produktivität Rösens ist beeindruckend. Der Strom seiner Publikationen wird, wenn nicht alles täuscht, weiter fließen, vielleicht aber etwas schmaler werden nach so vielen Jahren.

Eine kulturanthropologische Fragestellung stand im Mittelpunkt der Feier von Jörn Rösens 65. Geburtstag 2003. Friedrich Jaeger und Jürgen Straub führten zu Ehren Rösens eine Tagung am Kulturwissenschaftlichen Institut durch, aus der zwei Jahre später ein Buch mit dem Titel *Was ist der Mensch?* hervorging.

Anlässlich der Feier von Rösens Goldenem Doktorjubiläum 2016 gab Holger Thünemann zusammen mit drei Kollegen einen Aufsatzband *Begriffene Geschichte – Geschichte begreifen* heraus, der dem Geehrten im Rahmen einer von den Herausgebern ausgerichteten Tagung an der Universität zu Köln überreicht wurde.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei auf die Zeitschrift *Erwägen – Wissen – Ethik* hingewiesen, die das Heft 4 ihres 22. Jahrgangs 2011 Rüsens Historik widmete. In dieser Publikation setzten sich rund fünfzig Beiträger kritisch mit Rüsens Theorien auseinander.

Der 80. Geburtstag des Jubilars lädt nunmehr dazu ein, Rüsens Historik durch einen Blick zurück nach vorn zu historisieren. In der vorliegenden Festschrift nehmen akademische Schüler, Weggefährten, Kolleginnen und Kollegen Stellung zu seinem Werk: zu Schlüsselbegriffen und Kategorien seiner Historik, zu Rüsens Wirken als Historiker und Hochschullehrer, zu notwendigen Erweiterungen seiner Arbeit an den Grundlagen dessen, was die Gegenwart forschend und selbstreflexiv aus der Vergangenheit lernen kann und lernen soll.

Die Festschrift zu seinem 80. Geburtstag möchte Jörn Rösen auch als Gründer der Schriftenreihe „Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur“ im Böhlau Verlag würdigen, in dem bereits die Bücher anlässlich seines 60. und 70. Geburtstags erschienen sind. Rösen hat sich inzwischen aus dem operativen Herausbergeschäft zurückgezogen und es einer jüngeren Gruppe von Kolleginnen und Kollegen übergeben: Stefan Berger, Angelika Epple, Thomas Sandkühler, Holger Thünemann und Markus Ventzke. Das erste Buch, das dieses neue Team auf den Weg bringt, ist Band 39 der Schriftenreihe: die vorliegende Festschrift. Die *Historisierung der Historik* vereint also Retrospektiven und Neubeginn im Blick auf das reiche wissenschaftliche und editorische Schaffen des Reihengründers.

Jörn Rösen hat aus seinem Faible für gute Trivilliteratur nie einen Hehl gemacht: Comics wie *Umpah Pah* und historische Romane wie *Angélique* fanden in ihm stets einen geneigten Leser. Aber die wohl herausragende literarische Genregestalt ist für ihn Charlie Brown, der kleine Philosoph des Alltäglichen aus Charles M. Schulz' Cartoon *Peanuts*. Rösen hat Charlies paradoxe Hoffnung, das Gestern möge besser werden, als Motto verwendet. Ernst Schulin, Rüsens langjähriger Mitstreiter in der Buchserie *Geschichtsdiskurs*, hat diesem Motto einen Aufsatz in der Festschrift zu Rüsens 60. Geburtstag gewidmet. Rösen hat schließlich sogar ein Buch über die Frage *Kann gestern besser werden?* geschrieben.

Insofern war die Idee Angelika Epples ebenso naheliegend wie brilliant, die Festschrift zu Rüsens 80. Geburtstag mit ebendiesem Cartoon zu personalisieren. Das war allerdings leichter gesagt als getan. Denn es stellte sich heraus, dass die Inhaber der Rechte an den *Peanuts* deren Verwendung als Bucheinband bisher noch stets untersagt haben. Wir freuen uns daher umso mehr, dass das weltweit erste Buch, das Charlie Brown als Cover verwenden darf – man glaubt es gar nicht! – die *Historisierung der Historik* ist. Sie gibt, so hoffen und wünschen wir, der Hoffnung auf Fortschritt im Umgang mit dem Gestern einen schönen Ausdruck.

Wir möchten abschließend Dank sagen: dem Böhlau Verlag, der diese Festschrift in dankbarer Erinnerung an zahlreiche Bände der *Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur* großzügig unterstützt hat, der Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung, die die Drucklegung durch ihren Zuschuss ermöglicht hat, und zwei mit Rösen eng verbundenen Essener Institutionen, dem Kulturwissenschaftlichen Institut und dem RuhrMuseum, für ihre Mitwirkung an der Mittelbeschaffung für diese Festschrift und die Ausrichtung der Feier von Jörn Rösens 80. Geburtstag. Ein besonderer Dank geht an Raegan Carmona von der Andrews McMeel Syndication und Saskia Baumgart von Bulls Press. Sie fanden wie wir, Jörn Rösen habe Charlie Browns Qualitäten als Geschichtsdenker so umfassend gewürdigt, dass Charlie nunmehr auch etwas für ihn tun könne. Ita est ergo ita sit.

