

Feature Article 【專題論文】

Light, Truth, Education: History in European  
Humanism  
歐洲人文精神中的歷史與歷史教育

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**關鍵詞：**人類學、文化差異、教育、歐洲人文精神、歷史書寫、語言、「最接近的陌生人」、人

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## Abstract

The education of the ideal speaker must equip him with "all antiquity and a wealth of historical examples," thus argues Cicero. He extols history's power and achievements in a short hymn: history sheds light on the dark shades of past times (*lux veritatis*); history is a witness (*testis*) in a trial which should bring to light the whole truth; history is the living force of memory and the adviser of human life. Being a part of rhetoric history became an important element of general education in Western Europe. A man called "umanista" (first instances in the 15<sup>th</sup> century) is a teacher occupied with *poiesis*, *rhetorica*, *historia*, and *moralis scientia*. It is the education system which the names of the profession (*umanista*) and of the program (*humanismus*) are derived from.

Secondly, the Stoic doctrine of man introduces Nature dressing him up with the general role (*persona* – mask) of a rational being and with the specific role (*propria persona*) of an individual. The third role which Nature imposes is called "situation, chance, time" (*casus et tempus*). In this doctrine, then, time ranks with mind, individuality, free will as constituents of the human being. Man is conceived of as imperfect in body and mind, shaped by time, destined do make progress (*prokopé*; *pro-gredi*).

On a third level history is a structural element in humanism itself. The rhetorical and philosophical traditions just mentioned and a considerable bulk of scientific chronology and historiography were embedded in modern European humanism. Its very structure evokes, again and again, the awareness of historical distance and cultural difference that is a necessary precondition for a world view, a tradition, an ethical system in non-European countries to be classified as "humanism".

## 摘要

西塞羅主張在教育一位理想的演說者時應使其具備「古代全體，以及歷史例證的財富」。他在一篇簡短的贊歌中頌揚歷史的力量與成就：歷史照亮了過往的陰影（真理之光）；歷史是審訊中揭發所有真相的證人（證人）；歷史是記憶的活力，也是人生的顧問。歷史是修辭學的一部分，在西歐曾經成為通才教育重要的一員。被稱為「人文學者」的人（首例是在第十五世紀時）是一位從事於詩作、修辭、歷史與道德哲學教學的老師。此教育體系即是該專業（人文學者）與學科（人文學）名稱的起源。

其次，斯多亞學派有關人的學說提出：自然以理性人的一般性角色（人——面具）和個人的特殊角色（人本身）來為人裝扮。自然所賦與的第三個角色稱為「狀態、機會、時間」（狀況與時態）。因此，在此學說中，時間與心、個性、自由意志並列為人的組成成分。人被想像為在身、心方面是不完美的，被時間所塑造，註定要進步（改善、前進）。

在第三個層次上，歷史是人文精神本身的一個結構元素。剛才提到的修辭學和哲學傳統，以及數量可觀的科學年代記和歷史書寫皆已嵌入現代歐洲的人文精神中。其組成一再喚起歷史距離與文化差異的意識；這是非歐洲國家的世界觀、傳統和倫理系統被歸類為「人文精神」的一項必要前提。

The title "History in European Humanism" comprises three topics:

1. History and historiography as an element of education in Western Europe;
2. History, time, change as an element of the humanistic constitution of man;
3. History as a structural element in European humanism, since it is orientated towards Greece and Rome, which are "die nächsten Fremden" – the other closest to ourselves.

This paper is intended to provide a neatly defined and convincingly illustrated humanistic key-concept: "history". Comparative research will have to examine whether or not this crucial role of history – in education, in the anthropological concept of man, in the very structure of humanism – is a necessary precondition for a world view, a tradition, or an ethical system to be classified as "humanism".

## History in Education

### 1. Cicero's Hymn to *Historia*

The education of the perfect lawyer, politician, public speaker (*orator perfectus*) combines rhetoric with philosophy, *eloquentia* with *sapientia*.<sup>1</sup> Such a person should be equipped with "all antiquity and a wealth of historical examples": thus argues Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) in his "*de oratore*",<sup>2</sup>

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1 The same ideal of the *orator perfectus* in Quintilian, *institutio oratoria* 1, prooem 9-13: *ut idem sapientes et eloquentes haberentur* – "that the same are wise and eloquent".

