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**Vigilanz  
Kulturen**  
SFB 1369

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02/2022

# Mitteilungen







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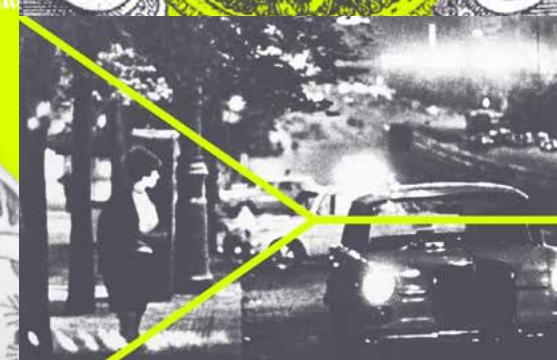
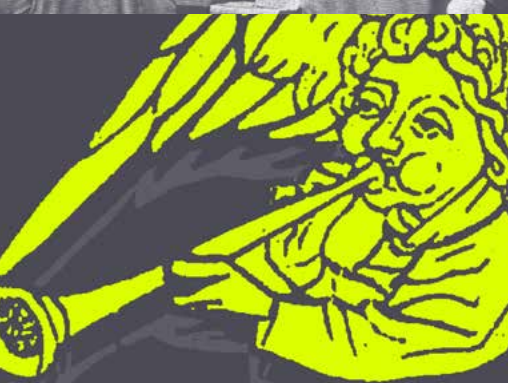
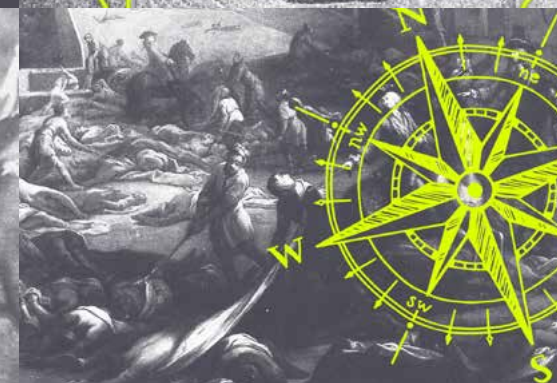
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## Liebe Leserinnen und Leser,

ein wichtiges Jahr steht uns bevor, denn im März wird bei der Begutachtung über die Zukunft des SFBs entschieden. In dieser Nummer gewähren drei unserer Stipendiat:innen Einblick in ihre Arbeit. Charlotte Thun-Hohenstein folgt in ihrem Beitrag der Bildsprache in den Erbauungsschriften des frühneuzeitlichen Hofpredigers Jeremias Drexel. Sie zeigt, wie dort spirituelle Gesundheit als Folge einer Reihe von Wachsamkeitspraktiken konzipiert wird. Ihr Beitrag basiert hauptsächlich auf Recherchen, die sie im Zuge ihres Aufenthalts unternehmen konnte. Dies gilt auch für Ron Sadans Text. Er rückt ebenso wie Thun-Hohenstein Bilder ins Zentrum der Analyse und untersucht die Exlibris, die Karl d’Ester, Protagonist der frühen Zeitungswissenschaft an der Universität München, für seine Privatbibliothek nutzte und die später als Emblem der sozialen Mission seiner Wissenschaft dienten. Sadan liest die von Ernst Maria Fischer konzipierten Grotesken allerdings als frühe Kritik der hochfliegenden Pläne d’Esters. Kateryna Yermieieva, die im letzten Jahr mit ihrem Sohn aus Charkiw fliehen musste, richtet ihren Blick in eine andere Richtung, auch wenn bei ihr ebenfalls Bilder eine Rolle spielen. Sie fragt nach der Verbindung von Vigilanz und Humor und verfolgt im Rahmen ihres Forschungsprojekts die wechselvolle Geschichte ihres Verhältnisses – insbesondere in Kriegszeiten können sich die Grenzen des Sagbaren verschieben.

Zwei Workshopberichte und ein kurzer Beitrag über die Masterclass des Integrierten Graduiertenkollegs mit Eva Illouz bieten Einblicke in SFB-Veranstaltungen. Darüber hinaus stellt Benjamin Steiner den *History Club* vor, einen Kurs für ausgewählte Schüler:innen bayrischer Gymnasien, die zwei Semester sehr engagiert mit unserem Konzept gearbeitet haben.

Möge es ein gutes Jahr werden. Eine anregende Lektüre wünscht Ihr



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# Sonderforschungsbereich 1369

## ›Vigilanzkulturen‹

### Transformationen – Räume – Techniken

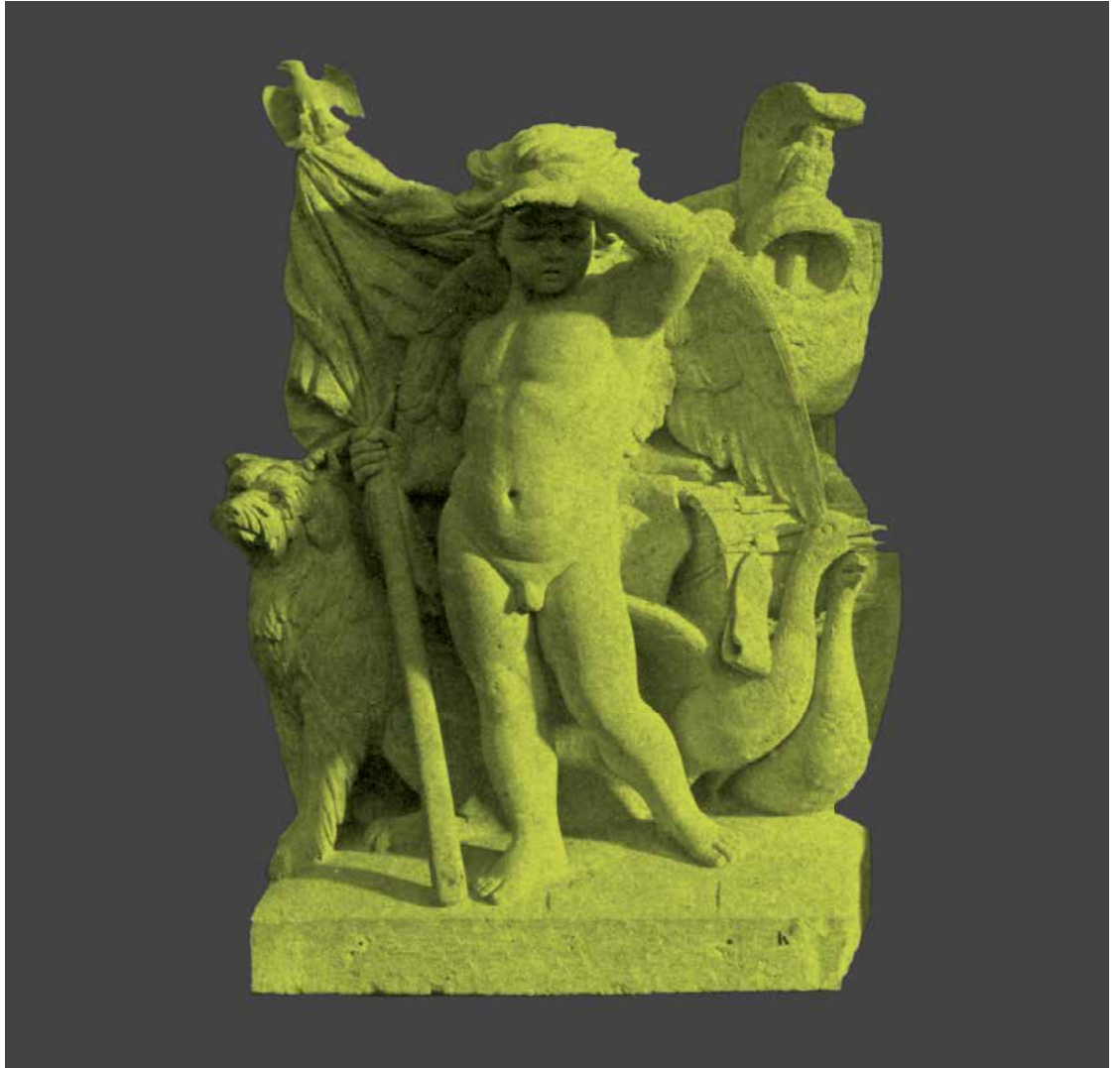
Der von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft geförderte Sonderforschungsbereich 1369 ›Vigilanzkulturen‹ hat am 1. Juli 2019 an der LMU München seine Arbeit aufgenommen.

Der SFB untersucht die historischen und kulturellen Grundlagen von Wachsamkeit. ›Vigilanz‹ steht für die Verknüpfung persönlicher Aufmerksamkeit mit überindividuellen Zielen. Dies geschieht alltäglich im Bereich der Sicherheit, des Rechts, des Gesundheitswesens oder auch der Religionen: überall dort, wo wir auf etwas achten, gegebenenfalls auch etwas tun oder melden sollen. Der SFB 1369 untersucht die Geschichte, kulturellen Varianten und aktuellen Formen dieses Phänomens.

Der Leitbegriff der Vigilanz wurde aus zwei Gründen gewählt. Erstens bleibt dadurch die Bewertung der Phänomene unentschieden: Akte der Wachsamkeit lassen sich als notwendig, sinnvoll, gewinnbringend oder gar heilsnotwendig ausweisen. Sie versprechen dann Sicherheit, Berechenbarkeit, Sündenvermeidung usw. Sie können aber auch als bedrohlich wahrgenommen und markiert werden, als Indiskretion, Überwachung oder Disziplinierungsversuch. Zweitens steht der Begriff ›Vigilanz‹ in einem Spannungsverhältnis zum Begriff der Überwachung. Wachsamkeit lässt sich nie ganz an Institutionen delegieren oder durch Apparate erledigen. Sie basiert wesentlich auf der Mitwirkung von Einzelnen, welche ihre zugespitzte Aufmerksamkeit partiell und situativ in den Dienst einer höheren Aufgabe stellen. Die Indienstnahme persönlicher Aufmerksamkeit für gesellschaftlich definierte Ziele ist kein rezentes Phänomen. Es ist eine sehr alte, in Epochen mit schwach ausgeprägten Institutionen und unzureichenden Technologien entwickelte und seither vielfach transformierte Form des Rückgriffs auf kognitive und



**Abb. 1**  
 Aimé Millet:  
*La Vigilance* (Allegorie  
 der Wachsamkeit),  
 um 1855, Gipsmodell  
 der Skulptur an der  
 Nordfassade des Palais  
 du Louvre. Photogra-  
 phie von Edouard  
 Baldus



kommunikative Ressourcen des Einzelnen, die allerdings hochrelevant für die Gegenwart geblieben ist. Der SFB will klären, wie Individuen hierbei kulturell motiviert und angeleitet werden und wie sie dabei mit politisch-sozialen Anreizsystemen sowie technischen und institutionellen Möglichkeiten interagieren. Um die lange, bis in die Gegenwart reichende Geschichte und breite Variabilität von Vigilanz zu erschließen, setzt er auf eine interdisziplinäre Forschungsanstrengung, welche Perspektiven aus den Geschichts- und Rechtswissenschaften, den Ethnologien, der Medizingeschichte sowie den Literatur-, Kunst- und Theaterwissenschaften zusammenführt. Er vermeidet bewusst Vorentscheidungen über einen leitenden Sinn der Wachsamkeit (wie das Auge) oder ein dominantes Modell ihrer Organisation (wie das Panoptikum) und bezieht sowohl Formen der Wachsamkeit gegenüber sich selbst wie auch gegenüber anderen ein. Auf diese Weise wird ein disziplinär vielfältig anschlussfähiges und zugleich heuristisch neue Erkenntnisse erschließendes Konzept von hoher Gegenwartsrelevanz in Anschlag gebracht.



# Der SFB auf einen Blick

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IG	<b>Integriertes Graduiertenkolleg</b>	Susanne Reichlin Arndt Brendecke Alina Enzensberger
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MOMENTVM

DE PENDET

ATERRENTISS



# The Snake and the Heart

## Jeremias Drexel, S.J. (1581–1638) and his Symbols of Spiritual Healing

### I. The Doctor of Souls

Understanding himself to be wiser among his blossoming studies of Eloquence, where ultimately the course of his life might turn, and to which situation of living he might apply himself, the art of medicine began to please him; he always and greatly loved this skill, and revered it, and considered consecrating himself entirely to this study as a student, [...] for the skillful doctor is like an angel to the sick man, or rather like God. This resolution seemed by no means to displease the whole of heaven, which itself also wanted Jeremias to be a physician, not, however, of bodies, but of souls; which amply with the advance of time he excelled at with his abundant sermons, and with most beautiful little works put together for public amusement.<sup>1</sup>

Jeremias Drexel, S.J. (1581–1638) lived in Munich and served as preacher to the court of Duke Maximilian I (1573–1651) until his death. His biography, written roughly twenty years thereafter, is explicit from the outset about the meaning of his life: heaven wanted Drexel to be a doctor of souls, and eloquence was his medicine.<sup>2</sup> Drexel seems to have enjoyed astounding success in this regard given publishing statistics that are oft-quoted by scholars: between 1620 and 1639, according to his publisher Cornelis Leysser, Munich's top three publishers produced roughly one hundred and sixty thousand copies of Drexel's works.<sup>3</sup> Such dissemination is even more arresting when one recalls that Munich's population was roughly twenty-two thousand at that time.<sup>4</sup>

The *vita's* medical rhetoric echoes Drexel's own outlook expressed in his earliest publications. In *De aeternitate considerationes* (Munich, 1620) – his first significant publication, and by far his most popular – Drexel frames sin, and our obliviousness towards it, as disease.<sup>5</sup> He compares humans unfavorably

<sup>1</sup> »Cogitanti ipsi sæpius inter florida Eloquentiæ studia, quorsum tandem vitæ suæ cursum flecteret, cuique vivendi conditioni sese applicaret, ars medica placere coepit; hanc ille semper et plurimum amavit, et veneratus est, cogitabatque huic studio se totum consecrare in discipulum, [...] peritum enim medicum ægroto angelum, imò quasi Deum esse. Haud visum est consilium hoc ex integro disciplere coelo, quod ipsum quoque medicum esse voluit Hieremiam non tamen corporum, sed animorum; quod abunde successu temporis præstitit fructuosus suis concionibus, et amoenissimis opusculis lusi publicæ comissis.« *Vita*, p. 1<sup>v</sup>. Andreas Abele deserves great credit for drawing attention to this underutilized document in his introduction. He is also the first to suggest a realistic composition date 1657–59, rather than the hitherto presumed year of Drexel's death, 1638. Drexel/Abele, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 24f. A few other scholars mention its existence, though misdate it, with no apparent usage: Breidenbach, *Der Emblematischer*, p. 17; Valentin, *Le théâtre des jésuites*, Vol. II, p. 1043.