Berlin, Hattingen
im Juni 2018

Th. S., H. W. B

Horst Walter Blanke/Andreas Pigulla

The Unity of Mankind and the Others

Cultural Entities and Differences in German Enlightenment Historiography

1. Introduction: ‚Mankind‘ as a Category – China as an Entity – and Chinese Enlightenment in Germany

1.1 Preliminary Note: The Basis of our ‚General History‘

This article¹ focuses on the conceptions of ‚Mankind‘ and ‚Universal History‘ in the historiography of European Enlightenment, especially in the English *Universal History* (1736ff.) and its German translation (1744ff.). For a more complete article the history of categorical terms like ‚humankind‘ (*Menschheit*) and related terms would be needed.² Apart from Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727–1799) and August Ludwig Schlözer (1735–1809), there are also more important texts on universal history and the history of mankind – for instance by Christoph Meiners (1747–1810), Johann Christoph Adelung (1734–1806), Isaak Iselin (1728–1782) and others – that have to be considered.³ The different cutbacks of the *Universal History* and its translations have to be regarded, too. The problems are not thought over in every respect; there is still more work to be done.

1 Some of the literature is cited by abbreviations. *UH*: cf. fn. 9; *UH, MP*: cf. fn. 14; *Uebersetzung*: cf. fn. 51; *Zusätze*: see fn. 5.

2 Good surveys are given by Hans Erich Bödeker: *Menschheit, Menschengeschlecht*, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Vol. 5, ed. Joachim Ritter/Karlfried Grün-der. Basel/Stuttgart 1980, pp. 1127–1137; id.: *Menschheit, Humanität, Humanismus*, in: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Vol. 3, ed. Otto Brunner et al. Stuttgart 1982, pp. 1063–1128.

3 The article by Michael Harbsmeier gives a good survey on text samples: *World Histories Before Domestication. The Writing of Universal Histories, Histories of Mankind and World Histories in Late Eighteenth Century Germany*, in: *Culture and History* 5 (1989), pp. 93–131.

1.2 The conception of this paper

Our paper deals with different works written during Enlightenment. We will argue on two different but mutually supplementary levels: on (2) works on universal history during the second part of the eighteenth century, namely on (a) the English „An Universal History“ and (b) its German translation, and on works by (c) Gatterer;⁴ on the German „General History of Travels“ (*Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*), a work that we are researching in another regard concerning this very project.⁵ A summary (3) concludes this paper.

1.3 The Leading Matter in Question: China as a ‚Category‘

The focus will be on the treatment of Chinese culture and history in these works.⁶ A special interest lies in the question of the integration of Chinese history into specific European conceptions of history. Especially the surfacing of information concerning on Chinese history marks the process of transformation of historical thinking that occurred in the late Enlightenment. Information on Chinese history and culture in a peculiar way offered possibilities of orientation, because one advanced culture was compared to another for the European reader. The problem of structuring and getting acquainted with information on foreign and alien cultures comes forward in an extraordinarily specific way in works on universal history – and in the above-mentioned history of travels as well.⁷ Our leading question is twofold: As already mentioned, China's integration into the European concept of history shall be examined. Our second investigation is directed towards the specific evaluations related to China.

4 August Ludwig Schlözer: Vorstellung seiner Universalhistorie (1772/73). Mit Beilagen, ed. Horst Walter Blanke. Waltrop 1997.

5 A comprehensive study on the *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen* is in preparation. It will contain a full bibliographical documentation of the 400 chapters of that work.

6 Andreas Pigulla: Zur Chinarezeption in der europäischen Aufklärungshistoriographie, in: Bochumer Jahrbuch für Ostasienforschung 10 (1987), pp. 259–323; id.: China in der deutschen Weltgeschichtsschreibung vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden 1996, esp. pp. 65–154; id.: Wandel und Resistenz des europäischen Geschichtsbildes unter dem Eindruck chinesischer Historiographie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: Geschichtsbilder und Gründungsmythen, ed. Hans-Joachim Gehrke. Würzburg 2001, pp. 179–208.

7 Cf. Horst Walter Blanke: Politische Herrschaft und soziale Ungleichheit im Spiegel des Anderen. Untersuchungen zu den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen vornehmlich im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. 2 Vols. Waltrop 1997.

2. Works of Universal History

2.1 An Universal History

The English „An Universal History“ is the work of an anonymous collective of English scholars; it was published in 66 volumes during the thirty years from 1736 to 1766. The first edition contained seven volumes⁸; originally there were no chapters or sections on Chinese history. The second edition of the first part (later called: „Antient Part“) was published in 20 volumes in the years 1747 and 1748; a volume containing the index and statistical tables was published as volume 21 in 1754.⁹ The publication was a great financial success.¹⁰

The collective was not homogenous but consisted of persons of diverse backgrounds and ranks. Each author was responsible for the individual part of the historiography that he had written. Originally, the whole work should have been revised by the collective, but this plan could not be realized. The authors included a man by the name of George Psalmanazar (1679–1763), the pseudonym of a well-known adventurer and writer of (fictive) travelogues who purported some Asiatic connections, the translator of the Muslim Koran George Sale (1679–1736), John Campbel (1703–1775), a lawyer and author of several political, historical and geographic-economical writings, and John Swinton (1703–1777), an Anglican clergyman. Swinton is considered the author of the history of China in the „Universal History“.¹¹

The „Universal History“ is indeed the first work that calls a spade a spade.¹² Chinese history on one hand and the description of China's cultural achievements on the other were referred to an elaborated conception of European historiography for the first time, however in a peculiar way. The first 20 volumes of the English original of „An Universal History“

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- 8 An Universal History. From the earliest Account of Time. 7 Vols. London 1736–44. The integration of Chinese history was reached by „Additions“, published in 1750.
- 9 An Universal History. From the earliest Account of Time. Compiled from the Original Authors; and Illustrated with Maps, Cuts. fn.s. &c. With a general Index to the Whole. 21 Vols. London 1747–54 [henceforth cited as: *UH*]. – On the *UH* see Franz Borkenau-Pollak: An universal history of the world from the earliest account of times etc. 1736 ff., Diss. Leipzig 1925.
- 10 On the history of publishing the *UH* see Guido Abbatista: The Business of Paternoster Row. Towards a Publishing History of the *Universal History* (1736–65), in: Publishing History 17 (1985), pp. 5–50, and Guisepppe Ricuperati: *Universal History*. Storia di un progetto europeo. Impostori, storici ed editori nella *Ancient Part*, in: Studi Settecenteschi 2 (1981), pp. 7–90.
- 11 Cf. Borkenau-Pollak 1925 (fn. 9), esp. p. 186.
- 12 Cf. Eduard Fueter: Geschichte der neueren Historiographie. Munich/Berlin 1911, 2nd ed. 1925, third ed. 1936 (reprint: New York/London 1968), p. 358.