2 Cicero, *de oratore* (55 BCE) 1, 5, 18: *omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis* – „for an education that is worthy of a free man". Cf. *ibid.* 1, 34, 158-159: *Legendi etiam poetae, cognoscendae historiae* [...] – "the poets are to be read, history is to be known"; Cicero, *Brutus* 267: *exempla plena dignitatis, plena antiquitatis* – "examples full of dignity, full of antiquity".

a key text for the theory and history of European education.<sup>3</sup> He extols history's power and achievements in a short hymn.<sup>4</sup>

"History, however, witness of times, light of truth, life of memory, teacher of life, herald of antiquity – *"historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis."*

History is a witness in a trial which should bring to light the whole truth.<sup>5</sup> History sheds light into the darkness of past times. History is the living force of memory and a counsellor for human life. Cicero adds a short history of ancient historiography, both in Latin and Greek:<sup>6</sup> Higher education in Rome is bilingual and oriented towards Greece, Rome's model and rival.<sup>7</sup> What Cicero had outlined in his dialogue, Quintilian, the rhetorician and teacher, put into the concrete form of a curriculum and a canon.<sup>8</sup>

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3 S. Bittner, *Ciceros Rhetorik – Eine Bildungstheorie: Von der Redetechnik zur humanitären Eloquenz* (Frechen: Bodem, 1999). As regards Cicero's Greek sources: A. Burk, *Die Pädagogik des Isokrates als Grundlegung des humanistischen Bildungsideals, im Vergleich mit den zeitgenössischen und modernen Theorien dargestellt* (Würzburg, C. J. Becker, Universitätsdruckerei, 1923).

4 Cic., *de oratore* 2, 9, 36. Cf. Cicero's hymn to philosophy in his *Disputations in Tusculum* 5, 5; see H. Hommel, *Ciceros Gebetshymnus an die Philosophie, Tusculanae V5* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968).

5 Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2, 15, 62: *Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Ne quid veri non audeat? Ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne quid simultatis?* – "For who ignores that it is the first law of historiography that it must not dare to tell something false? That it must dare to tell what is true? That there should be no favor in writing? No animosity?" – There are some modifications to this "fundamental" rule in Cicero's letter to the historian Lucceius (Cic., *ad familiares* 5, 12, 3; June 56 BCE): *in eo leges historiae negligas [...] amoremque nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedet veritas, largiari* – "in this case you should neglect the laws of historiography and grant a little more to your love to me than truth will concede."

6 Cato, Pictor, P. Mucius pontifex, Caelius Antipater; Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas, Herodotus, Thucydides, Philistus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, Timaeus.

7 As regards the prohibition of the *rhetores Latini* in 92 BCE by the censor L. Licinius Crassus, a participant in the dialogue, cf. *de orat.* 2,93. The *rhetores Latini* taught rhetoric without Greek.

8 Quintilian, *institutio oratoria* (about 95 CE), 10, 1, 31-34; cf. 73-75; 101-104. Quintilian makes reference to Cicero, *Orator* 12, 39; 19, 62. Cf. further Cicero, *Topica* 78: *et poetas et historicos [esse tales] ex quorum et dictis et scriptis saepe auctoritas petitur ad faciendam fidem* – "poets and historians [are such] that from their words and writings often authority can be taken to prove the case."

The historians, he says, "nourish" the lawyer-politician.<sup>9</sup> They provide style, narrative techniques, paradigmatic speeches, knowledge (*cognitio*) of geography, and the examples of vice and virtue. In this way, all capabilities are shaped of an ancient "*uomo universale*" whose ancient names are: *orator perfectus, vir bonus, vir vere civilis*.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. *Studia Humanitatis* – *Umanista* – *Humanismus*

Being part of rhetoric history earned a place in the time-table of a standard European education.<sup>11</sup> A man called "*umanista*" is documented for the first time in Italian universities (Pisa 1490).<sup>12</sup> His profession was, what Cicero termed *studia humanitatis* – "learning humanity",<sup>13</sup> i. e. teaching *poiesis, rhetorica, moralis scientia* and *historia*. His responsibility was rather limited:<sup>14</sup> "namely the study of the classics, of rhetoric, of poetry and history in conjunction with moral philosophy. Taken in this sense, humanism does not coincide with the sum total of Renaissance philosophy and learning, but merely represents one important part of it."