<sup>2</sup> This medical theme seals the document by concluding the biography with praise by a court physician, Malachias Geiger, that is nothing short of gushing: »He was the Phoenix of his present generation, and Phoebus, powerful in word and deed: a living trumpet [...] But alas human affairs! He the sun of letters has fallen, the living image of virtues, the keystone of the Church, the delight of all good things.« *Vita*, p. 22<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This constitutes twenty titles, including Drexel's first posthumous work. Eight more would follow. Leysser actually provides a comprehensive breakdown of each publisher's titles and numbers for each. The exact total is one hundred and fifty-eight thousand seven hundred. Leysser, Cornelis, »Ad lectorem« in Drexel, *Noe*, unpaginated.

<sup>4</sup> Drexel/Crowe, *Jeremias Drexel's »Christian Zodiac«*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *De aeternitate* was the first significant work published under Drexel's name and secured runaway popularity never surpassed by following publications. Peter. M. Daly and Richard Dimler, in their extraordinary catalogue of Jesuit emblem books, list seventy-four editions across languages (J. 164–238); Karl Pörnbacher suggests that there might have existed twenty



to animals, who instinctively understand how to cure their own ailments. In contrast, humans persist in their spiritual sickness:

If therefore we find our selves once wounded with sin, let us look for help in time. The brute beasts which have no understanding, will teach us so much providence. The harts of Candy or Crete, as soon as they are struck, run presently to their Dictamnum or Dittany: The Swallows, to cure the blindness of their young ones eyes, flie to fetch their Chelidonium or Celandine: The Dog, when he is sick maketh haste to his Grass, to give him a vomit: The Toad fighting with the Spider, as soon as she feeleth her self begin to swell, crawleth to her Plantane, and so is recovered.

These by a natural instinct, know their own proper Medicines, and upon all occasions, presently make recourse unto them. But we poor miserable Men, more unreasonable, and without understanding than the Beasts, are wounded every day, and that many times deadly; and yet not withstanding we seek for no Medicine to cure our Spiritual Diseases. We use the same diet as we were wont to do, we talk as freely and merrily as ever we did; we go to Bed at our accustomed hour, and sleep according to our old compass. But Repentance is the Physick that goeth against our stomachs, Contrition cutteth us to the heart, Confession seems bitter in our mouth: We chuse rather to continue sick than to be cured.<sup>6</sup>

This outlook places Drexel squarely within his cultural milieu. David Lederer has shown how »spiritual physic« occupied an important role in early modern Bavarian modes of healing; the expertise of priests was sought for a variety of soul sicknesses ranging from milder worries to suicidal despair and demonic possession, primarily in the context of confession.<sup>7</sup> Even university-trained physicians believed that the field functioned as an important complement to its bodily counterpart, with some even viewing it as superior.<sup>8</sup> A century before Drexel, religious

thousand and four hundred copies for editions printed in German and Latin. See Daly/Dimler. *The Jesuit Series*, Part I, J.164–238, pp. 169–226, Part II, J. 440–480, pp. 164–197; Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 66f.

<sup>6</sup> The Latin edition consulted is Drexel, Jeremias, *De aeternitate considerationes* (Munich, 1620). English translations are taken from Drexel/Winterton (trans.), *The considerations of Drexelius upon eternity*, pp.175f. Available at // catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100318883.

<sup>7</sup> Lederer also explores the political implications of this in depth – confession was greatly instrumentalized under Maximilian I, for example, as a tool of state surveillance and confessional control over the population. Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the State*, pp. 1, 6. His work builds especially upon Myers, »Poor Sinning Folk«. See also Bossy, »The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation«; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*.

<sup>8</sup> The most notable example of this for our purposes is Tyrolean physician Hippolyt Guarinonius (1571–1654), who served Habsburg archduchesses Maria Christiana and Leonora of Styria as their personal physician, and published a highly successful home medical encyclopedia, *The Abomination of the Desolation of the Human Race*, which advocated God as the source of health, and the superiority of the soul over its foul body. Lederer, pp. 67f. Drexel actually cites Guarinonius, »his friend«, in his treatise on fasting, *Aloe amari* (1637), regarding the danger of drinking undiluted wine. In a

figures such as Dr. Johann Eck (1486–1543) proselytized the remedial effect of penance, thus continuing a medieval tradition of the curative value of consolation.<sup>9</sup> Once the Council of Trent (1545–1563) renewed the Church's commitment to the sacrament, the »second apostle of Germany« himself, Peter Canisius, S.J. (1521–1597) and others continued to advocate the ritual in spiritually medical terms, even as the diagnosis of sin became ever more legalistic with the growing importance of moral casuistry.<sup>10</sup>

And yet, Drexel was not a confessor and his advice ranged far beyond the practice of confession.<sup>11</sup> His role as an author thus offers an alternate focus on the administration of spiritual physic.<sup>12</sup> Scholars have framed Drexel's pastoral agenda in a variety of ways – awakening readers to the knowledge of eternity, death, and their own sinfulness.<sup>13</sup> We can unify them all through the notion of vigilance.<sup>14</sup> The remaining essay will consider Drexel's lifelong literary agenda as one continuous yet multi-faceted exercise in prescribing this spiritual stance to his readership.<sup>15</sup> While targets, hurdles, and methods might shift across works, the attitude of watchfulness – be it towards death or against sin – recurs. Indeed, the principle of vigilance strengthens Drexel's status as a doctor of souls: *vigilantia*, along with *prudentia*, was appreciated during Drexel's lifetime as the preeminent virtue for the practice of medicine. The two

peculiar turn of medical controversy, Guarinonius subsequently defended Drexel on this point against the critique of physician Matthias Clauß. Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 28–30.

<sup>9</sup> Lederer, *Madness*, pp. 59–64.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63–65.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps given this focus on confession, Drexel does not feature meaningfully in Lederer's exceptional study. He appears in the passing context of a court cadre of politically bullish Jesuits. Adam Contzen, S.J. (1571–1635), one of Maximilian I's confessors, receives much greater attention. For Drexel's mentions, see Lederer, pp. 68, 78, 336. On Contzen, see *ibid.*, pp. 77–79.

<sup>12</sup> Lederer's interest in the role of print in spreading spiritual physic remains focused on the genre of »books of consolation« (*Trostbücher*) and tracts on confession. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–66.

<sup>13</sup> In the first ever critical edition of any of Drexel's works, Nicholas Crowe describes Drexel's endgame as »to effect transcendence«. Crowe appreciates the »spiritually electric cosmos« that Drexel created for readers, wherein »nothing less than the reader's eternal destiny was at stake«. He also rightly identifies Drexel's works as companions to self-scrutiny. Such a goal was received by readers gratefully as their »rescue«. Drexel/Crowe. *Jeremias Drexel's »Christian Zodiac«*, pp. 13–17. Heribert Breidenbach, in the most comprehensive consideration of Drexel's emblematic corpus, frames Drexel as the quintessential baroque author concerned with teaching the correct approach to the world, death, and eternity. This always includes an awareness of mortality, and a rejection of worldly vanities. Anticipating Crowe, he suggests that Drexel's lifelong agenda was inscribing the word »eternal« upon readers' hearts (»Dem Leser das Wort »ewig« ins Herz zu schreiben, ist das Hauptanliegen unseres Emblematisers.«). Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiser*, pp. 190, 325–329. Drexel has also been rightly characterized by his ascetic religiosity. Benno Hubensteiner names him »the principal ascetic writer of seventeenth century Germany«. Hubensteiner, *Biographienwege*, p. 58. Breidenbach ties Drexel's asceticism to the principle of the world's vanity, and other afore-mentioned baroque themes. Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiser*, pp. 310–315. The notion of asceticism remains slippery in its applications in early modern scholarship. Karl Pörnbacher, in his brief yet still definitive biography of Drexel, rejects any »gloomy« quality to his asceticism, and highlights the fact that he views Drexel as the epitome of Jesuit baroque piety, speculating that he may have been revered as a holy man (*Heiliger*) during his lifetime. Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 31, 103.

<sup>14</sup> Crowe is aptly sensitive to Drexel's sensibility of urgency in this regard, though he does not center the concept.

<sup>15</sup> As the *vita* makes clear, this flows seamlessly from his work as a preacher. *Vita*, p. 1<sup>v</sup>.

qualities were often proclaimed by corresponding crow and snake symbols on the frontispieces of medical treatises and doctors' portraits.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, we will consider Drexel's system of vigilance through the symbolic spectacles of snake and heart figures. The former graced his earliest and most popular publication ever, the afore-mentioned *De aeternitate considerationes* (Munich, 1620) in the form of the ouroboros, a symbol of eternity. The latter appears across multiple works addressing conscience. Together, they represent the twin pillars of an inner spiritual architecture securing watchfulness: the theoretical knowledge of the stakes of sin, and the practical tools for purifying oneself.

## II. Seeing the Snake: Vigilance as Knowledge

On one level, spiritual health was a simple epistemological issue: if people truly perceived the full danger of their behavior's eternal consequences, and the terrifying proximity of such stakes, they would abandon sin in an instant.<sup>17</sup> Although the above quote from *De aeternitate* suggests confession as the mechanism for curing this human disease, Drexel's mission in his work actually pre-empts this. Drexel's opponent here is not a particular sin per se, but our basic awareness of our own sinful state. As the quote also conveys, our most immediate hurdles to salvation are forgetfulness and distraction.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Drexel devotes nine ›considerations‹, each with an emblematic illustration, to the imagination of eternity wherein he attempts to ›cure our blindness‹ to our eternal fate.<sup>19</sup>

Drexel is aware of the impossibility of this task.<sup>20</sup> He attacks it nonetheless using a creative range of tactics designed to challenge the limits of imagination. Images play a correspondingly central role in the enterprise. Drexel is clearly pursuing the technique articulated by another Jesuit emblem author, Antoine Sucquet, S.J, of using emblems to ›tether‹ the unstable imagination to salutary material.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Drexel

himself articulated a similar notion about illustration in a later work: images fixed his message in the reader's soul, that it ›might be always before the eyes, because we desire that it is always in our soul‹.<sup>22</sup>

In an astonishing suggestion at the outset of *De aeternitate's* second consideration, Drexel attempts to encode eternity into the reader's daily surroundings by equating it with the shape of the circle: ›Thou hast often in thy sight and before thine eyes, Rings and Circles, Spheres and Globes, Sun and Moon: if thou lookest upon any of these, they will put thee in mind of Eternity.‹<sup>23</sup> Such a tactic charges all of visual sense, it would seem, with the message and thus secures a state of constant awareness.<sup>24</sup>

The work's most memorable symbol is, however, the ouroboros (Fig. 1). The self-devouring snake occurs in the first, fourth, and eighth illustrations,<sup>25</sup> and can be viewed as a powerful spiritual counterpart to the medic's snake of Asclepius. Although Munich's first edition does not feature the symbol on its frontispiece, only alluding to eternity with a circular laurel wreath, the ouroboros appears as the work's signature icon on

»First of all there is the instability of the imagination, which entirely unbridled since the sin of Adam has made the mind run about unsteadily through the whole world, preventing it from clinging to pious cogitations: but when it is coerced by pious cogitations and images (if I may so express myself) it can be tethered [...]« Quoted in Massing, Jerome Nadal's ›Evangelicae Historiae Imagines‹, p. 167.

**22** He states this in the epilogue to *Heliotropium seu conformatio humanae voluntatis* [...] (Munich, 1627). His particular message in this work, which also features the heart icon prominently, concerns aligning one's human will to God's will. *Compendiarium hic docere, benevole Lector, cogitamus, & huius institutionis de conformandâ voluntate nostrâ cum divinâ, summam & epitomen dare, ut semper sit in oculis, quod cupimus semper esse in animo. Eam ob causam imagines etiam huic rei significandae adiecimus* [...] Drexel, *Heliotropium*, p. 517.

**23** In the tradition of the Book of Nature, we can note, he suggests that Mother Nature herself offers these signs to help us. ›Nature her self, like a good Mother hath exposed them to publick view, that, when we see them, or hear of them, we might be invited to meditate upon Eternity.‹ Drexel/Winterton, *Considerations*, pp. 23f.

**24** Imagination is not limited to picture per se. Drexel employs mathematics to deftly brush its very limits. An entire subsection of the fourth consideration entertains arithmetical thought experiments: ›Imagine a thousand millions of years: And that is nothing. Eternity is not a whit shortned. Imagine yet more, 10000000000000000000000000000000; a thousand-thousand; thousand-thousand; thousand-thousand; thousand-thousand-Millions of years [...] and yet thou art not come to the beginning of Eternity.‹ This section, ›That Eternity transcends all numbers of Arithmetick‹, also includes such scenarios as an angel removing sand grains from an earth-sized mountain. Later thought experiments suggest emptying a river and ocean spoonful by spoonful, or even ›with a Bucket as big as an Hogshhead‹, of course to no end. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90, 195.

**25** It appears in the emblems for considerations one, four, and eight, as well as the frontispiece; plain snakes appear surrounding a damned Prometheus alongside the ninth consideration. Drexel, *De aeternitate*, opp. p. 1, and on pp. 154, 336, 378. Dana Michael Reemes has shown how the *ouroboros'* meaning of ›endless time‹ or ›eternal serpent‹ was the product of the Italian Renaissance thereafter projected back onto the ancient Egyptian concept ›tail-in-mouth‹, rather than its original meaning. Reemes, *The Egyptian Ouroboros*, p. 2. Emblem books play a prominent role, with the symbol appearing in connection to eternity at the outset of the genre's emergence in Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, 1531). Available online: <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31b042>. Mark Roblee tempers Reemes' rejection with the ancient Egyptian role of the snake God, Mehen, in guiding souls through their transformation towards the afterlife. He sketches the image's subsequent medieval and Renaissance diffusion as a symbol of eternity through alchemical manuscripts and magical treatises, even connecting ancient Egyptian practices of encircling to Ignatius' *Exercitia spiritualia* through the tradition of ›spiritual exercise‹. Roblee, *Performing Circles*, pp. 133–153.

**16** The project, ›Vigilanz als Ideal, Strategie und Methode in der medizinischen Kultur der Vormoderne‹ (*Vigilanzkulturen* CRC 1369, C02), has explored emblematic instances of this. See Förg, Hahn, Schlange, Kranich, pp. 36f.