consist in the „Antient Part“. Only in the last volume of this series Chinese history is reported as somewhat like a supplement: in chapter 23 on altogether 49 pages; it ends with the first of the dynasties, namely the Xia dynasty (Hya)¹³. Ending there made sense because the subject of this book should be antiquity. Conventionally the subjects of ancient history had been the history of the Mediterranean high cultures and the two-current country between Euphrates and Tigris. This history is the history of nations mentioned in the bible and of the European (namely Greek and Roman) tradition, i. e. the history of oriental and classical antiquity. The integration of Chinese history documents the esteem of Chinese culture. Although the text itself remains unsatisfactory – it deals mainly with problems of chronology and gives only few information on the political, social and cultural history of China –, simply its integration indicates a change in appreciation.

In volume 8 of the „Modern Part“ (that was published between 1759 and 1766 in 44 volumes) the history of „The Empire of China“ is presented on 521 pages; it is the first detailed narrative in the context of a European universal history;¹⁴ and, regarding its size, this description of Chinese culture and history was exceeded only by two Jesuit works.¹⁵ Both versions – the one of 1748 and the other of 1759 – have in common the division into two parts: a rather systematic and a chronological one. The systematic part is orientated towards contemporary criteria of arrangement and classification.¹⁶ The hidden or explicit evaluations were not uniform: on the one

13 *UH*, Vol. 20 (1748), pp. 109–157. This chapter was translated into German; *Zusätze*, Vol. 4 (1759), pp. 223–274. – The existence of the Xia dynasty has been discussed lately; it has been identified with the Erlitou culture (trad. 2205–1766 D.C.). See Robert L. Thorp: Erlitou and the Search for the Xia, in: *Early China* 16 (1991), pp. 1–38.

14 *An Universal History ... Modern Part*. 44 Vols. London 1759–1766 [henceforth cited as: *UH, MP*], here: Vol. 8 (1759), pp. 1–520.

15 Cf. Jean Baptiste Du Halde: *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique. et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise ...*, 4 Vols. Paris 1736; German translation: *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Chinesischen Reichs und der grossen Tartarey*, 4 Vols. Rostock 1747–1749.

16 Section I of the Antient Part (pp. 109–135) deals with: The Antiquity. Government, Laws. Religion. Customs, Language. Arts, Sciences, and Disposition of the antient Chinese. and Section II (pp. 135–157) with: The History of the Chinese, from their Origin, to the Commencement of the first Dynasty called Hya. – The system of the Modern Part is more elaborated; it is divided into 9 respectively 10 sections: 0 (pp. 1–15): A general View of the Chinese Empire; I (pp. 15–99): A topological Description of the Fifteen Provinces of China; II (pp. 100–139): Of the antient Religion, and new Sects. among the Chinese; III. Of the Government, Laws, Politics. &c. of the Chinese (pp. 139–79); IV (pp. 179–214): Of the Learning. Arts, Sciences. Language, &c. of the Chinese; V (pp. 215–248): Of the Agriculture. Silk Manufacture, China-ware, Japan. Varnish, and other inferior Arts, of the Chinese; VI (pp. 249–304): Of the Character, Genius. Manners, Customs, Marriages, Burials, Feasts, and Festivals, of the Chinese;

hand China is reported as being a rich land with an excellent system of government;¹⁷ on the other hand it is supposed to be quite degenerated – this is presented as the cause of Chinese calamity through foreign rule.¹⁸

The traditional Chinese conception of history is characterised by a cyclic structure. The author of the „Universal History“, probably Swinton, by adopting this Chinese tradition took the opportunity to present some positive attributes of Chinese culture but did not query the superiority of his own cultural entity. He did so by describing contemporary China as a flourishing country, while the younger Chinese history seemed to be marked by decline and decay:

„But, abating this overgrown conceit of themselves, of which they were soon cured, after they became more conversant with the *Europeans*, it must be owned, that they were once endowed with many shining qualities, though they have far degenerated from them of late; that they must have been a wise, prudent, and politic nation; that they had true and just ideas of government; that their fundamental laws were excellently well calculated for the public good; and that the people were no less endowed with a sincere regard for, and a natural disposition to observe, them.“¹⁹

In this reception of Chinese conceptions of conjunctures and courses of time the author offered his readers a mirror in which they could recognize their own European history as being marked by progress and, at the same time, the superiority of their own culture, which is this the starting point and result of the argumentation.

In the „Universal History“ the integration of Chinese history was not a conceptual but a rather practical problem. The integration itself into a wider geographical horizon did not require a more detailed argumentation because the enclosure of the whole known history of mankind is presented as a part of the aspect of summing up the traces of a bulk of experiences of the past.

A big problem was however presented by the long duration of Chinese history – a genuine problem because this age collided with the biblical reports. The authors of the „Universal History“ did not have a satisfactory tool for source criticism. As a result, they were not able to turn these

with an Account of the natural and artificial Rarities of that Country; VII (pp. 304–320): Of some remarkable Diseases which reign among the Chinese, and their Manner of curing them, their boasted Skill in Pulses. Phlebotomy. Cupping, Cauterising. Inoculating, and treating the Small-pox, and Method of Extracting of the Camphire, from the Tree of that Name; VIII (pp. 320–369): Of the Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the Chinese Nation; IX (pp. 369–520): The Reigns of the Chinese Monarchs, from the Foundation of their First Dynasty, down to the Birth of Christ.