In Bologna, from 1512, Modestus was *umanista* at the lowest faculty, the faculty of artists, which only considerably later would become the Philosophical

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9 Quintilian mentions Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Theopompus, Philistus, Ephorus, Kleitarchos, Timagenes; Sallustius, Livy, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus.

10 Quint. *inst. orat.* 1, prooem 9-10: "[...] *omnis animi virtutes exigimus*." For the reception of Quintilian in Italy cf. C. J. Classen, "Quintilian and the Revival of Learning in Italy," *Humanistica Lovanensia*, 43 (1994), pp. 77-98: among other topics, on the discovery of a complete text of Quintilian at St. Gallen, in 1416.

11 J. Dolch, *Lehrplan des Abendlandes: Zweieinhalb Jahrtausende seiner Geschichte* (Ratingen: Henn, 31971); particularly on the history of the teaching of history see F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 31919-1921).

12 P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, vol. 1 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969 = reprint of the edition of 1956), pp. 553-583: "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance"; here p. 574, note 51; first publication of the essay: *Byzantion*, 17 (1944/45), pp. 346-374.

13 Cicero, pro Archia poeta 1, 2; 2, 3; de re publica 1, 17.

14 Kristeller, *ibid.*, pp. XI f.; cf. pp. 3-9.

Faculty.<sup>15</sup> In 1516 he was appointed to the *lettura dell' umanità (litterae humanitatis)*, teaching grammar, rhetoric and poetry, as well as *historia*, and *moralia*.<sup>16</sup> The word "*umanista*" is a new term of university administration for the teacher of the old *studia humanitatis*. From this term, in some German speaking countries, the noun "Humanismus" was derived, again as a term of university administration.<sup>17</sup>

Later, in 1808, Immanuel Niethammer used this word as a key-term for his program of educational reforms.<sup>18</sup> In the time-tables of the new Prussian Gymnasium, devised by Johann Wilhelm Süvern in 1816, three hours a week in the school year and this for ten years, were devoted to "history and geography."<sup>19</sup>

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15 E. Kessel, "Zur Geschichte der Philosophischen Fakultät," *Studium Generale*, 16 (1963), pp. 118-124.

16 A. Campana, "The Origin of the Word, 'Humanist,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 9 (1946), pp. 60-73; cf. F. Novati (ed.), *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, vol. 3 (Roma: Tipografi del Senato, 1896), pp. 534-536: "*moralis scientia*." As regards the Middle Ages cf. also E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1948), pp. 72 ff.: "Allgemeinbildung."

17 Johann Friedrich Abegg (1765-1840), *Reisetagebuch von 1798*. First edition by Walter and Jolanda Abegg in cooperation with Zvi Batscha (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1976), p. 236. Cf. M. Vöhler, "Von der, 'Humanität' zum, 'Humanismus'. Herder, Abegg und Niethammer," in M. Vöhler and H. Cancik (eds.), *Genese und Profil des europäischen Humanismus* (Humanismus und Antikerezeption im 18. Jahrhundert, vol. 1) (Heidelberg: Winter, 2009), pp. 126-144, particularly p. 139: "in akademischen Kreisen geprägt und bereits vor der Jahrhundertwende selbstverständlich gebraucht," that is for certain lectures at the university, namely the old *studia humanitatis*. It is not yet clear, how old and how far spread were the terms *humanisme, humanism, humanismus*' in European universities.

18 F. I. Niethammer, *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus und des Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit* (Jena: bei Friedrich Frommann, 1808); gewidmet Ihrer Königlichen Majestät der Königin Caroline von Baiern. Reprinted in: W. Hillebrecht, *Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer: Philanthropinismus – Humanismus. Texte zur Schulreform* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1968).