**17** He addresses the reader at the beginning of the first ›consideration‹, ›[...] We are very near unto Eternity, even in the very entrance of it, whilest we live: Let but death lightly touch us, and we are presently swallowed up of Eternity.‹ Drexel/Winterton, *Considerations*, p. 12.

**18** ›They never think upon Eternity, or very seldom; and when they do, they do but think upon it, and there is all; it is gone in a thought, they never weigh well with themselves what it is, they never seriously meditate upon it, they never rouse their understanding to be intent upon it, they never bend their wills and affections to seek after it, they imprint it in their deep cogitations that so they may remember it. They scarce begin to think upon it, but their minds are presently somewhere else, their thoughts go a wandring, their imagination is working upon somewhat else. And if at any time some sparks of devotion and godly desires arise in their hearts, they are presently quenched and choaked with cares of this World, with multitude of business, with profits or pleasures and such like.‹ *Ibid.*, pp. 219–221.

**19** *Ibid.*, p. 20.

**20** ›No Man living is able in word to express, or in thought to conceive the infinite space of Eternity. Between a true Man, and a painted Man, true fire and painted fire there is a great deal of difference[...].‹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

**21** Sucquet decries the ›instability of the imagination‹ in his *Via vitae aeternae* (Antwerp, 1630) and identifies image (and cogitations) as an antidote:





Fig. 1 Drexel, Jeremias: *De aeternitate considerations* [...] Munich 1632.  
Attached to *Horologium auxiliaris, tutelar angelii* [...] Munich 1629.

the cover of the first edition of collected works in 1628. Moreover, its prominent placement at the top of the page suggests primacy among all of Drexel's hitherto publications.<sup>26</sup>

Within the work, the ouroboros first appears opposite the first ›consideration‹. The emblem constructs the space of eternity as a den inhabited by multiple figures, all encircled by a giant ouroboros encircling the floor.<sup>27</sup> As the accompanying text explains, the ›den‹ symbolizes eternity's ›incomprehensibility‹; the snake is ›Time‹ coiled around it; a female allegory of Nature is seated alongside an old, male figure representing Fate, while children play obliviously upon dangerous stairs just as people trifle with their eternal fate; God himself takes the figure of a haloed young man holding the harp of heaven.

The ouroboros' second appearance accompanies the image of King David praying. Two snakes run parallel to form a fiery wheel rotating eternally damned members of hell at David's feet; his eyes look upwards towards clouds of cherubim.<sup>28</sup> The accompanying consideration upholds the king as a role model for imitation due to his nightly reflections within his heart upon eternity.<sup>29</sup>

Consideration eight goes further, however, than mere visualization and outright provokes the reader to action.<sup>30</sup> In a jarring graphic imperative, its emblem confronts the reader with a dizzying combination of suspended symbols. (Fig. 1) Death's winged skull stares out from the center of the page; Jesus floats above, seated, with right arm raised and left outstretched in command. Beneath the skull, our snake devours itself around the martyr's palm of life and the sword of death, surrounded by symmetrically arranged words bearing a direct appeal: ›Upon this moment hangs an eternity of life and death. Choose.‹<sup>31</sup> The *inscriptio's* quotation from Ecclesiastes reiterates the whole book's overriding logic: one avoids sin by carrying the memory of eternity in all things.<sup>32</sup> And yet the emblem conveys the full force of such a memory. Such an image extends beyond the functions of mnemonic or meditational aid: it grasps at the reader's living consciousness and free will, binding the time-frame of the very page to its ineffable subject matter and demanding a stature of inner agency.<sup>33</sup>

The imaginative exercises of *De aeternitate* constitute an intellectualized approach to the reader's salvation through an existential self-awareness. Drexel attempts to awaken in the reader an immediate sense of danger, and, it might be said, power, given the reader's subsequent choice in the matter, and to secure this vigilant state through visual association with circular symbols. The ouroboros helps both to visualize a concept necessarily and utterly abstract – eternity; the simplicity of circular symbols more generally serves as a readily accessible reminder towards vigilance. Drexel also expends much ink, however, providing the reader with practical, concrete tools for spiritual health, namely, prayer regimes. Here, the heart emerges as a more subtle symbol that provides a visual technology of self-alienation to facilitate the scrutiny of that most hidden territory, the conscience.

## II. Heart Health: Vigilance as Practice

If Drexel sought to awaken readers to their mortal fate and immortal consequences, he also provided tools for the devotee to pursue salvation. His program for heart health is most explicitly laid out in his fifth publication, *Trismegistus Christianus* (Munich, 1625). There, he advocates a structured regimen of daily self-purification of one's conscience.<sup>34</sup> The entirety of the first of three books is devoted to this topic.<sup>35</sup> In the preface, Drexel uses alluring, near sensationalist language to describe the conscience – ›It is a secret philosophy to penetrate the recess of the conscience and to know oneself. The most secret secrets of secrets lie hidden here, nor may you ever examine something that is lacking. The heart of man is crooked and inscrutable: who truly knows it?‹<sup>36</sup> His subsequent advice takes the format of a chatty conversation between the knowledgeable Polychronius and questioning Gerhardus.

Care for one's conscience, which is interchangeable with ›heart‹ in the text, rests entirely on a program of nightly self-examination, the Ignatian *examen*.<sup>37</sup> Drexel identifies this method as the single most effective way to care for one's soul: ›He who does not neglect the care of the soul is he who

26 I viewed the frontispiece of the second edition personally, *Hieremiae Drexelii è Societate Iesv Opera [...]* (Munich, 1629), at Gymnasium bei St. Stephan, Augsburg, No. 319. The first edition (1628) bears out the same title page design, accessible online at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11231860?page=4,5>.

27 The *subscriptio* reads ›Infans cum Fato et Naturâ; stultus cum Aeternitate ludit: sapiens dominabitur astris‹. (›The child with Fate and Nature; the fool play with eternity: the wise one will rule over the stars‹). Drexel/Winterton, *Considerations*, p. 14. Images were not included in Winterton's first edition. See Drexel, *De aeternitate*, opp. p. 1.

28 I also consulted a physical copy at the Gymnasium bei St. Stephan: Drexel, *De aeternitate*, opp. p. 91.

29 Drexel, *De aeternitate*, (BSB) pp. 157–160.

30 ›Consideration 8. How Christians ought not only to look upon the Emblem and Pictures of Eternity, but come home and look within themselves, and seriously meditate on the thing itself.‹ Drexel/Winterton, *Considerations*, p. 225.

31 ›Momentum unde pendet aeternitas vitae et mortis. Elige.‹ Drexel, *De aeternitate*, p. 336.

32 ›In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in Aeternum non peccabis. Eccli. C.7.‹ Ibid., *De aeternitate*, p. 336.

33 Crowe, for example, lists the functions of Drexel's images – ›pictorial complements to the text, focal points of devotional meditation and mnemonic aids.‹ Crowe, *Jeremias Drexel's ›Christian Zodiac‹*, p. 8.

34 The title references the supposed ancient author of the occult *Hermetica*. Drexel describes Trismegistus as the ›most famed philosopher, priest, and king of ancient times.‹ (›Nosti, Trismegistum prisco aevo celeberrimum & philosophum, & sacerdotem, & regem fuisse.‹). Drexel is clearly unaware, or unconvinced, that Trismegistus was debunked in 1614 – almost a decade earlier – by Isaac Casaubon. Drexel, Ad Lectorem, *Trismegistus Christianus*, p. A2<sup>r</sup>.

35 Books II and III treat the veneration of the saints and (the ills of) extravagant clothing respectively.

36 ›Arcana philosophia est, conscientiae recessus penetrare, & discernere seipsam nosse. Arcanorum arcanissima arcana hic latent, nec unquam deest quod scrutaris. Prauum est cor hominis & inscrutabile: quis cognoscat illud?‹ Ibid., p. A2<sup>r</sup>.

37 This practice of daily self-examination began, of course, with Ignatius himself and was part of Jesuit routine from the order's inception. The *examen*, like Ignatian spirituality in general, has been shaped since its beginning by a tension between mystical and ascetic aspects. Somy Mathew, S.J. has traced interpretations of this exercise since the order's beginnings, distinguishing throughout between what he frames as its ›moralistic‹ and ›spiritual‹ qualities, seeing an emphasis on its ›moral‹ quality for the first generation of Jesuits, while it has since acquired a more ›spiritual‹ application. Mathew, ›The Interpretation of the Ignatian Examen in History.‹





Fig. 2 Drexel, *Jeremias: Trismegistus Christianus [...]* Cologne 1631.



devoutly carries out the care of one's conscience: but indeed he who tends best to the conscience is he who purifies it continually every day from vices with an *examen* [...].<sup>38</sup> This practice is not only medicinal but an outright panacea for spiritual ailments: »This plaster and poultice cures completely every illness of the soul.«<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere, Drexel likens the *examen* to tending wounds. Moreover, its nightly timing is justified not merely in terms of purification, but even toxicology: having drunk poison all day, it would be »lethal« to go to sleep without first expelling it.<sup>40</sup>

Drexel emphasizes the importance of vigilance in caring for oneself. A metaphor of sleeping and waking anchors the whole project: the person who fails to examine their own conscience is termed, playfully, a »Dormitantius« – »In a word, he who sleeps, when he should be keeping watch.«<sup>41</sup> This message is re-emphasized at the book's end with Jesus' exhortation to followers, »Vigilate & orate... Therefore keep watch and pray, because you do not know the day nor the hour, when the Lord will come. And be ready, because the son of man will come not at the hour that you think.«<sup>42</sup>

When *Trismegistus* received its first illustrations in its fourth edition, published in 1629, the heart symbol is used to allegorize the conscience. (Fig. 2) A female *Conscientia* sits at a desk recording the day's experiences with a heart atop her head, itself beneath a watchful eye.<sup>43</sup>

Vigilance is a core characteristic of Drexel's notion of conscience, to which he devotes an entire treatise. *Antigrapheus sive conscientia hominis* (Munich: Wagner, 1652) was published posthumously in 1652, though supposedly already preached to Duke Maximilian I in 1632.<sup>44</sup> Drexel introduces the conscience

as the titular »imperial scribe« (*antigrapheus*),<sup>45</sup> which records not only one's sinful thoughts and actions for eternity, but one's inattentions too.<sup>46</sup> As such, it is a »most vigilant dog« (*canis vigilantissimus*) which »keeps watch and barks.«<sup>47</sup>

Engravings are added to each of the nineteen metaphors for conscience in a 1655 edition from Antwerp, following the original text's clear explanations of *picturae*. Its first emblem, echoing *Conscientia* in *Trismegistus*, depicts the conscience as an eye, a judge of all actions.<sup>48</sup> Hearts soon follow: Christ sits atop an oversized heart in the second emblem, beating out musical measures to illustrate the immense joy of a good conscience.<sup>49</sup> By contrast, the third emblem describes the terrible torments of a bad conscience. (Fig. 3) The accompanying *pictura* shows a large heart now housing a dog, snake, monkey, and rooster. These animals are not explained individually; rather, the group »fights fiercely in man's soul.«<sup>50</sup> One cannot help but notice, however, the presence of both the medical icons of the snake and rooster.

Here, the quality of vigilance explicitly reappears. A poor conscience is defined for Drexel by its most vigilant memory (*vigilantis memoriae*), which redoubles its inner accusations even after thirty years or more.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, it is the conscience's perpetual state of automatic vigilance – both in recording wrong and reminding one of it – that prompts so powerfully the need to »wake up« and repent.<sup>52</sup>

The final heart of the work, and indeed in Drexel's entire corpus, appears several illustrations later to depict the *examen* itself. Image thirteen shows a heart elevated upon a column within a fountain, with five little streams bursting forth from it.<sup>53</sup> Here Drexel repeats the advice first given in *Trismegistus*: that it is advisable to examine one's conscience every night.

38 »Animi cultum is minime negligit, qui Conscientiae curam religiose gerit: at vero conscientiam is optime curat, qui quotidiano eam examine a vitiis assidue purgat. Porro Examen conscientiae, uti res est una omnium utilissima virtuti per compendium assequenda, sic forsitan a paucis bene fit, ab innumeris non fit. Quaerere, quid Examen Conscientiae sit, quaestio mihi superstua censetur optandum, ejus usus tam notus nobis esset, quam est natura vel definitio [...].« Ibid., p. 1f.

39 »Omnem animi morbum hoc emplastrum & malagma persanat.« Ibid., p. 4.

40 »Est veneni genus lene, & quod non statim saeviat, sed eo hausto somnus lethalis est. Et tu, mi Christiane, venenum hausisti, quod tibi rixa, quod odium & discordia, quod libido & incontinentia propinarunt, & jam dormis? Nec prius pharmacum adhibes, nec prius hoc toxico conscientiam liberas?« (»And you, my Christian, have drunk poison, which strife, with which hatred and disagreement, which desire and incontinence furnished you, and now you will sleep? You will not first summon an expert, nor first free your conscience from this poison?«) Ibid., pp. 26f.

41 »Verbo, qui dormit, cum vigilandum foret.« Drexel then quotes D. Bernardus' entreaty to his fellow monks to search out the corners of their heart and the shadows of their mind in examining their conscience when they go into their rooms. Ibid., pp. 7f.

42 Matth C. 24. V. 40, Luc. C. 12. V. 40: »Vigilate & orate, quia nescitis diem neque horam, qua Dominus vester venturus sit. Et vos estote parati, quia qua hora non putatis, filius hominis veniet.« [NB Drexel numbers it wrongly—it should be Matt. 24:42] (»Therefore keep watch and pray, because you do not know the day nor the hour, when the Lord will come. And be ready, because the son of man will come not at the hour that you think.«) Drexel repeats the quote again, a few sentences later, for effect, »Vigilate, qui nescitis neque diem, neque horam [...].« Ibid., pp. 206f.

43 These added images are not noted in Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, though they are in Daly & Dimler.

44 This is indicated in the title: *Antigrapheus sive conscientia hominis coram Serenissimo Maximiliano Electore Bavaro Illustrata per R. P. Hieremiam Drexelium Soc. Iesu. Anno 1632[...].* Drexel, *Antigrapheus*.

45 This is an obscure term that requires greater examination. In the Byzantine context, the *antigrapheus* seems to have supported the *quaestor* in drafting imperial law. For the purposes of Drexel's metaphor, its scribal and legal functions are clear. »Antigrapheus«, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

46 »Antigrapheus est Conscientia, & quidem accuratissimus, nihil scriba dissimulate, fideliter notat, monet, vellicat, nec solum obiicit, quae male commissae, sed etiam quae negligenter omissae sunt... Aeternum non deletur haec scriptura [...].« Drexel/De Vos, *Opera omnia*, p. 931.