17 *UH, MP*, Vol. 8 (1759), p. 14.

18 *ibid.*, p. 15.

19 *ibid.*, p. 249.

quite different and heterogeneous sources into a homogenous and consistent historiographical narrative. So, questions of chronology as well as the different estimations of the quality of Chinese cultural achievements and its social structures are parts of the narrative, even in their mood of contradiction. The authors of the „Universal History“ interpreted this peculiarity as an opportunity for the reader:

„The peruser therefore sees the authorities on which every account is founded; is made acquainted with the books that have been consulted; and, if he is disposed to make himself more completely master of any particular history, or is led to inquire minutely into the circumstances attending any remarkable event, he is directed where the necessary information may be found. In this light, it is an *universal index* of authentic histories.“²⁰

But the authors did not content themselves with collecting their heterogeneous information accurately and diligently; rather they compared the various sources of information scrupulously.²¹ The narrative is presented as one of many possible versions.

Politics, religion and sciences were the themes of the „Universal History“.

They should tell how the empires of ancient times were detached from other nations. The rise and decline of peoples and nations results in the superiority of European nations over all others. Only by this aim the „Universal History“ really became a universal history.²² And above this the „Universal History“ would and should be a „Universal Index“ and a „Universal Library“, because necessary bibliographical information was given to the reader.²³ The realisation of these aims was however achieved only partly.

The description of Chinese history consists of two parts: first a systematic ethnographic part and secondly a part narrating the history of the Chinese dynasties. The emancipation from traditional chronological conventions occurred only step by step in the „Universal History“; and, even more important, it remained heterogeneous: For instance, the originally free-thinking enterprise of the first edition was in the second edition,

20 Proposals for Publishing the Modern Part of the Universal History. Compiled from Original Writers, by the Authors of the Antient. Which will perfect the Work, and render it a Complete Body of History from the Earliest Account of Time, to the Present. London 1758, p. 15.

21 On their practice cf. *ibid.*, p. 15, with much self-assurance: The „Universal History“ „is drawn from the best histories of every nation extant, carefully collected, and diligently compared.“

22 *ibid.*, pp. 15 sq.: „That by the revival of Science, in the western world, these have been tempered and civilized, which has given the *Europeans* a superiority to all, and the command over many nations, in the other parts of the globe.“

23 *ibid.*

by intervention of the Church, forced to return to the assumption of the Mosaic chronology.²⁴ (This brought about a rise in sold copies by one third.²⁵) In the historical reports on particular peoples the single-tracked conception of chronology is broken through: by the integration of Chinese history.²⁶

The first chapter deals with „The Introduction, containing The Cosmogony, or Creation of the World“²⁷ according to the biblical account. In some places reference is made to the Chinese conception of the origins and genesis of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular,²⁸ but these are only marginal.

The „Universal History“ reports on peculiarities of the foreign peoples, whereas the authors were prepared to acknowledge their partial superiority. This is, for instance, the case in a section on the Chinese medical achievements that were superior to European ones²⁹, or on consumer goods like tea which were dedicated short chapters due to the English tea culture.³⁰

To elucidate the cultural differences between China and Europe the „Universal History“ describes funeral customs, each from the perspective of the other: The European practice of post-mortem examinations and charnel-houses were „an unheard-of cruelty“ for the Chinese, whereas the Chinese rituals and funeral habits seemed „too formal and regular“ to Europeans.³¹ In this way, the „Universal History“ sharpens the view for cultural otherness.

The *Universal History* is characterized by a lack of conceptual coherence; it is a poly-historical collection of the individual histories of different peoples in different time-spans. It aims to report the most significant facts; it compiles the existing information in an easily accessible manner, each people by itself, externally standardized.

Apart from the calamity with the chronology the picture of Chinese culture and history is varicolored and instructive. It brings into sharper focus that China was „the noblest and largest monarchy hitherto discovered.“³² The reports on population sizes of the Chinese empire seemed

24 In its first edition the *Universal History* referred to the Samaritanian chronology, in the second edition to the Hebrew according to Ussher.

25 Borkenau-Pollak 1925 (fn. 9), p. 6.

26 Cf. *UH*, Vol. 20 (1748), pp. 109–157.

27 *UH*, Vol. 1 (1747), pp. 1–107.

28 *ibid.*, pp. 49–51 and 70 sq.

29 *UH, MP*, Vol. 8 (1759), pp. 304–316.

30 *ibid.*, pp. 226–234.

31 *ibid.*, pp. 261–266, esp. 265.

32 *ibid.*, p. 2.

almost unbelievable³³, but they were reported accurately and not doubted. The account dealt with many peculiarities and achievements, such as the producing of silk³⁴; of porcelain³⁵, and of paper.³⁶ Many curiosities were described, for instance the Porcelain Tower of Nanjing.³⁷ The Chinese skill of navigation and the technique of ship-building were reported in detail;³⁸ also the condition of country roads and highways were depicted laudatorily (but a drop of vermouth spilled the narrative).³⁹ The extraordinary splendor of the imperial court was described,⁴⁰ in this context naturally the imperial audience hall was of great interest to the readers.⁴¹

These reports are closely related to the discussion of the peculiarities of the Chinese state of government. People's worship of the emperor approached adoration.⁴² The constitution was, without doubt, „despotic“;⁴³ but at the same time readers were summoned to take into consideration the following achievements:

„And such have been many of those monarchs, if we may believe the relations we have from thence; according to which, this government is one of the most regular in the world; in which the tribunals and magistracy are established in the most exact and uniform manner that human prudence can contrive, for the due administration of justice, and the exact discharge of all the offices of a well regulated state.“⁴⁴

The picture of China as sketched in the *Universal History* is fair and mainly positive. As said before: *mainly*, because sometimes praise and blame intertwine. A report on excellent Chinese roads thus expressed criticism of shabby inns.⁴⁵ A detailed description of navigation and shipping in China praised the European superiority on this skill, but the last paragraph of this section closes conciliatorily:

„Their ships have neither master nor pilot on board, but are left to the management of those that steer them, who are commonly pretty good pilots in coasting, though indifferent ones in the main sea, and would be still more so, where they to take any longer voyages.“⁴⁶

33 *ibid.*, p. 12.