19 Cf. K. E. Jeismann, *Das preußische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, *Die Entstehung des Gymnasiums als Schule des Staates und der Gebildeten 1787-1817* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1996, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed), pp. 215 f.; 392 f. (Süvern's time-table). There is less time for history and geography than for mathematics (6 hours), and more than for natural sciences (2 hours). Cf. the time-table of Schulpforta, in the epoch of Nietzsche and Wilamowitz: 18 hours a week ("Jahreswochenstunden") in six years; see H. Cancik, *Nietzsches Antike: Vorlesung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), p. 7.

## History in Ethics

### 1. Cicero's Third *Persona* (*casus et tempus*)

In ancient anthropology, man is conceived of as a weak animal, imperfect in body and mind. This animal, from its very beginning, depends on the help of others. Mutuality and sociability are, therefore, the precondition of the development of the individual, the *propria persona*. Lucius Annaeus Seneca writes:<sup>20</sup> "Nature has born us, we are cognate (in the human family) [...]. Nature instilled in us mutual love and made us sociable." – *Natura nos cognatos edidit [...] haec nobis amorem indidit mutuuum et sociabiles fecit.*

Nature has dressed up man with the general, common role (*persona*) of a rational being and with the specific role of an individual (*propria persona*).<sup>21</sup> The third role which Nature imposes is called "situation, chance, time" (*casus et tempus*). In this doctrine, then, time ranks with mind, individuality and free will as constituents of a human being. Man is a transitory being, temporal, mortal, although endowed with a more or less immortal soul.<sup>22</sup> He is imperfect, shaped by time, destined to learn, to make progress on his long way to perfection. Therefore, next to education, time and history would become key-concepts in European humanism.<sup>23</sup>

20 Seneca, *epistulae morales* 95, 51-52. Cf. Cicero, *Academici Libri* (published 45 BCE) 1, 21: *hominem enim esse censebat quasi partem quandam civitatis et universi generis humani, eumque esse coniunctum cum hominibus humana quadam societate* – "he thought that man is, as it were, a part of the state and of the universal human family, and that he is connected with men by means of a certain human union."

21 Cicero, *De Officiis* (published 44 BCE), 1, 107 ff.

22 Cf. H. Cancik, "Persona and Self in Stoic Philosophy," in A. I. Baumgarten with J. Assmann & G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Self, Soul & Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), pp. 335-346; id., "Mensch als Mensch. Begriffsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu den antiken Grundlagen des Humanismus," in: id., *Europa – Antike – Humanismus: Humanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), pp. 237-254, 245-247.

23 For the discussion of other opinions, as the so called a-historic mind of Greek culture etc. see H. Cancik, "The End of the World, of History, and of the Individual in Greek and Roman Antiquity," in J. J. Collins (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, volume 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1998), pp. 84-125; id.,



## 2. Progress and Education of Man and Mankind

(1) *Casus et tempus* – the historical situation, says Cicero, defines a man's role, his "person". The ideal lawyer-politician, says Cicero, should be equipped with a wealth of *exempla* and all *antiquitas*, with anecdotes, cases, edifying deeds and sayings of old. These assumptions, an inexhaustible curiosity for other men and far away countries, the common striving for glory and lasting memory promoted the ancient historians. How did it all begin, they asked indefatigably; who was the first; what is the real reason for the collapse of Athens? They wrote biographies on a huge scale and multivolume imperial and universal histories (*oikumeniké* or *katholiké historía*): Polybius in 40 books; Diodorus – 40 books from the beginning of the world up to his own times; Cassius Dio – 80 volumes. They developed an exact chronology, a theoretical analysis of states, success or failure of governments on an empirical, historical basis; a typology of constitutions. They conceived of their culture as a product of historical development and pursued the history of philosophy, medicine, literature, and religion.<sup>24</sup> They invented ethnography.<sup>25</sup> The cosmos and the earth have their evolution; the earth, as some historians and philosophers observed, is drying out; soon, they concluded, it would be entirely burnt up.