47 »Vigilat et latrat.« Ibid.

48 Drexel cites here Gerson's theory of the »apex of the mind, the spark of reason«. (»[...] Apicem mentis, scintillam rationis.«) Ibid., p. 930.

49 »Conscientia bona, thesaurus maximus, summum gaudium«, with the *pictura*'s description: »Christus in corde sedens laeva librum tenet, oris autem amoenitate & sublatâ dexterâ modulos parat.« Ibid., p. 932.

50 »Homo sibi pessime conscius, serpentem, simiam & gallum gallinaceum, animantes scilicet amicissimas in animo digladiantes sentit.« Ibid., p. 936.

51 »[...] quam sit vigilantis memoriae sit conscientia, quae post quindecim, saepe post triginta & plures annos obiugationes suas ingeminat: Male fecisti [...].« Ibid.

52 »Nec ullus hominum tam impius est, quin antigrapheus ille ac concionator domesticus excandescat & clamet: Quid facis miser, quamdiu haerebis in hoc luto? Deus tuus hostis tuus est [...] Evigila, ultimum minatur tempus: surge, reconciliare Deo.« Ibid.

53 »Quotidianum Conscientiae examen«, »Pictura: Fons cum erecta columna, in qua Cor sublime, e quo fonticuli salientes.« Drexel, *Antigrapheus*, p. 193.



Fig. 3 Drexel, Jeremias: *Antigrapheus sive conscientia* [...].  
Cologne/Antwerp 1655.

### III. Conclusion

Drexel's religious medicine required training the mind's eye on its infinite future and its present self. His works reveal vigilance to have been both a theoretical and a practical exercise. Knowledge of one's spiritual predicament hopefully spurred a state of alertness, which in turn motivated the vigilant observation of nightly self-purification. Salvation required not only continually writing eternity upon one's heart,<sup>54</sup> but also un-writing the heart's records of sin.

<sup>54</sup> Breidenbach formulates Drexel's agenda this way. Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker*, pp. 325–329.

Both eternity and conscience may be defined by their invisibility—the former is, as Drexel acknowledges, categorically impossible to imagine. The latter is defined by its very hiddenness. Indeed, it is this secret quality that roots the heart's care in a metaphor of revelation and increases the danger of leaving one's conscience unattended.<sup>55</sup> In both cases,

<sup>55</sup> Confession itself had long combined the notion of healing with a process of unveiling. As Johann Eck wrote in the early sixteenth century, »he [the confessor] cannot cure what he cannot see«. Eck, Johann. *Der viert tail Christlicher Predigen* (Ingolstadt, 1534), 77'. Quoted in Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the State*, p. 63. Lederer notes the same theme articulated in Tridentine sessions: Waterworth, *The Council of Trent*, 14<sup>th</sup> Session, Chap. 5 b, »for if the sick be ashamed to show his wound to the physician, his medical art cures not that which it knows now of.«

therefore, our respective symbols of snake and heart clearly fulfill the role of »interface« identified by Ralph Dekoninck for Jesuit image writ large.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, this brief consideration of some of Drexel's works reveal a certain complementarity in operation: the snake converts an abstract concept (eternity) into something concrete, while the heart symbol, conversely, dislocates concrete personal experience into an abstract graphic shape. Not all invisibles are equally abstract.

Jesuit emblems have been widely appreciated as powerful pedagogical and pastoral instruments and represent a peculiar avenue towards what Jeffrey Chipps-Smith has termed »art-aided dialogue«.<sup>57</sup> Drexel was arguably the father of

German Jesuit emblems, and his own devotional efforts are no exception.<sup>58</sup> His reputation as a spiritual physician, however, brings into sharper focus the urgent particularities of such literary applications. As confessional booths spread throughout Bavaria and post-Tridentine penance became an ever more private affair, Drexel attempted to motivate lay and religious readers towards independent and constant watchfulness with directives on existential awareness and daily self-scrutiny. His works invite us to regard emblematic media as self-administered *materia medica* for soul health within the greater framework of sacramental ritual.

<sup>56</sup> In a beautiful and far-reaching reflection, Dekoninck notes the heart symbol specifically »literalizes spiritual experience«. Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem*, pp. 364, 375.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, p. 8. Jesuit emblems have attracted vast amounts of scholarship in recent years. See in particular Daly and Dimler, *The Jesuit Emblem*, their extraordinary catalogue of all extant Jesuit emblematic books—Daly and Dimler, *The Jesuit Series*. See also Daly/Dimler/Haub, *Emblematik Und Kunst*. Jesuit image theory writ large has also enjoyed increased attention: see Boer/Enenkel/Melion, *Jesuit Image Theory*. Bailey/O'Malley, *The Jesuits and the Arts*, remains an essential reference point for Jesuit art in general.

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<sup>58</sup> Breidenbach begins the German Jesuit emblem tradition with Drexel's first edition of *Zodiacus Christianus* (Munich, 1618). The first Jesuit emblem book writ large is Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, 1601), which began a »chain reaction« of such efforts north of the Alps. Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker*, pp. 37f., 40, 90, 94.

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# The Owl and the Duck: Epistemic Vigilance in Ernst Maria Fischer's Bookplate for Karl d'Ester

## Epistemic Vigilance and the Task of *Zeitungswissenschaft*<sup>1</sup>

For three decades until his retirement in 1954, Karl d'Ester (1881–1960), Rhenish historian of periodical literature, directed the Munich *Institut für Zeitungsforschung*.<sup>2</sup> Beginning with his appointment to the University of Munich as Germany's first professor of *Zeitungswissenschaft*<sup>3</sup> in 1924, d'Ester placed a special importance on what he considered to be the *Wissenschaft's* »pädagogische Aufgabe«. <sup>4</sup> This did not mean, however, that he wanted to train journalists. Nor was the »Aufklärungsarbeit«<sup>5</sup> that would derive from this task to displace what he saw as *Zeitungswissenschaft's* »wichtigstes Ziel«, namely, the advancement of knowledge about *Zeitung* by means of »Forschung«. <sup>6</sup> Rather, d'Ester hoped that promoting the results of such research to a more general public would

»zu einer kritischen Zeitungslektüre erziehen«<sup>7</sup> and thereby create a society of better, more critical readers. Hence, the didactic mission d'Ester had in mind was oriented toward the broader social aim of what we might call »epistemic vigilance«. <sup>8</sup> By democratizing knowledge of how societies past and present both succeeded and failed to filter falsehoods and misinformation out of public discourse, d'Ester thought that *Zeitungswissenschaft* would generate and sustain a well-informed populace guided by a cadre of scholars like himself – epistemic »vigilantes«, so to speak.

D'Ester wanted his project to outlast him, and so he donated his private collection of books and newspapers to the Munich Institute to serve as the foundation of its research library. As a result, the Institute held one of the most important collections in Germany of historical periodicals during d'Ester's tenure as its founding director from 1924–1954. At its peak, d'Ester's sprawling collection featured more than 10,000 titles of historical periodicals and almost three times as many

**1** I am grateful to have had the opportunity to consult Karl d'Ester's books and papers at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich and the *Institut für Zeitungsforschung* in Dortmund. A visiting fellowship at the *Sonderforschungsbereich 1369 »Vigilanzkulturen«* in the summer of 2021 was the ideal staging ground for this research. I would like to thank Alina Enzensberger and Alexander Zons for facilitating my stay in Munich and, especially, Martina Heger and Julian Petri for their support with this project.

**2** Institute for Newspaper Research. *Zeitung* usually means newspaper, but originally meant news. Journalism's emergence as a professional field in France and North America prompted, in Germany, the desire to subject the vocation and its primary medium of expression to theoretical critique.

**3** Science of newspapers.

**4** Pedagogical task. D'Ester, *Zeitungswesen*, p. 6.

**5** Labor of enlightenment. D'Ester, *Zeitungswesen*, p. 131.

**6** Most important goal, research. D'Ester, *Zeitungswesen*, p. 6.

**7** Cultivate a critical reading of the newspaper. D'Ester, *Zeitungswesen*, p. 129.

**8** I follow the recent use of this term in cognitive psychology to designate »methods people routinely use [...] to filter out liars and the uninformed«. Michaelson, Lying, Testimony, p. 214. To characterize d'Ester's project as a kind of critical media literacy goes too far. D'Ester never articulated a specific curriculum of media education for the general public as is commonly understood by this term.



**Fig. 1** Ernst Maria Fischer: *Karl d'Ester, Chair of Zeitungswissenschaft in Munich*, Oil painting, circa 1939, reprinted 1951. In d'Ester: *Schwarz auf Weiß*, postcard insert

books. More museum than archive, the collection was lauded in the press as late as 1951 as »Sehenswürdigkeit der Stadt München«<sup>9</sup>. To denote the provenance of his collection, and to cement his legacy as a disciplinary founder, d'Ester labeled his books with »köstliche[n] Exlibris«, commissioned in 1939, together with a portrait of himself wearing academic regalia (Fig. 1), from the Bavarian printmaker Ernst Maria Fischer (1907–1939).<sup>10</sup>

Significantly, the image d'Ester used as a bookplate (Fig. 2) appears not only in his books but also throughout the rest of his career as an emblem of *Zeitungswissenschaft* and its social mission. Fischer created the image in 1932 for a series of satires about the information landscape of Germany on the eve of National Socialism. After appearing in 1939 on his bookplates, d'Ester used the image again in 1950 for an article in which he defended *Zeitungswissenschaft* as an academic institution.

<sup>9</sup> Tourist attraction of the city of Munich. Karl Weber in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, quoted in d'Ester, *Der Traum eines Lebens*, p. 54. D'Ester's collection was damaged by firebombing in 1944 and diminished again by sale in the 1950s, but many of his original books still circulate in the University of Munich's *Fachbibliothek* (subject library).

<sup>10</sup> Amusing bookplates. D'Ester, *Der Traum eines Lebens*, p. 151. In commissioning the works from Fischer, d'Ester was also attempting to help his friend, then blacklisted because of his Jewish heritage, flee Germany with his Jewish-born mother. The plan was almost successful. Before he could secure safe passage to Brazil, Fischer was drafted in the summer of 1939 and died in combat in the first weeks of World War II. Cf. D'Ester, *Der Traum eines Lebens*, p. 151.



EXLIBRIS  
DR. CARL D'ESTER

**Fig. 2** Ernst Maria Fischer: *Exlibris Dr. Carl d'Ester (I)*, circa 1939.

In these later uses, the original satirical meaning of Fischer's image changed. If d'Ester thought the image encapsulated his vision of *Zeitungswissenschaft* as an engine of popular enlightenment, Fischer's original shows that it also contains traces of a critique of that vision.

This paper considers how Fischer's original design counters and complicates d'Ester's later appropriations of it. An analysis of these usages shows that d'Ester chose to dissociate the image from its original function as a satire of *Zeitungswissenschaft* and to link it to his didactic conception of this science. This analysis brings into clearer focus *Zeitungswissenschaft's* central concern, and indeed, the concern of any scientific community, with what it means to »know« reported truth. With the advent of National Socialism, *Zeitungswissenschaft* dispensed with d'Ester's idea, articulated during the Weimar Republic, that the discipline should be about detecting epistemic errors in the *Zeitung* and, instead, functioned as an extension of state ideology. When attempts were made to resuscitate the discipline after 1945, d'Ester's colleague Otto Groth urged its proponents explicitly to practice *Wachsamkeit* (vigilance),



albeit in a way that was different from what d'Ester had in mind. Fischer's original satire of *Zeitungswissenschaft* shows that this concern was present among critical observers of the *Wissenschaft* from the start and opens a window onto tensions still relevant to the humanities today.

## Birds of a Feather: *Zeitung* and *Zeitungswissenschaft*

D'Ester's original commission was not for a bookplate but for a »Zyklus kühner Grotesken, Karikaturen die Presse, Film und Rundfunk unter Hitler verspotteten.«<sup>11</sup> In 1932, the professor approached Fischer with his »Plan [...] die Entartung der sogenannten Kampfpresse in grotesken Karikaturen zu brandmarken.«<sup>12</sup> Fischer, a darling portraitist of Munich's intelligentsia and the son of d'Ester's friend and colleague, Aloys Fischer, was reportedly »begeistert«<sup>13</sup> by this plan. The twenty-five small format prints that Fischer created to execute it have come to be known as his *Zeitungsgrotesken*.<sup>14</sup> For D'Ester, the *Groteske* was a potent form of satire, present across cultural traditions in literature, visual art, and architecture, and characterized by »eine[r] ins Maßlose gehende[n] Übersteigerung von Gegensätzen, die zwar scheinbar in Form oder Inhalt zusammengehören.«<sup>15</sup> As satirical images, each of Fischer's *Grotesken* targeted a different epistemic malady arising especially from the *Zeitung*. Thus, one *Groteske* parodies Hearsay (*Das Gerücht*) with a plague of whispering insects, while another lampoons a hapless editor as a »Zauberlehrling«.<sup>16</sup> There is even a depiction of »Dr. Goebbels' Lügenzentrale«,<sup>17</sup> even though this topic hardly required Fischer's art to make it appear »grotesque«. Taken as a series, the *Zeitungsgrotesken* stress the epistemic dangers afflicting the information ecosystem of the Weimar Republic on the brink of National Socialism. But one *Groteske* appealed especially to d'Ester and eventually became his bookplate, surprisingly so, for the satire took aim at his own cherished *Zeitungswissenschaft*.

The etching entitled *Zeitungswissenschaft* makes a mockery of d'Ester's science through a depiction of avian rivalry (Fig. 3). Two birds, having acquired literacy, quarrel about what they read. One bird, a duck, prefers newspapers. It makes a nest on a stack of old papers and proudly holds the latest number in the palm of one of its webbed feet. The duck's companion is an owl, a hackneyed symbol of erudition. Unsurprisingly, the owl favors books. It is perched on a pulpit of two volumes leaning at the base of a candelabra. The bookish bird is busy devouring volume three when the duck, who has just read some delicious piece of news, cannot resist divulging what it knows. Turning

to its companion with a scrutinizing glare, the owl expresses its skepticism of the reader's report and its newspaper sources. Overhead, a glowing candle provides the scene's only source of illumination.