34 *ibid.*, pp. 239–241.

35 *ibid.*, pp. 242–244.

36 *ibid.*, pp. 211 sq.

37 *ibid.*, p. 298.

38 *ibid.*, pp. 188–193.

39 *ibid.*, pp. 281–285; on inns see below, fn. 45.

40 *ibid.*, pp. 157 sq.

41 *ibid.*, pp. 24 sq., 162–165.

42 *ibid.*, p. 142.

43 *ibid.*, p. 143.

44 *ibid.*, pp. 143–145.

45 *ibid.*, p. 274, fn. 68.

46 *ibid.*, p. 190; cf. also the long fn. E on pp. 190 sq.

However, the paragraph on Chinese historiography is full of approval:

„As to their history, if we may rely upon what both the *Chinese*, and the generality of writers, say of it, no nation ever took more care to preserve and transmit a faithful and succinct one of their empire, from the very foundation of it, and to record the annals of their good and wicked monarchs with greater impartiality, and free from that flattery and sycophancy which those of other empires are commonly fraught with. This was their practice, not only at the imperial court, but in every kingdom under its dependency, and in every province of the empire; insomuch that not only every government, but every city belonging to it, hath been obliged, from time immemorial, to publish an account of every considerable transaction which happened within its district. This account extends itself to the situation, boundaries, climate, soil, and the most distinguished for their valor, learning, probity, &c. not excepting those of the female sex who have signalized themselves for their chastity: conjugal, parental, or filial, piety; nor even the monstrous births, and other prodigies, that have happened at any time; all which, if they could but be stripped of the marvellous and fabulous, for which those historians betray but too great a fondness, would doubtless be of great service to compile and enrich the history of their nation.“⁴⁷

Chinese historiography was obviously a model for historical thinking in Europe. This must be considered, because according to the authors of the „Universal History“, Europeans outperformed the Chinese in all trades and skills (for instance: the Chinese „continue still very unskilled in the art of navigation“⁴⁸) and especially about learning, arts and the sciences.⁴⁹ Undoubtedly this is an acute censure.

Also, the Chinese self-absorption und self-centeredness is subject of criticism and would be blamed upon them:

„Upon all these accounts, the *Chinese* entertained such extraordinary notions of themselves and country, that they looked upon all the rest of the world, and its inhabitants, with the utmost contempt, especially till they became better acquainted with the *Europeans*, or even till their last conquest by the *Tartars*.“⁵⁰

2.2 The Hallische Weltgeschichte

The „Universal History“ has been translated into German since 1744. The protestant theologian Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706–1757) from

47 *ibid.*, pp. 199 sq. Cf. also fn.s H and I.

48 *ibid.*, p. 188.

49 *ibid.*, pp. 179 sq.

50 *ibid.*, p. 6.

Halle edited the first 17 volumes; after his death work would be continued by his disciple and colleague Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791) until Vol. 30.⁵¹ The translation is often referred to as the *Halle World History* (*Hallische Weltgeschichte*). From Vol. 31 onwards the Göttingen historians, especially Gatterer and Schlözer, edited the next volumes, which however were not any more mere translations but newly composed texts.⁵²

Even in the first volumes of translation the German editors, revisers, adapters and compilers expressed some distance towards the English original. The translations contained detailed introductions and critical footnotes,⁵³ even special additions (*Zusätze*) in separate volumes.⁵⁴ The translated texts were an enormous enrichment of historical knowledge but were lacking explanation of the intentions behind that work, both in terms of its composition and structure and its treatment of the primary sources. Baumgarten wrote a long *preface* to the first volume that deals with hermeneutics under the influence of Christian theology, which pertained to be the most important criterion for the interpretation of experiences of the past.⁵⁵ But the current expansion of fields of experience into foreign and even exotic cultures was justified by the existence of an „associations of

51 Uebersetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie die in Engeland durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten ausgefertigt worden, nebst den Anmerkungen der holländischen *Uebersetzung*, auch vielen neuen Kupfern und Karten genau durchgesehen und mit häufigen Anmerkungen vermeret. Vols. 1–17, ed. Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten. Halle 1744–1758; Vols. 18–30, ed. Johann Salomo Semler. Halle 1760–1766 [henceforth cited: *Uebersetzung*].

52 Fortsetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten in Teutschland und Engeland ausgefertigt. Vols. 31–57. Halle 1771–1813. These volumes were published under the names of their authors (Schlözer, Gebhardt, Toze, Meusel, Le Bret etc.); they have the character of monographs that were not related any longer. – The geographical change from Halle to Göttingen marks the breakthrough of the scientification of historiography. Cf. Horst Walter Blanke: *Historiographiegeschichte als Historik*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1991, pp. 119–188, esp. p. 177.