(2) This bulk of historiography, biography, scientific chronology (Apollodoros, Kastor, Varro, Hieronymus), political science (Aristotle) has been embedded in European humanism and education. Therefore, Johann Gottfried Herder, founding

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"Antike Eschatologie. Zur Kritik von Jacob Taubes' Geschichte der Apokalyptik," in R. Faber, E. Goodman-Thau, and T. Macho (eds.), *Abendländische Eschatologie. Ad Jacob Taubes* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2001), pp. 43-59 (against Löwith, Bomann, Benjamin, Taubes, Rosenzweig).

24 Cf. H. Cancik, "The History of Culture, Religion, and Institutions in Ancient Historiography: Philological Observations Concerning Luke's History," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 116, 4 (1997), pp. 673-695 (German version: "Kultur-, Religions-, Institutionsgeschichte in der antiken Geschichtsschreibung. Philologische Bemerkungen zum lukanischen Geschichtswerk" in: id., *Religionsgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze* II, ed. by Hildegard Cancik-Lindemaier [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, cop., 2008], pp. 3-27).

25 Richard Harder, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by W. Marg (München: Beck, 1960), pp. 31ff.: "Das Fremde".

father of modern enlightened humanism, in the German speaking countries, affirmed in his "Letters for the promotion of humanity":<sup>26</sup> "If any science, then it is history which is the study of humanity, a tool for an authentic patriotism." – "Wenn irgend eine Wissenschaft, so ist ja die Geschichte ein Studium der Humanität, ein Werkzeug des echtsten Vaterlandsgeistes."

Consequently, "Letters for the promotion of humanity" present all sorts of stories from all over the world. The first sentence of this fictitious correspondence announces its purpose:<sup>27</sup>

[It should be a correspondence] On the advances and missteps of humanity in older and newer times, primarily, however, in times most recent.

In history the law of humanity is embedded.<sup>28</sup> This implies, according to Herder's definition of humanity, the history of human rights, human dignity, humanitarian obligations and philanthropy. This history exhibits more often than not regresses, catastrophes, inhumanity.<sup>29</sup> Despite of all that, Herder insists:<sup>30</sup> "There is an education of mankind, since only by education can every human being become human and humanity as a whole only exists in this chain of individuals."

26 J. G. Herder, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität (BBH)*; published in 1793/97), in H. D. Irmischer (ed.), *Johann Gottfried Herder, Werke in 10 Bänden*, vol. 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991), 4<sup>th</sup> collection, letter nr. 53; the sentence quoted above stands at a prominent place; it finishes the letter and the 4<sup>th</sup> collection.

27 Herder, *BBH*, 1<sup>st</sup> collection, 1<sup>st</sup> letter, p. 13.

28 Cf. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-1791, III, 15, 1), in M. Bollacher (ed.), *Johann Gottfried Herder, Werke in 10 Bänden*, vol. 6 (Frankfurt a. Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989), pp. 630-636.

29 Few examples: *BBH*, nr. 13: slavery; *Ideen* III, 14, IV: "Roms Verfall".

30 Herder, *Ideen* II, 9, 1: "Es gibt also eine Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts; eben weil jeder Mensch nur durch Erziehung ein Mensch wird und das ganze Geschlecht nicht anders als in dieser Kette der Individuen lebet". Cf. G. E. Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1777/80).

## History in Humanism

### 1. History as a Systemic Property of Humanism

On a third level, history is a structural element in humanism itself. Orientated as it is towards Greece and Rome its very structure evokes an awareness of historical distance and cultural break. The ancients are not our forefathers, but "das nächste Fremde" (the other, closest to ourselves).<sup>31</sup> Their historians exhibit our ancestors – *Batavi, Britanni, Galli, Germani* – as their victims, conquered, colonized by a power superior in military and civilization; they are viewed as poor barbarians who eagerly struggle to learn Latin and become Roman. In this respect, Europe is the result of Greek and Roman imperialism and colonialism. This break is, to a certain degree, a remedy against nationalist temptations.