The allegory is easy to decode: the duck stands for the press and its »canards«, while the owl embodies *Wissenschaft* and especially *Zeitungswissenschaft*. The epistemic rivalry between the owl of science and the newspaper duck is depicted as a competition, not least, between formats of print. Whereas stories in newspapers spread easily from mouth to mouth, or from bill to bill, as it were, the owl's demeanor suggests that it is the role of *Zeitungswissenschaft* to surveil these ephemeral and flimsy stories by virtue of the higher authority of the book. *Zeitungswissenschaft* is thus depicted as a science that stands on a solid, bookish foundation. From this more elevated position, it evaluates the validity of stories circulating in the press, or indeed, of the newspaper itself as a medium of access to the truth. The *Wissenschaft* thus assumes its social role, as d'Ester prescribed it, to be a guardian of epistemic vigilance. The learned owl is d'Ester's epistemic vigilante.

This, however, was not quite what Fischer intended. A short poem written for this *Groteske* and also titled *Zeitungswissenschaft* gives the image a double entendre that complicates its meaning. If the image alone mocks *Zeitung* by making the duck look foolish in the eyes of the owl, the image paired with the poem mocks *Zeitungswissenschaft* by making the owl look foolish in the eyes of »Truth«.

### *Zeitungswissenschaft*

Die Zeitungssente und die Weisheitseule,  
Die beiden haben niemals Langeweile.  
Das macht, sie leben von der Wahrheit Lichte.  
Die Ente sagt's, die Eule zuckt zusammen  
Und blinzelt halbwegs in die Kerzenflammen.  
Dann liest sie fort, die Ente quakt  
Wie stets, und was sie stets gesagt,  
Und beide wurden längst Geschichte.

Die Wahrheit selber hat indessen  
Bei Pontius hinten beim Kaffee gesessen  
In schlicht alltäglich grauem Kleide.  
Sie stellt die Tasse weg, hört auf zu naschen,  
Er ruft nach Wasser und die beiden waschen  
Die Hände ruhig und dann lächeln beide.<sup>18</sup>

### (*Science of Newspapers*)

The newspaper duck and wisdom's owl,  
The pair is never bored.  
Indeed, they live off Truth's light.  
The duck speaks as the owl cringes  
And squints halfway in the candle's flame.  
Then it reads on. The duck bays

11 Cycle of clever grotesques, caricatures that made a mockery of the press, film, and radio under Hitler. D'Ester, *Der Traum eines Lebens*, p. 151.

12 Plan [...] to stigmatize the devolution of the so-called »fighting press«. D'Ester, *Dem Meistergraphiker*, p. 294.

13 Enthused. D'Ester, *Dem Meistergraphiker*, p. 294.

14 Grotesques on the newspaper. Kreitmaier refers to the series as such in his catalogue of Fischer's works. *Ernst Maria Fischer*, p. 67f.

15 An excessive exaggeration of opposites that seem to belong together in form or content. D'Ester, *Dem Meistergraphiker*, p. 293f.

16 Sorcerer's apprentice. Kreitmaier, *Ernst Maria Fischer*, p. 67.

17 Dr. Goebbels' Center for Lies. Kreitmaier, *Ernst Maria Fischer*, p. 68.

18 Fischer quoted in Kreitmaier, *Ernst Maria Fischer*, p. 45.

As always, what it always says,  
And both are long since history.

Meanwhile, Truth herself  
Sat at the back with Pontius for coffee  
Dressed in plain gray, her usual style.  
Setting aside her tray, she ends her graze.  
He calls for water and both, unfazed,  
Wash their hands and smile.)

The first stanza of the poem presents *Zeitung* and *Zeitungswissenschaft* as a droll duo personified in the figures of the »Zeitungsent« and »Weisheitseule«.<sup>19</sup> What both have in common is that they live without »Langeweile«.<sup>20</sup> Their constant unrest connects, in line three, with a thirst for knowledge, which they satisfy by receiving nourishment from »der Wahrheit Lichte«.<sup>21</sup> The image reveals this special light to be the glowing candle that the feathered readers use to consume their preferred kind of text. But reading, not even by »Truth's light«, still cannot replace a direct connection with »d[er] Wahrheit selber«.<sup>22</sup> The light may provide the readers with ample *Kurzweile*<sup>23</sup> but not, unfortunately, with much enlightenment. The poem's depiction of the owl makes this situation plain. If the image made the duck's banter seem foolish, the poem indicates that the so-called *Weisheitseule* is hardly better off. It stops reading only to cringe and squint at the duck whenever it says something. Worse, the squinting may have damaged its eyesight. The owl »blinzelt halbwegs in die Kerzenflammen«,<sup>24</sup> meaning both that it scrunches its eyes into a squint, and that its gaze penetrates only partly into the light said to be »Truth's«. Apparently, »wisdom's owl« is a knower only of half-truths. Between its reflexive cringing and myopic vision, it would be no wonder then if the owl's conclusions are not only wrong, but also, like Hegel's owl of Minerva, arrive too late to be of any use. In short, things do not look good for the owl of *Zeitungswissenschaft*. Its claim to know the truth may be better than the duck's, but only marginally so. The last line of the stanza acknowledges this by casting *Zeitung* and *Zeitungswissenschaft* into the same lot of history.<sup>25</sup> Spelled out, Fischer's idea seems to be that history circumscribes even the most sure claims of science. The owl's pulpit of books is less solid than it appears. For this reason, both the owl and the duck are pronounced to be »längst Geschichte«.<sup>26</sup> Birds of a feather, as these two appear to be, despite the owl's pretensions of superiority, flock together.

In arguing that neither *Zeitung* nor *Zeitungswissenschaft* know anything that obtains beyond the ravages of *Geschichte*, the first stanza suggests that both are, at best, merely historical sources about what was believed to be true at a certain



Fig. 3 Ernst Maria Fischer: *Zeitungswissenschaft, Zeitungsgroteske*, etching, 1932

time, but not what is true in reality. In the second stanza, the poem pulls back history's veil to provide a glimpse of this reality. There, we find out that »Truth herself« was privy to the literary squabble all along. She and »Pontius« have been sitting, unseen, somewhere »hinten«,<sup>27</sup> where they enjoy coffee and snacks while watching the plumed debacle unfold at a distance, Truth's version of morning news, as it were. »Pontius«, of course, refers to Pontius Pilate, the Biblical governor of Judea who, to appease a mob, granted clemency to the criminal Barabbas and allowed the innocent Christ to be killed. To absolve himself of the guilt incurred by this travesty of justice, he symbolically washed his hands before the crowd. Here, Truth washes her hands with him, suggesting that she has incurred a similar guilt for an analogous travesty of knowledge and that, like Pilate, with whom she shares a smile, she has no qualms about giving the crowd what it wants, even if this is wrong or bad. Accordingly, Fischer's analogy seems to suggest that *Zeitung* and *Wissenschaft* both stand to be executed, and that Truth has given the crowd the right to demand clemency

19 Newspaper duck, wisdom's owl, line 1.

20 Boredom, line 2.

21 Truth's light, line 3.

22 Truth herself, line 9.

23 Entertainment.

24 Squints halfway in the candle's flame, line 5.

25 History.

26 Long since history, line 8.

27 At the back, line 10.



for one of them. Presumably, the crowd (the public) wants *Zeitung* and not *Wissenschaft*, even when it should be the other way around. Thus, either the science of news is no better than the news itself, or else the mob prefers the criminal press to science's »good news«. Either way, the *Wissenschaft* as an effective social agent is shown to be useless and the »Truth« it pursues seems not to care. But what good is a concept of truth that does no good to those who must rely on it?

### The Naked Truth: The Empress' News Clothes

The appearance of »Truth herself« as a figure in the poem and her association with the infamous Pilate raise the question of Truth's motives and identity. Who or what is »Truth herself«? Is it possible that this Truth is not, in the end, »herself«, that is, true? Truth's »schlicht alltäglich graue[s] Kleid«<sup>28</sup> is no trivial detail in this regard. It alludes to another of Fischer's *Grotesken*, which he titled *Die nackte Wahrheit* (Fig. 4).<sup>29</sup> In this image, Fischer discards the traditional iconography of the *nuda veritas*. Instead of an idealized female nude with an outward-facing mirror, Fischer portrays Truth as a society lady covered head to toe in a newsprint gown. Truth's covering is so complete that no part of her body is visible behind the dress. This raises the suspicion that she is not wearing the newspaper so much as that she *is* the newspaper, and that behind the ensemble of print, there is nobody. *Die nackte Wahrheit* thus plays with the well-known parable of the emperor's new clothes. Only here, it is not that Truth believes she is wearing clothes when, in fact, this is an illusion, but rather that Truth herself is an illusion created by her new(s) clothes that are, alas, also an illusion. »Truth herself«, one could say, is an illusion generated by illusions.

Viewed together with the *Groteske* of the owl and the duck, Fischer's satire of *Die nackte Wahrheit* reveals itself to be an anticipatory critique of d'Ester's vision of *Zeitungswissenschaft*. The satire argues that *Zeitungswissenschaft* needs but cannot find the Truth supposed to be behind the ornamental gown of *Zeitung* that impersonates her. At best, *Zeitungswissenschaft* is the knowledge of this deception, and communicating such knowledge to others would set in motion the kind of epistemic vigilance that d'Ester had in mind. But the satire implies that the poor *Wissenschaft* may be the most deceived of all. Truth's question-mark poodle, held casually by a leash, shows how little *Zeitungswissenschaft* knows its object and owner. In a world where truth is present only in the detection of the false, there is no Archemedian point from which to judge what is true absolutely. Hence the vigilance that is needed most does not fixate on the object of inquiry, such as *Zeitung* and the truth that it is not, but rather is mindful of potential untruths endorsed by its inquiring subject, namely, d'Ester and his cadre of scholars.

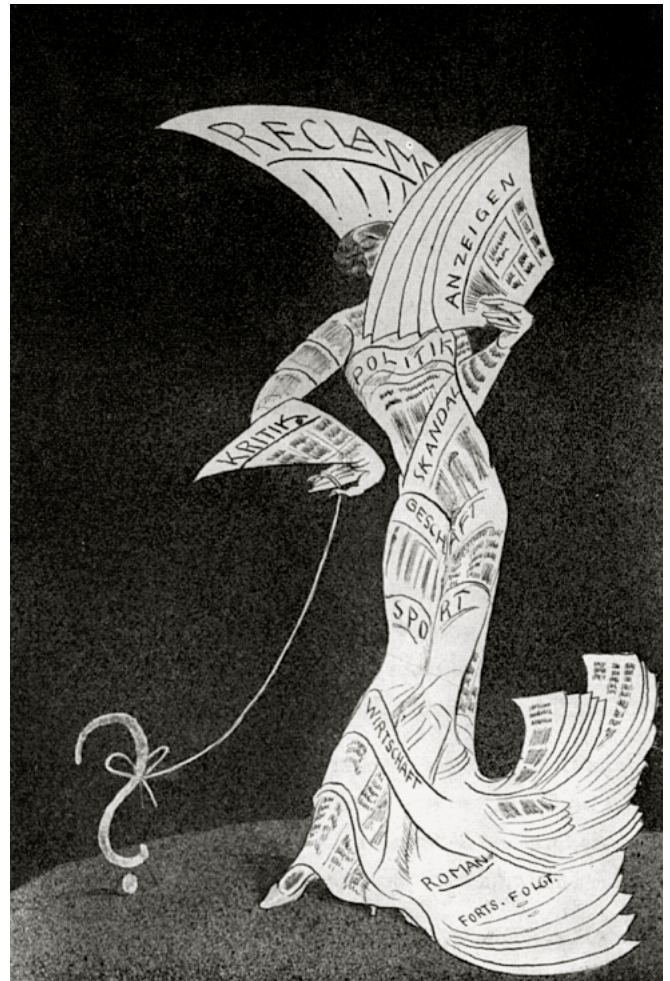


Fig. 4 Ernst Maria Fischer: *Die nackte Wahrheit*, Zeitungsgroteske, 1932

### Spirit of *The Times*: D'Ester, Groth, and the *Zeitungsg Geist*

In 1948, d'Ester's colleague Otto Groth prefaced his *Geschichte der deutschen Zeitungswissenschaft*<sup>30</sup> with an exhortation to the scientific community to avoid discursive phantoms, political and epistemological, by practicing *Wachsamkeit*<sup>31</sup> in the highest degree:

Schon bevor wir in der jüngsten Zeit die schauerliche Tragödie der Unterwerfung der wissenschaftlichen – nicht nur der geistes- sondern auch der naturwissenschaftlichen – Arbeit unter die Gewalt politischer Mächte erleben mußten, haben Forscher, wie Dilthey und Scheler, auf die Zeit- und Gesellschaftsgebundenheit scheinbar absolut objektiver, auf Ewigkeit gegründeter Erkenntnisse hingewiesen. Wenn aber schon ältere einigermaßen gesicherte Disziplinen den

<sup>28</sup> Plain dress of workaday gray, line 12.

<sup>29</sup> The Naked Truth.

<sup>30</sup> History of German *Zeitungswissenschaft*.

<sup>31</sup> Vigilance.





Fig. 5 Ernst Maria Fischer:  
*Exlibris Dr. Carl d'Ester (II)*, circa 1939.



Zeiteinflüssen unterliegen, um wieviel mehr ist eine erst werdende, ihrer fundamentalen Voraussetzungen nicht gewisse, ständig vom Todeskampf bedrängte und zum Dienst der herrschenden befohlene Disziplin zur größten Wachsamkeit verpflichtet.<sup>32</sup>

(Even before we were forced to experience in the recent past the gruesome tragedy of the subjugation of scientific labor – not only in the intellectual but also in the natural sciences – to the violence of political powers, researchers like Dilthey and Scheler indicated the temporal- and social-boundedness of knowledge that appears absolute, objective, and grounded in eternity. But if even older and relatively stable disciplines are liable to be influenced by the times, then how much more obligated is a discipline that is only just emerging, not yet certain of its basic precepts, constantly beleaguered by the struggle for life, and commanded to serve the prevailing rulers – how much more obligated is such a discipline to practice utmost vigilance.)