53 Baumgarten: Vorrede, in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 1 (1744), pp. 3–58; Vol. 2 (1745), pp. 3–37; Vol. 3 (1746), pp. 3–30; Vol. 4 (1746), pp. 3–73; Vol. 5 (1747), pp. 3–9; Vol. 6 (1748), pp. 3–59; Vol. 7 (1748), pp. 1–19; Vol. 8 (1749), pp. 3–9; Vol. 9 (1750), pp. 3–11; Vol. 10 (1751), pp. 1–80; Vol. 11 (1751), pp. 1–28 [all of these texts are separately paginated]; Vol. 12 (1752), 7 pp.; Vol. 13 (1753), 7 pp.; Vol. 14 (1754), 7 pp.; Vol. 15 (1755), 8 pp.; Vol. 16 (1756), 8 pp. [all of these texts are unpaginated]; Semler: Vorrede, in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 17 (1758), pp. 1–80; Vol. 18 (1760), pp. 3–6; Vol. 19 (1759), pp. 3–40; Vol. 24 (1762), pp. 3–36; Vol. 25 (1763), pp. 3–15.

54 Vol. 1 4, ed. Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten. Halle 1747–1756; Vol. 5 and 6, ed. Johann Salomo Semler. Halle 1761/65 [henceforth cited: *Zusätze*].

55 Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten: Vorrede, in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 1 (1744), pp. 3–58 (separately paginated, reprint [without footnotes] in: Horst Walter Blanke/Dirk Fleischer: *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie*, 2 Vols. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 174–205: Über die eigentliche Beschaffenheit und Nutzbarkeit der Historie). The reprint had to be shortened. Therefore, the detailed discussions of the various positions are not in place, for instance Baumgarten's dispute with J. G. Vossius, *ibid.*, p. 30, fn. 29.

an human society“ (*Verbindungen einer menschlichen Gesellschaft*).⁵⁶ However, with regard to this conception the volumes of „An Universal History“ did not come up to the German compiler’s expectations; the translation therefore gradually diverged from the original.

In the German edition, the first detailed treatment of Chinese history was taken over from Vol. 20 of the English original, namely in the supplementary volumes.⁵⁷ Although these volumes were supposed to contain entirely new texts,⁵⁸ an exception was made in this case. Obviously, the reason for printing this text in a supplementary volume was that it contained uncertain and doubtful information.⁵⁹ Even this text is not only translated and (re)printed, but Baumgarten added 59 footnotes in which he discussed and commented on the heterogeneous original text, thus trying to overcome its arbitrary quality. This discussion again focused on the question of chronology.⁶⁰ To sum it up:⁶¹ Although Baumgarten’s remarks leave a somewhat diffused picture of the origin, age and history of the Chinese people, he tried to stick to the biblical tradition and merged information from the Bible with those on China. Baumgarten also contradicted the original remarks on the Chinese conception of the genesis of the world.⁶² But still the situation was quite unsatisfactory.

To solve these problems, Baumgarten’s successor Semler authored a comprehensive study on China for the following supplementary volumes,⁶³ whereas the quintessence of this article was: The Chinese conceptions of their origin and rise did not get acknowledged in an outstanding way. On the contrary, the dispute on the age of the Chinese people was restored on the level of source criticism.⁶⁴

56 *ibid.*, pp. 33–38 (pp. 197–202).

57 *Uebersetzung der Geschichte der Chinesen, aus der neuen Ausgabe der allgemeinen Welthistorie*, in: *Zusätze*, Vol. 4 (1756), part 2, pp. 223–274.

58 *ibid.*, title. These volumes should contain „neu gefertigte Ausarbeitungen, einige Stücke und Abschnitte dieses Werkes zu erleutern, auch bedürfenden Fals zu ergänzen und genauer zu erörtern; als auch Uebersetzungen anderer zu eben diesem Zweck dienlichen Abhandlungen“; Baumgarten: Vorrede, in: *Zusätze*, Vol. 4 (1756), pp. 3–56 [separately paged], here p. 3.

59 Baumgarten: Vorrede, in: *Zusätze*, Vol. 4 (1756), pp. 6 sq.

60 *Zusätze*, Vol. 4, part 2, pp. 225–40.

61 Cf. for details Pigulla (fn. 6), pp. 95–112.

62 Baumgarten in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 1 (1744), pp. 4, 53, 97, 117, 149 sq., 153, 161, 242.

63 Auszug aus des Herrn Degvignes algemeiner Geschichte der Hunnen, der Türken, der Moguln und anderer westlichen Tartarn, in: *Zusätze*, Vol. 5 (1761), part 2 [separately paginated], pp. 3–47.

64 *ibid.*, p. 5. Semler came to the conclusion that „die Verschiedenheiten, welche sich finden, zeigen hinlänglich, daß die chinesische Geschichte eben sowol Ungewisheit und Schwierigkeiten hat, als man in Untersuchung der chaldaischen, egyptischen und alten griechischen Könige findet.“

The text of the „Universal History“ Modern Part, Vol. 8, would be translated into German; it was published in Vols. 24 and 25 of the *Hallische Weltgeschichte*.⁶⁵ Chronologically, the historiography went up to the contemporary present. (The adjunct to the 9th section, „down to the Birth of Christ“⁶⁶, is confusing; in fact, the history of the Chinese dynasties reached up to his own present, or at least to the year 1735 when the emperor Yongzheng passed away.) Semler presented an account of his inferences with the original English text.⁶⁷ Perhaps his most important remark is Semler's appraisal of de Guignes' work.⁶⁸

In Semler's opinion this seemed to be not enough, so a new chapter was inserted. Also the narrative of the Chinese history was enlarged by a *Description of the Great Revolution in the Chinese Empire*, a relation of the change of dynasties from Ming (1368–1644) to Qing (1644–1911) in the year 1644.⁶⁹ This change is presented in a long and detailed relation, told on nearly 100 quarto pages.⁷⁰ Semler's reason for that was his strive for the completion of the collection,⁷¹ and his description of mainly diplomatic-military events is based on the work of the French Jesuit Jouve (1701–1758).⁷²

On the peculiar type of government, in the first edition of the *Universal History* the Kotow is described and presented as a special form of consenting with despotic rule: „From whence the absolute and unlimited authority of those monarchs may be as fairly deduced, as from the express testimony of any antient historian.“⁷³ In his footnotes Baumgarten gave a comment: „Because in China the government has been bound to pay attention to the laws at anytime: suitably it is not possible to maintain that there is not anyone being even more *despotic*.“⁷⁴ This placed him in the tradition of the Enlightenment.