European humanism, being neither religion nor philosophy nor an ethical theory, is rather a positive, contingent tradition, an intellectual movement, a loose "system" of key-concepts, icons, a literary canon, symbolic places, some heroes and martyrs of wisdom, a pedagogic and humanitarian (philanthropic) impulse.<sup>32</sup> In this space of images and concepts, stories and discourses "history" is located near other key-concepts which constitute humanism, like art, language (*sermo*) and Logos (*ratio*), person and conscience (*conscientia* – consciousness), freedom, equality, and sociability (*sociabilitas*). Language, to pick up one example, was conceived of by the ancients as *proprium humanitatis* – "specifically human" and intimately combined with reason.<sup>33</sup> Herder took up the idea:<sup>34</sup> "The specific

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31 The formula has been coined by Uvo Hölscher (id., *Das nächste Fremde: Von Texten der griechischen Frühzeit und ihrem Reflex in der Moderne* (ed. by J. Latacz, München: Beck, 1994). Historical "continuity", on the other hand, in language, art, architecture, urbanistic etc. is another aspect of the transformation of antiquity into medieval and modern times.

32 Cf. Elisio Macamo, "Der Humanismus in Afrika," in J. Rüsen (ed.), *Interkultureller Humanismus: Menschlichkeit in der Vielfalt der Kulturen* (Schwalbach: Ts. Wochenschau-Verl, 2009), p. 88: "Einen afrikanischen Humanismus kann es erst dann geben, wenn diese [sc. die afrikanische in der universalen] Geschichte ausreichend berücksichtigt ist."

33 Cicero, *De Oratore* 1, 8, 32. – Modern observation has revealed astonishing facts on animal communication; nevertheless, Cicero's claim still holds some truth.

means," he says, "for the formation of man is language." It is on this anthropological assumption that a demanding formal and practical education was established: grammar, reading, composition and public speaking. Extensive scholarship created linguistics, rhetoric, poetic, philology and literary history. These assumptions and scientific and pedagogical achievements form a main field in European humanism, ancient and modern.<sup>35</sup>

## Comparative Research

"History" is established in "humanism" on three levels: in education; in the concept of man and in the very structure of humanism as a systemic property.

Theoretical and comparative research has to examine whether this crucial role of "history" is a necessary precondition for a world view, a tradition, a movement to be classified as "humanism". At any rate one or the other of these elements can be made out in numerous pre- and extra-European cultures. In Asia Minor, the Hittites developed, in the middle of the second millennium BCE, a rich historiography claiming truth and aspiring to a high level of literary quality.<sup>36</sup> In China, Si-ma Quian (about 100 BCE) earned the title "father of Chinese History" with his *Shi-ji* ("Historical comments").<sup>37</sup> The detachment from tradition, says Heiner Roetz, is a constituent feature of what he calls "Confucian Humanism".<sup>38</sup> In the Middle East, centuries later, Al-Biruni described India with a keen awareness of cultural diversity, critical method, excellent

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34 Herder, *Ideen* II, 9, II: "Das sonderbare Mittel zur Bildung des Menschen ist Sprache."

35 J. G. Herder, *Über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772).

36 H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976).

37 B. I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985).

38 H. Roetz, "Der konfuzianische Humanismus und sein Ursprung aus dem Geist der Traditionskritik," in L. Henningsen and H. Roetz (eds.), *Menschenbilder in China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), pp. 33-66.

documentation:<sup>39</sup> He quotes by name the geography of Ptolemaios and criticizes his inaccuracy.<sup>40</sup> Al-Biruni and Firdausi, his contemporary, are aware of cultural diversity and a multiple tradition (Zoroastrian/ Islamic; Arabic/ Persian). Here, in the structure of historical consciousness, a pre-condition for the genesis of humanism does exist. Intercultural humanism, it seems, opens up a huge and demanding field of research.♦

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39 E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030* (London: Trübner, 1888; Indian Reprint Delhi et al. 1964).

40 Al-Biruni, *India* I, p. 199 (ed. by Sachau) on Ptolemaios, *Geographike Hyphegesis*, book VIII.

♦ Responsible editor: Chun-wei Peng (彭俊維).

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