Groth's call for researchers to be reflectively aware of themselves as historical subjects of knowledge makes explicit something that Fischer had already alluded to but did not elaborate. Fischer suggested in his poem that *Zeitungswissenschaft* was no less prone to the contingency of its historical moment than *Zeitung* itself. He thus anticipated the epistemological problem that Groth saw with even greater clarity after 1945: How is it possible to know when the means by which we do so are always already distorted by their »Zeit- und Gesellschaftsgebundenheit«.<sup>33</sup> Groth's solution to the problem is contained in the concept of *Wachsamkeit*, the explication of which is the task of his four-hundred page *Geschichte der deutschen Zeitungswissenschaft*. In advocating that the scientific community become aware of their own historicity as opposed to that of the object they study, Groth marks a departure from the line of thought that characterized d'Ester's approach to *Zeitung*. D'Ester called for scholars in every discipline to join him in the »ständige Beobachtung und kritische Erfassung der ungeheuren Macht der Presse«.<sup>34</sup> *Zeitung* was, to him, the locus of errors that an epistemically pure *Wissenschaft* would be especially able to see and correct. D'Ester was not wrong, of course, in wishing to apply the tools and methods available to him to understand the object of history he thought would be important to know and critique. But Groth wisely points out that *Wissenschaft* is not so epistemically pure after all. The tools and methods people use to view historical creations like *Zeitung* are themselves historical creations, and the human beings who use them also occupy a particular standpoint in history, and thus are unavoidably blinkered and biased, or »temporally and socially bounded«, to speak with Groth. Hence, even *Wissenschaft* is prone to error, deception, and abuse. Groth's call

for scholars to be epistemically vigilant thus turned d'Ester's on its head. It reflected his hope that such awareness would immunize the scientific community against the reigning ideology of its times.

How did d'Ester measure up against Groth's exhortation? It is useful now to return to Fischer's satire with the owl and the duck. As we have seen, Fischer's satire of *Zeitungswissenschaft* had already alluded to the problem of epistemic relativism that Groth was worried about. In 1939, d'Ester gave the image a different meaning when he used it as a bookplate for his research collection. The new format made Fischer's image a symbol of *Zeitungswissenschaft*, but it was no longer a satire. The bookplate keeps the humorous illustration of the owl and the duck, but loses the original's satirical punchline given to it by the companion poem. Omitting the poem takes the figure of Truth out of the picture entirely, leaving the owl as the highest authority of knowledge. This flattens Fischer's critique into a glorification of *Zeitungswissenschaft*, albeit in a whimsical way. Bookplates can express the character of a book owner, and this one was especially important because it expressed not only d'Ester's scholarly character but also that of his institute, which he founded and directed for thirty years, and which eventually gave rise to a »Münchener Schule« of *Zeitungswissenschaft* whose leaders »verehrten« d'Ester as their intellectual ancestor.<sup>35</sup> Yet if the bookplate was a symbol of d'Ester's commitment to epistemic vigilance, it was not the kind of vigilance that Groth had in mind. D'Ester wanted to spread the news of *Zeitung's* epistemic errors beyond the »Kreis des akademischen Bürgers«,<sup>36</sup> believing that this would contribute to the creation of a society of more critical newspaper readers. But his trust in the scientific community to faithfully carry out such *Aufklärungsarbeit* could well have been more critical. He assumed that the institution of *Wissenschaft* would be enough to ensure that *Zeitungswissenschaft's* use of journalism to disseminate knowledge critical of that medium would protect it from the same forces influencing *Zeitung's* influence. What he didn't consider enough was Groth's critique that even the guardians of knowledge need guarding from their own presuppositions, if they are not to be led astray by the spirit of the times. As it happens, Fischer had already anticipated Groth's critique in 1939 and expressed it even more strongly in a second bookplate for d'Ester (Fig. 5). This second bookplate depicts a reader engrossed in erudition who is, unbeknownst to him, silently spirited away not by the times, but rather by »The Times«, by the *Zeitungsgeist*.

<sup>32</sup> Groth, *Die Geschichte*, p. 6. Emphasis added.

<sup>33</sup> Temporal- and social-boundedness.

<sup>34</sup> Constant observation and critical apprehension of the monstrous power of the press. D'Ester, Was heißt.

<sup>35</sup> Munich School, revered. Löblich/Meyen, *Warum Institutsgeschichte*, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Circle of academic citizens.



CI 188

Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?  
 Die Presse und wir, München, Januar 1950.

# Die Presse

Mitteilungsblatt  
 des Zeitungswissenschaftlichen  
 Instituts an der Universität  
 München

Herausgegeben von  
 den „Freunden der Münchner  
 Zeitungswissenschaft“  
 e. V.

## UND WIR

JAHRGANG I

MÜNCHEN, IM JANUAR 1950

NUMMER 6/7

### Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?

Warum Zeitungswissenschaft? Komische Frage! Warum Geographie? Warum Theologie? Und so das ganze Vorlesungsverzeichnis durch bis zu den „Finnisch-ugrisch-indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturbeziehungen“. Schon der Philosoph Kant nannte 1798 eine Schrift „Streit der Fakultäten“, und seit es Hochschulen gibt, ist es wohl kaum einer Disziplin erspart geblieben, daß sie, ehe sie sich als vollgültiges Fach durchgesetzt hatte, bekämpft wurde. Als beispielsweise an einer westfälischen Universität die Geographie eingeführt wurde, meinte ein Professor der Germanistik, die Geographie sei eigentlich nur „eine Wissenschaft für Briefträger!“. Dabei hatte den neuen Lehrstuhl ein Dozent inne, der wegen seiner meteorologischen Forschungen internationalen Ruf besaß. Unendlich viel unnütze Zeit ist vergeudet worden, zahlreichen Gelehrten und Forschern wurde ihre wissenschaftliche Arbeit verleidet, nicht wenige sind an diesen Zuständen körperlich und seelisch zugrunde gegangen, weil sie oft ohne ihre Schuld in den leidigen Streit der Fakultäten hineingezogen wurden. An jeder Hochschule müßte die Mahnung Goethes befolgt werden, der die Fakultäten einmal einer großen Fuge verglichen hat, in der sie alle harmonisch zusammenklingen sollten.

Besonders schwierig aber gestaltet sich die Lage jener Fächer, in denen schon der zu behandelnde Gegenstand umstritten oder gar von der Wissenschaft mit Argwohn betrachtet wird. Das gilt auch für die Presse. Bei dieser kommt noch hinzu, daß auch der Stand der Journalisten bei der wissenschaftlichen Behandlung ihres eigenen Berufes begreiflicherweise ein Wort mitsprechen will, wodurch dann das Problem noch verwickelter wird. Seit um das Jahr 1900 die Bestrebungen, die Presse wissenschaftlich an den Hochschulen zu behandeln, wieder aufgenommen worden sind, wurden Ströme von Tinte vergossen, um das zu rechtfertigen oder es zu bekämpfen. Unendlich viel wertvolle Zeit wurde auf diese Auseinandersetzungen verwendet, ohne

daß man bis heute zu einer befriedigenden Lösung gekommen wäre, was allerdings z. T. auf die politischen Verhältnisse (zwei Weltkriege, zwei Revolutionen) zurückzuführen ist. Dem

Presselager stammen. Es handelt sich also um die wichtige Feststellung, ob das Studium der Zeitung bzw. der Zeitschrift, ihres ethischen und kulturellen Aufbaues, ihrer verschiedenen Epochen und Wendepunkte, wie das Forschen nach Sinn und Zweck der Presse überhaupt, als Zeitungswissenschaft im eigensten Sinne des Wortes bezeichnet werden darf.

Wenn von der Gegenseite eingeworfen wird, daß Hunderte von Studenten sich alljährlich meist unter falschen Voraussetzungen der neuen Disziplin verbinden, daß die Grenzen und Aufgaben des weiträumigen Gebietes an jeder Universität anders abgesteckt sind und jeder Dozent seine eigene Vorstellung von der Zeitungswissenschaft hat, so ist dies noch immer kein Argument gegen diese Wissenschaft. Dafür aber können als Gegenbeweise alle die Forschungsergebnisse angeführt werden, die begeisterte Studenten dieser Disziplin in ehrlicher und mühevoller Arbeit, nicht um der Sympathie ihres Lehrers willen, sondern aus innerster Liebe zu dem erwählten Studium und an Hand einer verantwortungsvollen Führung zeitigten: Ergebnisse, die mit vollem Recht als Resultate einer Wissenschaft zu bewerten sind.

Die Tatsache, daß das weitverzweigte Gebiet der Zeitungswissenschaft noch nicht scharf genug umrissen werden kann, daß beispielsweise Leipzig und Berlin anders an die Probleme herangehen als München oder Köln oder Freiburg, darf doch keineswegs negativ ausgelegt werden. Vielmehr beweist es die Größe der Aufgabe, die auf dem verhältnismäßig jungen Boden dieses Faches noch geleistet werden muß, um seinem Wert entsprechend, als Wissenschaft die gebührende Anerkennung zu finden.

Wollen wir doch nicht vergessen, daß noch kaum dreißig Jahre vergangen sind, seit der bekannte Volkswirtschaftler Karl Buchner, an ältere Bestrebungen anknüpfend, in Leipzig eines der ersten Institute für Zeitungskunde gründete. Es bedeutete dann einen wertvollen Schritt nach vor-



Ente und Eule Radierung von E. M. Fischer

Zweck einer Klärung und der Beseitigung von Mißverständnissen mögen die folgenden Ausführungen dienen. Zunächst wird das Wort Herrn Schriftleiter Dr. phil. Ehrhard Hauck, Zürich-Erlenbach, erteilt:

Die unlängst in die öffentliche Diskussion geworfene Frage, ob es angebracht ist, von einer Zeitungswissenschaft zu sprechen, hat derart viel Staub aufgewirbelt, daß eine grundsätzliche Klärung um so angebrachter erscheint, als die Zweifel aus dem eige-

Fig. 6 Carl d'Ester: Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?  
 In: Die Presse und wir 6/7 (1950).



## But is it *Wissenschaft*? D'Ester and the Institutionalization of *Zeitungswissenschaft*

Although D'Ester was not particularly mindful of Groth's critique, he still managed to use the tools and resources available to him to create an institutional space committed to researching *Zeitung* and to making the results of that research accessible across the populace. This was important to him because he discerned that the institutionalization of inquiry is a prerequisite of *Wissenschaft* as such. But he was naïve to think that *Wissenschaft* could operate independently of politics and, at the same time, also orient politics toward a common good. This, however, did not make him totally dogmatic either. He was, rather, a kind of pragmatist, whose achievement consists in creating and maintaining the institutional space that would set in motion the serious study of periodical literature in Germany. What this study would ultimately look like, what methods it would accept and use, and what questions it could legitimately ask and answer, were matters he deliberately left unresolved. This he made clear in a programmatic text titled »Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?«,<sup>37</sup> published in 1950 in *Die Presse und wir*<sup>38</sup> with a reproduction of Fischer's engraving of the owl and the duck. There, d'Ester defends an open and dynamic vision of *Zeitungswissenschaft* that seeks to undercut »die kritische Nörgelei und der Streit um die Methode, die doch zu keinem Ergebnis führen«.<sup>39</sup> Unlike philology, d'Ester argues, *Zeitungswissenschaft* is a new discipline, and so it would be unreasonable to expect it to assume a definitive canon of its methods and means. This would not even be desirable, he adds, since the demand for »eine alleinseligmachende

Methode« would be most at home »in d[er] Zeit des Nazismus mit allen ihren Auswüchsen.«<sup>40</sup> What makes *Zeitungsforschung* a *Wissenschaft*, finally, is its existence as an institution that, despite its partial and provisional status as a fledgling science, nevertheless draws »zahlreiche Studenten mit ehrlicher Begeisterung«,<sup>41</sup> who are willing to help the discipline expand.

Though chastened by the direction that this expansion took in the 1930s and 40s under Nazism, d'Ester nevertheless remained hopeful that the arc of the scientific enterprise would bend toward truth, as his motto for *Zeitungswissenschaft*, »Veritati«,<sup>42</sup> made clear. His mission to spread enlightenment across society regarding the machine of mass delusion known as *Zeitung* may have been a noble one, but it was naïve and impracticable, as Groth recognized. This tension between method and mission still exists in the humanities today. On the one hand, there is risk in perpetuating an endless *Streit um die Methode*, but on the other hand, there is danger in being unmindful about ultimate aims and applications of scientific research. The contrast between d'Ester and Groth on the purpose and peril of *Zeitungswissenschaft* helps us see that it is necessary to be clear about what can and cannot be achieved on either side of the divide, and this is something to be vigilant about.

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37 Is Newspaper Research a Science?

38 The press and ourselves.

39 The grumbling of critics and the fight over method, which don't lead to a result. D'Ester, *Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?*

40 A single beatific method, in the time of Nazism with all of its excesses. D'Ester, *Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?* D'Ester's complicated relationship to Nazism is addressed in Bohrmann/Kutsch, Karl d'Ester, p. 587f.

41 Legions of students with genuine enthusiasm. D'Ester, *Ist Zeitungsforschung eine Wissenschaft?*

42 Toward the truth. D'Ester, *Schwarz auf Weiß*, p. 233.

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ВЧК

ДИКТОНАЖ

ЗАГОВОРЬ

ПРЕДАТЕЛЬСТВО

ЯЗЫЧНИЧЕСТВО

ИЗМЕНА



# To Create and to Escape Watchfulness

## Humour and the Culture of Vigilance

This article examines the connection between the culture of laughter and that of vigilance in times of crisis and social mobilization. In order to do so, several cases are used as examples in which humour is employed to reinforce the calling upon of individuals to pay attention to certain cues in order for supra-individual goals<sup>1</sup> to be realised. Cases in which the style of communication used is unexpectedly light-hearted are also dealt with.

I was inspired to explore the connection between humour and cultures of vigilance by a representative case study of the September 11, 2001 attacks. US society post-9/11 is interesting for researchers both in terms of the creation and implementation of new practices of vigilance and with regards to the formation of a new kind of humour. On the one hand, representatives of different authorities and law enforcement agencies called on citizens to be vigilant<sup>2</sup> by starting a campaign under the slogan »If you see something, say something« aimed at encouraging everyone to be aware of their given surroundings and to report any suspicious activities.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, public figures and editors of some of the nation's leading newspapers and magazines began to denounce the telling of jokes and the use of irony during these difficult times, especially relating to the attacks. This was especially true for jokes about the terrorist attacks that had taken place.<sup>4</sup> Naturally, vigilance was regarded with a seriousness that was appropriate for that point in time and irony and jokes stood in stark contrast to this. Calls to be vigilant and report any dangers were accompanied by statements that »irony is dead«.