65 Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches. in: *Uebersetzung*. Vol. 24 (1762), pp. 331–638; Vol. 25 (1763), pp. 1–130.

66 *UH, MP*, Vol. 8 (1759), p. 369. See above, fn. 16.

67 Semler: Vorrede. in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 24 (1762), pp. 3–36, here pp. 24–35. He summarised the account of *Zusätze* (see above, fn. 57) in a long fn. 40 (pp. 24–28). Cf. Semler: Vorrede, in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 25 (1763), pp. 3–15, here pp. 3–6, 10.

68 Cf. above with fn. 63 and below, fn. 86.

69 In: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 25 (1763), pp. 152–248.

70 Cf. the report on the suicide of Chong-zhen (r. 1628–1844); *ibid.*, pp. 197–200.

71 Semler: Vorrede, in: *Uebersetzung*, Vol. 25 (1763), pp. 3–15 [separately paginated], here p. 10: „Der Inhalt gehörte zur Volständigkeit eines so ansehnlichen Werks, damit man wirklich alles beisammen hatte, was die *chinesische*, zumal neuere Geschichte angehet.“

72 Vojeu de Brunem [pseudonym; recte: Joseph Jouve]: *Histoire de la conquete de la Chine par les Tartares, Mancheoux ...* Lyon 1754.

73 *UH*, Vol. 20 (1748), pp. 125 sq.; *Zusätze*, Vol. 4 (1756), part 2, p. 241.

74 *ibid.*, fn. 157: „Da die Regierung in *China* allezeit an die Beobachtung der Gesetze gebunden gewesen: so kan nicht füglich gesaget werden, daß es keine *despotische* gebe.“

2.3 Gatterer's Handbuch der Universalgeschichte

We come to the second or, more exactly: the third of our examples, which is the historian J. Chr. Gatterer. For a long time Gatterer was regarded quite a learned but somewhat pedantic scholar. In fact, he was rather one of those historians of the Enlightenment who pushed forward the process of scientification of historical studies. To name but this, he published plenty of articles on meta-theoretical questions – and he was one of the historians who had read a series of lectures on the theory and philosophy of history.⁷⁵ Gatterer did not stop scheduling contemporary standards of historiographical practice in the pattern of epistemological principles (he did do this, and he did this in the first place), but his *Historics* carried a prospective character: they discussed and reflected elementary problems of historiography and historical studies and, in doing so, endeavored to develop scientific standards.⁷⁶

In his „Handbuch der Universalgeschichte“ Gatterer⁷⁷ presented his first outline of the problem. He referred to the English *Universal History*, which he criticized; so he wanted to overcome its shortcomings by means of a more systematic narrative.⁷⁸ Moreover, in Vol. 2.1 he did not confine himself to some general problems of narrative but maliciously criticized the history on China told in the *Universal History*.⁷⁹ Gatterer rejected the

75 Some of Gatterer's theoretical articles are collected in Blanke/Fleischer 1990 (fn. 55), Vol. 1, pp. 303–312; Vol. 2, pp. 452–478, 568–578, 621–662, 711–722. Literature on Gatterer is listed in Horst Walter Blanke, in: Rüdiger vom Bruch/Rainer A. Müller (Hrsg.): *Historikerlexikon. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich 2002, pp. 112 sq.; Blanke/Fleischer 1990 (fn. 55), Vol. 2, pp. 779–781.

76 On the history of *Historics* in Germany see: Horst Walter Blanke et al.: *Historik als akademische Praxis. Eine Dokumentation der geschichtstheoretischen Vorlesungen an deutschsprachigen Universitäten von 1750 bis 1900*, in: *Dilthey-Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Geschichte der Geisteswissenschaften* 1 (1983), pp. 182–255; id.: *Theory of History in Historical Lectures: The German Tradition of Historik*, in: *History and Theory* 23 (1984), pp. 331–356; id.: *Von Chytraus zu Gatterer. Eine Skizze der Historik in Deutschland vom Humanismus bis zur Spätaufklärung*, in: id./Dirk Fleischer (eds.): *Aufklärung und Historik. Aufsätze zur Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft, Kirchengeschichte und Geschichtstheorie in der deutschen Aufklärung. Mit Beilagen*. Waltrop 1991, pp. 113–140, esp. 130–140.

77 Johann Christoph Gatterer: *Handbuch der Universalhistorie nach ihrem gesamten Umfange von Erschaffung der Welt bis zum Ursprunge der meisten heutigen Reiche und Staaten*, Vol. 1, Göttingen 1761, 2nd ed. 1765, Vol. 2.1. Göttingen 1764.

78 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), *Einleitung* [separately paginated], p. 61: „Man soll die merkwürdigen Begebenheiten eines jeden Volks und Staates in einer genauen chronologischen Folge hinter einander vortragen und erlernen, um eine systematische Einsicht in das ganze Triebwerk der auf einander folgenden und auseinander entstehenden Staatsveränderungen dadurch zu erlangen.“ Cf. Gatterer 1767 (see below, fn. 103), pp. 64 sq.

79 Gatterer: *Vorrede*, in: Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), pp. *4r–*8v, here p. *5r: „Das wichtigste besteht in der Beschreibung der grossen Revolution in China, allein diese ganze

integration of Chinese history into the first volume of his *Handbook* – in some way consequently, because he was also one of those scholars who doubted the validity of chronological dates reported by Jesuit missionaries.⁸⁰ So Gatterer employed a unilinear conception of chronology that was not compatible with Chinese conceptions.

In the first part of the second volume of his *Handbook* he then dealt extensively with Chinese history. But Gatterer spoke of the first notions of Chinese history as „fabulous and precarious times“, and gave precise dates not until he had arrived at the Xia dynasty.⁸¹ Gatterer kept to the biblical conception. By the second volume Gatterer deviated from this traditional conception and extended the idea of historical space. Christocentric assumptions were no longer decisive, didactical considerations were the more: „Because there is a lack of a medium-sized historical work, especially on the Asiatic, African and American empires, even on various even more important European states.“⁸² The first part of the second volume of the *Handbook* is reserved for Asian history and begins with Chinese history,⁸³ thus pretending that internal coherence of the narrative can only be ensured if its construction accords with the narration of the history of a single nation, i. e. the Chinese.

Gatterer narrated history following a certain scheme, which he called „system“. This system is divided into four sections: the first one deals with the sources, the second gives a survey on the geographical conditions, the third narrates the political occurrences and events (*Begebenheiten*), and the fourth describes the state of religious, political, social and intellectual conditions (*Gottesdienstliche, politische, häusliche und gelehrte Verfassung*).⁸⁴ Strictly following the rules of logical consistency, Gatterer applied this scheme also to Chinese history.⁸⁵

Abhandlung ist ein vorzug der Teutschen Uebersezung dieses weitläufigten und in andern Absichten sehr wichtigen Engländischen Werkes.“

80 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), Einleitung [separately paginated], p. 4.

81 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), pp. 34 sq.

82 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), p. *41 (*Vorrede*): „Weil es indessen an einem historischen Werke von mittlerer Größe, zumal über die Asiatischen, Africanischen und Americanischen Reiche, ja auch über verschiedene noch viel wichtigere Europäische Staaten fehlet“.

83 Cf. Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), p. 5: „Von Rechtswegen hatte ich die ältere Geschichte von China schon in dem ersten Theile dieses Werkes abhandeln sollen; allein ich wolte sie nicht gerne von der neuern Historie trennen, zumal da die Chinesische Geschichte erst in den nächsten Jahrhunderten nach Christi Geburt für uns Europaer wichtig zu werden anfängt.“

84 Cf. Gatterer 1761 (fn. 78).

85 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), part I, pp. 2–14; part 2, pp. 1–345. – Cf. the order of chapters in Vol. 2.1 of Gatterer’s *Handbook*: Vorläufige Einleitung; 1. Verzeichnis der chinesischen Geschichtsschreiber. A. Vorläufige Betrachtung über die chinesische Geschichte. B. Verzeichnis der chinesischen Geschichtsbücher. Erstes Buch: Geschichte der Chi-

The chapters, sections and paragraphs are of different value. For a detailed criticism on the sources of Chinese history, Gatterer referred to the outstanding work of de Guignes,⁸⁶ who was an appropriate choice in this regard. Gatterer's chronological lists are somewhat boring, but his remarks on the fourfold constitution (*Verfassung*) are mostly instructive. For instance, he gave a short but good survey of three „aboriginal“ religions of China: Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism (as was named „the religion of Fo“ that appeared to Gatterer like the essence of some vulgar superstition), and the three world religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, also, finally, the religion of the Tibetan Dalai Lama.⁸⁷ Gatterer also described the system of Chinese government only briefly – it was „monarchic“, „without any limitation“ („ganz uneingeschränkt“), but at the same time he ascertained that the emperor in general was not a tyrant but the „father“ of his people,⁸⁸ thus following a similar assertion of the *Universal History*.⁸⁹ Gatterer emphasized that – in contrast to Europe – there was no hereditary nobility in China,⁹⁰ and gave some instructive comments on the Chinese calendar and time indicators.⁹¹

Gatterer depicted Chinese history and culture quite empathically. He called the Great Wall an „astonishing monument of the patient diligence of the Chinese people“ („erstaunenswürdiges Denkmal des gedultigen Fleisses der Chineser“);⁹² he judged that the Grand Canal surpassed any comparable achievement in Europe;⁹³ and, to quote a third example, he

neser vom Ursprunge des chinesischen Reichs, das ist, ungefähr seit dem 2ten Jahrhundert nach der Sündfluth bis auf unsere Zeiten. I. Schriftsteller sowol Quellen als Hilfsmittel (pp. 3–5). II. Erdbeschreibung (pp. 5–20). 1. Allgemeine Erinnerung wegen der Ordnung der Völker, deren Geschichte erzählt wird. 2. Erdbeschreibungen von Asien überhaupt. 3. Erdbeschreibungen von China insbesondere. III. Begebenheiten (pp. 21–273). A. Kaiserliche Familien (pp. 21–193). B. Besondere Königreiche, die dem Kaiser nicht unterworfen waren (pp. 194–273). IV. Verfassung (pp. 274–346). I. Die gottesdienstliche Verfassung (pp. 274–300). 11. Die politische Verfassung (pp. 300–318). III. Die häusliche Verfassung (pp. 318–35). IV. Die gelehrte Verfassung (pp. 335–45).

86 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), pp. *6'–*7' (*Vorrede*) and passim, with reference to Joseph de Guignes: *Histoire generale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, & des autres Tartares occidentaux ...*, 4 Vols. Paris 1756–1758.

87 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), pp. 274–300. On the religion of Fo: pp. 284–291, 296.

88 *ibid.*, p. 300.

89 *UH, MP*, Vol. 8 (1759), pp. 165–170.

90 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), p. 302. Cf. *UH, MP*, Vol. 8, 1759, pp. 155 sq.

91 Gatterer 1761 (fn. 77), pp. 324 sq.

92 *ibid.*, p. 16.

93 *ibid.*, p. 17: „alles das übertrifft, was man wundernswürdiges von dieser Art in Europa siehet.“