The culture of laughter based on the 9/11 attacks is dealt with in the monograph *A Decade of Dark humour: How Comedy, Irony, and Satire Shaped Post-9/11 America* by Ted Gourlenous and Viveca S. Greene. They quoted a statement made by *Time Magazine* editor Roger Rosenblatt, who in the article *The age of irony comes to end* blamed those employing irony in their articles, who in »Seeing through everything, made it difficult for anyone to see anything«. Then he added, »Are you looking for something to take it seriously? Begin with evil.«<sup>5</sup> Thus, from his point of view, those employing irony were guilty of both a frivolous attitude towards evil and a certain arrogance, believing that they were entitled to see through everything, discrediting evil and good, and depriving others of the opportunity to create a clear-cut distinction between the two for themselves. In his own way, he was right, since laughter is a subversive mechanism<sup>6</sup> that desacralizes, relieves tension, and renders dangerous things funny and, in doing so, insignificant. At the same time, vigilance culture purported that a serious attitude should be adopted with regards to 9/11, the mobilization of society, tension, and attention to dangers. But does this not mean that a culture of laughter and a culture of vigilance in times of crisis are mutually exclusive?

It is necessary to pay close attention to the mechanisms underlying the construction of cultures of vigilance and cultures of laughter. A new normativity, the sacralization of the tragedy of 9/11, which tried to exclude laughter, all of these have been mandated by various authoritarian bodies and mass media leaders. However, as a matter of fact, a culture of vigilance flourished and a new topic which could be included in the category of black humour became firmly anchored within public discourse: namely, the 9/11 attacks. The horror became

1 Brendecke, Warum Vigilanzkulturen?, p. 16.

2 Ibid., p. 11.

3 US Department of Homeland Security, If You See Something, Say Something, <https://www.dhs.gov/see-something-say-something/about-campaign/seesay-day> [last accessed: 23.11.2022].

4 Gournelos/Green, *A Decade of Dark Humor*.

5 Ibid.

6 Paletz, *Political Humor and Authority*, p. 484.

the basis for humour creation in the new conditions.<sup>7</sup> So, is it possible to state that cultures of laughter (and black humour as its component) and cultures of vigilance are somehow interrelated, especially when the triggers that create these cultures are tragedies, episodes in which individuals are in mortal danger or crises?

To examine this, we must turn to further cases in which a culture of vigilance and culture of laughter developed simultaneously during a crisis period or (and) a period of social mobilisation. In this article, we will take a closer look at the connection between cultures of vigilance and Soviet laughter culture, both official and unofficial, as well as at current humour relating to the war in Ukraine. These cases can become an impetus for further research on the relationship between cultures of laughter and cultures of vigilance.

### The keen eye of the jesters of the proletariat: the culture of vigilance and Soviet satirical magazines

The period of the greatest mobilization of Soviet society, naturally, is associated with the period of Stalinism, and especially the Great Terror and the Second World War. It was during that period that vigilance as a form of continual suspicion became one of the main features of a true communist.<sup>8</sup> Communists were supposed to unmask spies and enemies of the people and to keep state secrets. According to Sheila Fitzpatrick, this culture of vigilance was accompanied by constant rituals (including purges).<sup>9</sup> The atmosphere of general suspicion was fuelled by extremely vague descriptions of ›internal enemies‹, who operated in secret, often wore disguises and sometimes even pretended to be upright citizens. Such an atmosphere of suspicion was supplemented by calls for conspiracy and the protection of state secrets. Vigilance also included activists' voluntary supervision of Soviet bureaucrats, exposing violations and abuses of power carried out by officials. Unlike hidden internal enemies, such offenders were quite tangible and represented a concept that was easily understandable.

Establishing such total vigilance presupposed total involvement. Sheila Fitzpatrick, in her study of everyday Stalinism, quoted the play *Confrontation (Ochnaya Stavka)* produced in 1937 (the year of the most intense repressions in the Soviet Union). In the play, a German spy confesses that there are 25,000 German agents operating in the USSR. However, the vigilance of Soviet citizens meant that they were caught, as there were »170 million obvious agents« in the USSR, that was, the entire population of the state.<sup>10</sup> So, in this case, the culture of vigilance grew into something that resulted in total denunciation. On the other hand, the culture of vigilance prevalent in Soviet Russian was supposed to transform reality for the better.<sup>11</sup>

Sociologist Michael Mackay identifies two main modes of communication: serious and non-serious. The first involves the avoidance of contradictions, ambiguity, an unambiguous vision of reality.<sup>12</sup> The calls for vigilance took the form of this method of communication, the method that Soviet authoritative bodies deemed most acceptable. M. Bakhtin's assertion that any form of official culture is always monolithically serious is especially relevant for the Soviet reality at that time,<sup>13</sup> however, it only partially reflects reality. That is why there have been discussions about whether the second type of communication, one that is humorous or frivolous in nature, and one that presupposed playfulness and ambiguity, was allowed to exist (and thrive) during such turbulent times of struggle during which an establishment of the socialist way of life was the ruling government's main aim.<sup>14</sup>

Gradually, including the efforts of the People's Commissar for Education Lunacharsky, laughter and humour entered public discourse, but as a weapon to eradicate shortcomings and fight enemies (external and internal).<sup>15</sup> It was precisely this goal of the existence of satirical publications that was formulated by party leaders responsible for the release of satirical magazines.<sup>16</sup> First of all, comedians were sharp-sighted and ruthless revealers, humour was a weapon, not just entertainment.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, no matter how strange it may sound, satirists had to constantly prove the seriousness of their intentions when they published satirical magazines such as *Krokodil (Crocodile)*, *Perets (Pepper)*<sup>18</sup> etc. In this case, Soviet satirists used humour to establish normativity and a collective Soviet identity. It is the ridicule of members of another or one's group, of members who, or things that, do not adhere to the norms of a community, as collective laughter at someone or something helps to establish boundaries and to create an image of an ›alien‹ and an ›own‹, a relationship of trust within a certain group and to foster contemptuous or hostile attitudes towards the objects of ridicule.<sup>19</sup>

Calls for revealing enemies and social shortcomings were made as early on as the 1920s, especially within the pages of the ›face of Soviet satire‹ – the magazine *Krokodil*. For example, on the pages of one of the issues of the magazine published in 1924, instructions were posted for *hudkors* (readers who could send cartoons on topical issues to the editorial office). One of the instructions read: »Finding a topic is not an easy task. This requires a *watchful eye* and good instincts. It is necessary to *look closely* at typical phenomena and mentally evaluate everything that you see and hear – but isn't this a topic for a drawing?«.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the satirists needed not only to urge readers to remain vigilant, but to create the appropriate

7 Ушакин, «Смехом по ужасу», pp. 130–163.

8 Fitzpatrick, Повседневный сталинизм, p. 27.

9 Ibid.

10 Тур/Шейнин, Очная ставка, p. 243.

11 Steigler, Between Expectation and Event, p. 123.

12 Martin, *The Psychology of Humor*, p. 144.

13 Бахтин, Творчество Франсуа Рабле, p. 18.

14 Ушакин, «Смехом по ужасу», p. 3.

15 Луначарский, Будем смеяться, p. 78.

16 The Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine, Язок з читачами Перця.

17 Lauchlan, Humour under Stalin, p. 2.

18 Perets was a satirical magazine, produced during 1941–1991 as the magazine of satire and humour of Soviet Ukraine.

19 Martin, *The Psychology of Humor*, p. 39.

20 Крокодил 26, Инструкция художникам-корреспондентам, p. 6.



optics, to become the tools for creating an appropriate setting for vigilance to prevail. Satirical magazines formed images of objects for vigilance: spies, ›old-mode elements‹, bribe-takers, ›bourgeois‹, ›contra‹, shaping invisible secret enemies into something more concrete. These images were grotesque, but with an already-formed stereotypical set of markers that made it possible to instantly recognize the target for ridicule and, accordingly, vigilance. As we can see, members of the editorial boards of satirical magazines involved ordinary citizens in the process of forming such optics. Among other things, this legitimized the content of the magazine as ›first-hand material. Adopting the optics set by professional satirists, amateur cartoonists reproduced them, legitimizing them with their testimony and setting an example of the ›watchful eye‹ of one of the 170 million open agents. This collective, vigilant, proletarian group was embodied by the visual image of the ›proletarian eye‹. A cartoon with this title appeared in *Krokodil* in 1923. On it, a member of the public bearing a lantern on which is written *VCheka* (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission) shines a

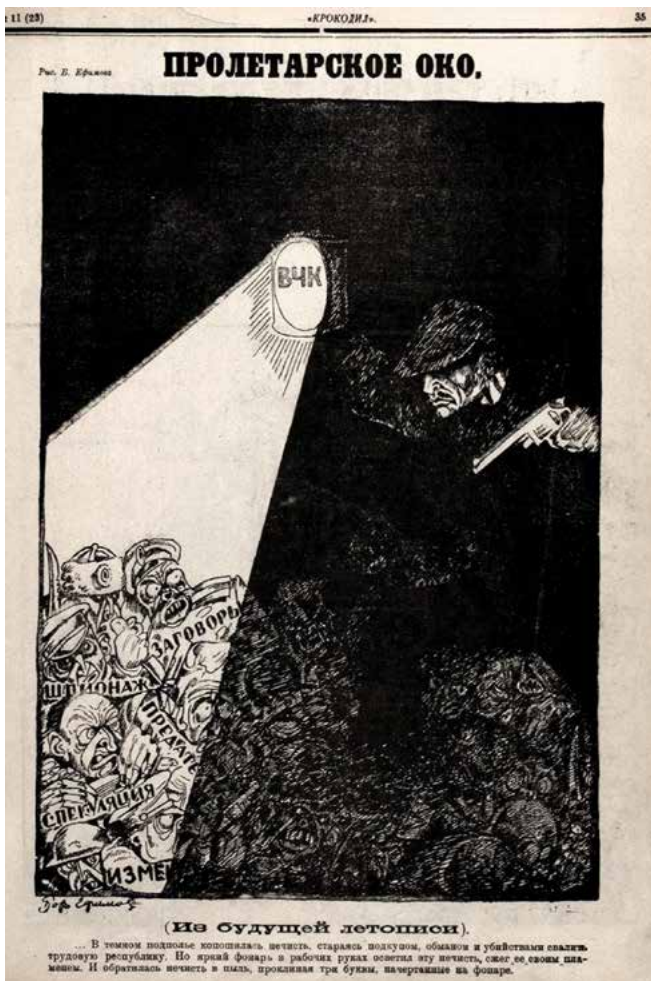


Fig. 1 »Proletarian eye«. In: *Krokodil* 11 (1923), p. 35



Fig. 2 The cover of the special issue *About vigilance*, *Krokodil* 14 (1937)

light on speculators, conspirators, traitors and spies, thus forcing them from their places of hiding.<sup>21</sup>

With the strengthening of the totalitarian regime, calls for vigilance held a strong position in official discourse and became a kind of tool for social discipline. For example, in the 1930s, special issues of *Krokodil* focused on vigilance. It was this kind of watchful red humour ›without a smile‹ that was meant to, once again, identify any objects that should be regarded with special attention and the goals and objectives of this attention, as well as to define vigilance per se. For example, in a specialized issue of *Krokodil* in 1937, entitled *About Vigilance*<sup>22</sup>, there are three types of vigilance as described by satirists.

The first type of vigilance relates to *attention paid to the actions of saboteurs and enemies of the people*, those who could allegedly cause harm to the public. As an example, a young railway engineer was cited, who, having noticed that rails had been dismantled by an enemy of the state, was able to report the incident in time and thus stop any form of accident occurring.<sup>23</sup> Humorous effects were also sometimes achieved by un-

<sup>21</sup> Ефимов, Пролетарское око, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> Крокодил 14, О бдительности.

<sup>23</sup> Ефетов, Невероятно, но факт, p. 6.



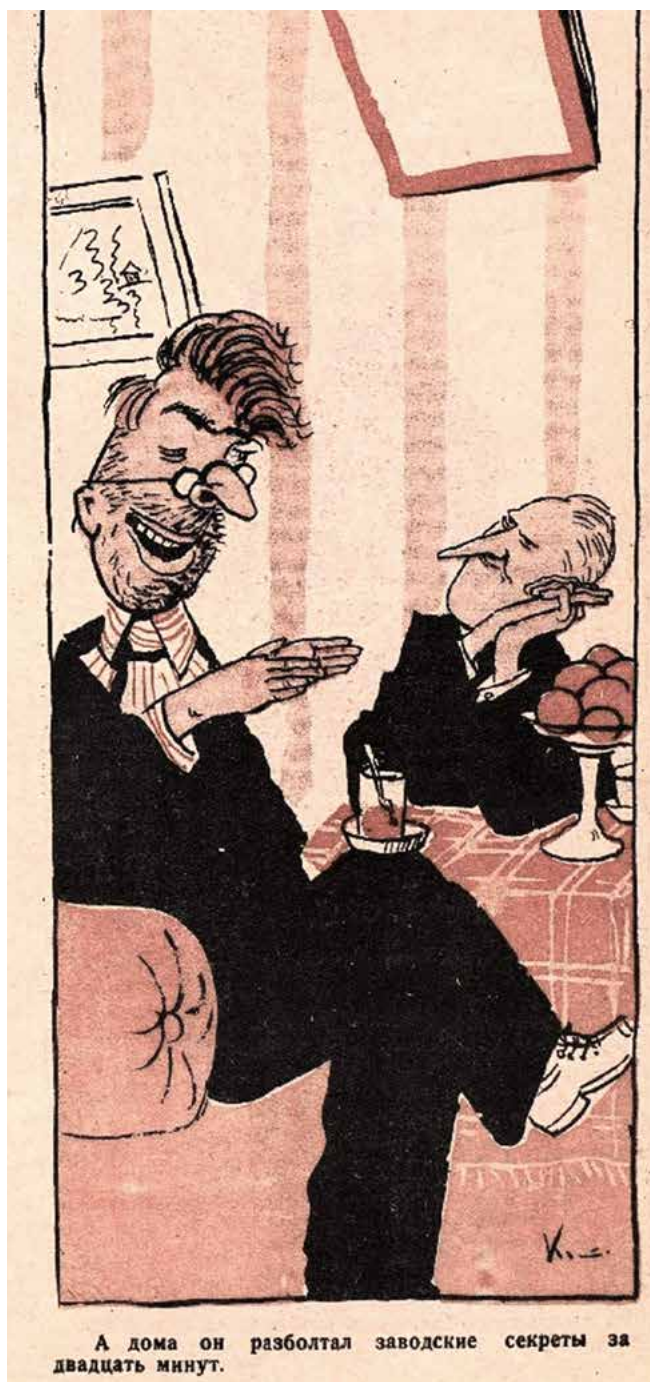


Fig. 3 »At a factory meeting, he talked about vigilance for two hours [...] And at home he blabbed factory secrets for twenty minutes«. In: *Krokodil* 2 (1938)

derstanding the discrepancy between ›our right vigilance‹ and ›their wrong vigilance‹. So, on the cover of the next *Krokodil* magazine in 1937, a picture showing how the »surveillance of officials by Soviet citizens« should be carried out correctly was depicted: before the elections, activists were instructed to share, in detail, the candidates' biographies with all voters. At the same time, it was believed that representatives in the

abstract »West« had to vigilantly hide all biographical facts relating to candidates before any elections.<sup>24</sup>

The second type of vigilance is created by attempts to enforce normativity within an already formed culture of vigilance. Images of acts of vigilance being carried out incorrectly were shown in which all the attention of the local officials was directed towards hiding their failures. Officials of this kind

24 Черемных, У них и у нас, p. 1.



were accused of continuously repeating »Vigilance, vigilance, vigilance [...]« and only speaking about problems to »his or her own« so as to create the appearance of a positive state of affairs.<sup>25</sup> The satirists also associated the lack of watchfulness with a formal attitude to calls to be vigilant. In caricatures and feuilletons, the ostentatious readiness of officials to be vigilant was expressed only in the writing of resolutions and reports on increased watchfulness. Often in satire, such formalists became »finds for spies«.<sup>26</sup>

And, finally, the most common form of vigilance prevalent in the Soviet humorous discourse was *the prevention of the revelation of state and other secrets to spies and enemies of the people*. The satirists have chosen a very interesting optics. It enabled the reader to become a witness to social crimes such as the transfer of information to spies, an inability to keep state secrets and excessive talkativeness. Readers who had had this type of vigilance pressed upon them through humour as a form of social play, were then able to implement these vigilant practices in everyday life.

Thus, the culture of vigilance established and regulated the culture of silence («Don't talk! But inform the authorities about spies and enemies of the people») and a special emotional regime of trust/distrust<sup>27</sup> (absolute trust in the authorities and distrust in their social environment). Thus, vigilance was equated with secrecy. A typical example is when the device for establishing vigilance is not a camera or window, but a lock. In the feuilleton titled *Joy of a Thief*, a secretary demonstrates to her boss, a member of the people's commissariat, how she can open all the locks in his office guarding secret documents using her canteen key as the factory producing them simply manufactured thousands of identical locks as a part of a xxx plan.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, the boss of the factory was indignant that everyone was talking about the need to be vigilant, but it was impossible with bad locks.

So, Soviet satire was one of the tools for the formation of the vigilance culture. But did this tool have its own specifics? In addition to being able to conceptualize vigilance on an everyday level with the help of images, the ambiguity of the humorous format made it possible to ridicule not only objects which required the application of vigilance, but also vigilance as such. Of course, such jokes were few and far between, but they are once again a testament to how the subversive nature of humour was favoured. For example, in the same issue devoted to vigilance, an old man complained to his doctor that he had not been able to sleep for the sixth night in a row. As it turns out later, the patient worked as a night watchman.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, association of vigilance with attempts to stay awake was ridiculed in unofficial Soviet humour. One Soviet anecdote goes that Lenin beat Dzerzhinsky, who had dozed off

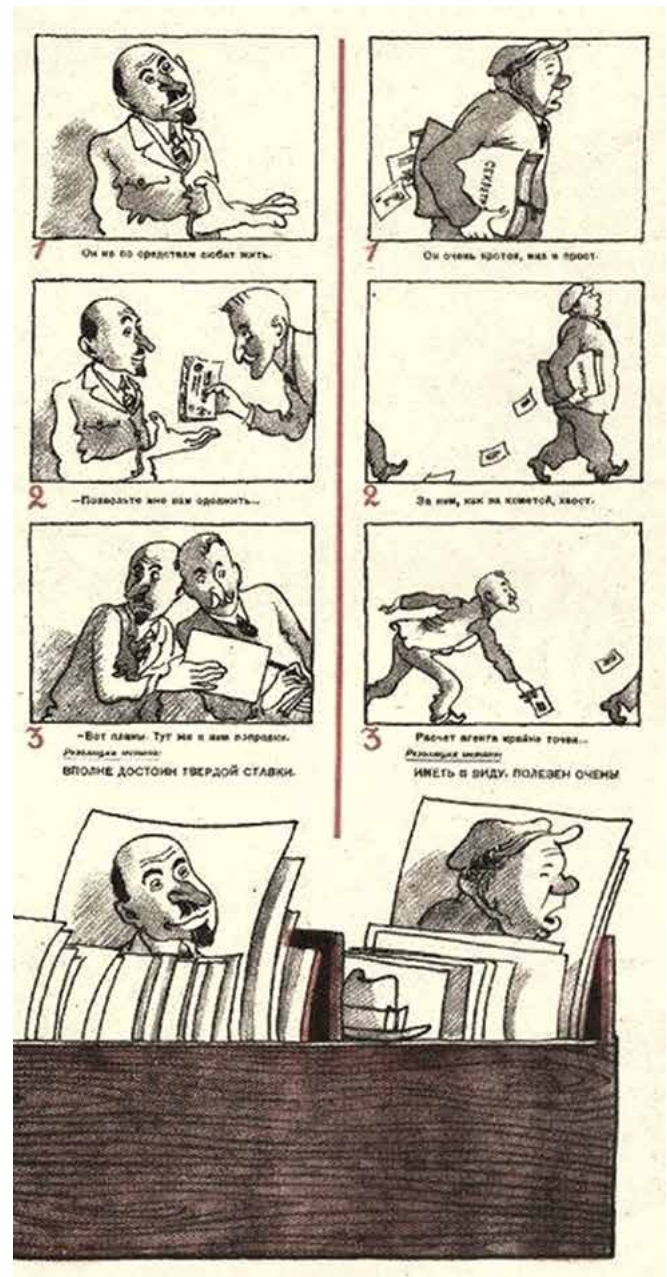


Fig. 4 »Loose lips sink ships«. In: *Krokodil* 14 (1937)

in the Cheka (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission), with all his strength to check his revolutionary vigilance.

During the thaw and the late Soviet period, calls for vigilance diminished significantly. With the end of mass repressions and the search for internal invisible enemies, the vigilance of Soviet citizens in satire was expressed mainly in letters to the editors of satirical magazines. Therefore, *Perets* and *Krokodil* became mediators between observers on different levels. At the same time, satirists positioned themselves as observers of local authorities, friends of ordinary citizens. It was by the number of such appeals from citizens that *Perets*,

<sup>25</sup> Рыклин, По дороге в Березки, р. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Крокотил 2, Карикатура, р. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Tikhomirov, Making and Breaking Emotional Bonds between People and State, pp. 81–85.

<sup>28</sup> Денисов, Радость вора, р. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Ганфа, Карикатура, р. 12.

for example, tried to prove its significance and seriousness.<sup>30</sup> In a similar fashion to other satirical publications. Moreover, the magazine's staff collected statistics on how the authorities reacted to the ›signals‹ published in *Perets* and, accordingly, from citizens. Such statistics were published, proving the significance of the satirical publication itself and the involvement of citizens in the transformation of society into a truly socialist one. Satirical magazines newspapers have begun to devote regular columns to photos of the lack of infrastructure in existence, destroyed local clubs or schools with leaking roofs.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, making readers laugh was not the main goal. Above all else, the content of the magazine was viewed as the truth, a truth created by both readers and the creators of the magazine.

So, a society that needs its citizens to remain constantly vigilant and requires this vigilance to be kept up long-term needs cultural practices that remind its general public of whatever danger is perceived to be imminent.<sup>32</sup> It was satirical magazines that could form visual and narrative images of the internal and external dangers that were the instruments of vigilance, which became a constant practice, a cultural norm that no longer related to dangerous things that required a mobilization society as a whole, but instead was related to everyday troubles (bad roads, poor quality service, unfinished construction, bureaucracy, the rudeness of officials, etc.). Journals, like other publications, declared that this kind of correspondence between readers and editors helped to fight an ever-present danger: any kind of threat to the socialist way of life and thought.<sup>33</sup> However, this danger was so abstract that citizens simply attempted to solve their everyday problems. Moreover, this demonstrates how a culture of vigilance can develop into a more normal practice of directing complaints to higher authorities. These messages to authority were personalised so as to only meet one person's needs. At the same time, the needs of society as a whole were not taken into consideration. Therefore, the line between the culture of vigilance prevalent during the early and middle Soviet period, complaints and denunciations became blurred.<sup>34</sup>

The transformation of a culture of vigilance and its connection to humour outlined above was dependent in Soviet society on the transformation of an entire political regime. During the Stalin era, official humorous publications called for vigilance and a dedication to transpersonal goals. This was accompanied by a general mobilization of society, specific to some totalitarian regimes. The softening of the regime led to a decrease in this mobilization and a focus on everyday life and personal needs. Moreover, cases of scamming informers became more frequent at that time. *Perets* and the *Krokodil* published cartoons, the meaning of which boiled down to the fact that excessive vigilance turns into denunciation and

greatly interferes with law enforcement agencies. The satirists blamed the citizens for wasting their time on denunciations and at the same time considered themselves socially useful. Thus, to maintain the specific culture of vigilance developed in Soviet society, powerful resources were needed, ones which were also used to maintain the existing regime. However, what was the connection between the Soviet culture of vigilance and informal humour?

### The KGB<sup>35</sup> is wiretapping every socket: political anecdotes and the Soviet culture of vigilance

The study of the connection between the cultures of vigilance and humour in Soviet society calls into being questions relating to the division of the Soviet culture of laughter into official and unofficial (or institutionalised and non-institutionalised, censored and uncensored) satire. There are a lot of discussions about the existence of a clear boundary between the official and unofficial side of public life in Soviet society.<sup>36</sup> However, most researchers agree on the existence of these two interrelated discourses.

Regarding humour, the type of social ›game‹ described above always involves the existence of a blurred line between individuals and institutions, and a constant reviewing of public and private.<sup>37</sup> Humour, too, eradicates the line between fact and fiction. Creators of Soviet satirical magazines constantly claimed that they were based solely on eyewitness accounts, only on real events. Urban folklore in the form of anecdotes was also based on images understandable to everyone and ones that could be found in ›the real world‹. Nevertheless, humour always also involves the use of hyperbole, riddles, grotesque, etc. In sum, humour blurs boundaries and sometimes undermines them: between what is permitted and what is forbidden, sacred and profane. Therefore, if we talk about institutionalised (satirical publications, television programs, collections of humour) and non-institutionalised humour (folklore, situational humour, etc.), then we will deal not with separate arrays of humorous texts and cartoons, but with the reproduction of public dialogue between representatives of authorities and their subordinates, representatives of various social groups. You can read more about the practices used for the spreading of Soviet humorous folklore in studies by Alexandra Arkhipova, Mikhail Melnichenko and many others.<sup>38</sup>

According to anthropologist James Scott, folklore can be viewed as the everyday resistance to power.<sup>39</sup> At some point, any individual relating any given anecdote relating to power, will, with the help of ridicule, feel that he or she is superior to the bodies of authority in existence, even if this superiority only lasts for a second or two.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, humour in

30 The Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine, Результативність Перця.

31 Перець 15, Перчанський телевізор, p. 13.

32 Brendecke, Warum Vigilanzkulturen?, p. 13.

33 The Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine, Тематичний план журналу Перець.

34 Brendecke, Warum Vigilanzkulturen?, p. 14.

35 Committee for State Security (KGB) – the main security agency for the Soviet Union from 4 February 1947 until 3 December 1991.

36 Фирсов, Разномыслие в СССР. 1940–1960-е годы, pp. 15–30.

37 Brendecke/Molino, The Cultures of Vigilance, p. 14.

38 Архипова/Мельниченко, Анекдоты о Сталине.

39 Scott, *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*.

40 Martin, *The Psychology of Humor*.



the Soviet era was very dependent on official rhetoric. While ridiculing the authorities or official discourse, the individual cracking the joke reluctantly rethought and used political concepts released by the authorities.<sup>41</sup> In addition, the jokes themselves, like any statement, were a kind of message to authority, other objects of ridicule or those hearing the joke first-hand. And given the humorous form, these messages were also encrypted.<sup>42</sup> The result of this public dialogue was the creation of interesting connections between unofficial humour and the culture of vigilance prevalent in Soviet society. Some of these connections can be distinguished:

### 1. Avoidance of observers

The spread of humour always provides a mechanism for a denial of responsibility with regards to the meaning of a joke.<sup>43</sup> If the content of the joke is offensive or offensive to the addressee, then the excuse: »it was just a joke« can always be employed. This was true for the late Soviet period as well. However, in the days of Stalinism, the Soviet authorities were not as benevolent towards the disseminators of folklore, which was regarded as being »anti-Soviet« in nature. It was the spread of political jokes in official satire that was regarded as representing one of the signs of anti-vigilance.<sup>44</sup> This, by the way, becomes another example of a kind of dialogue between official satire and unofficial humour regarding vigilance. Therefore, jokes were distributed only among those who were especially trusted, and the search for such individuals was something that had to be conducted with the utmost of caution, necessitating a probing of one's social environment, something that involved the use of jokes as well as less controversial content. This is also reflected in »canned« jokes. The anecdotes themselves became a new warning to be vigilant, not to express criticism of bodies of authority in an unfamiliar environment or even outside private (safe) spaces. In this case, a grotesque supervisor constantly appeared in anecdotes, the ubiquitous special agent who sees everything and hears everything. In anecdotes, any device became a vigilance instrument of the Soviet Secret Service, through which KGB officers spied or eavesdropped on citizens. For example:

Moscow-Leningrad train. There are three men in the compartment. One is reading a newspaper, two are telling political anecdotes. The first listened, then left the compartment, went up to the conductor and said:  
 »Listen, can you bring three cups of tea to the fifth compartment?«  
 »Certainly!«  
 »Just bring them, please, in exactly 10 minutes, okay?«  
 The man returned to the compartment and after 9 minutes said to his fellow travellers: »Guys, you're telling jokes in vain, here the KGB is listening to everything.«  
 They say to him:

»Come on, it's all nonsense«

»No, seriously, the KGB is listening to everything, look!«

He speaks into the socket:

»Comrade Major, please, three cups of tea!«

A minute later the door opened and the conductor brought in three cups of tea. The man's fellow travellers bulged their eyes, fell silent, drank tea and went to bed. In the morning the man woke up, but there are no fellow travellers. He went to the conductor and asked:

»Where have my fellow travellers gone?«

»So the KGB took them away at night for jokes«

The man was horrified:

»Why haven't they arrested me?!«

»Comrade Major liked your joke about the socket.«

As we see, in this text the absurd assumption that the socket is a device for the vigilance of special services becomes a kind of warning that at first glance, private spaces are not such. The anxiety created by this situation, on the one hand, is partially removed due to the humorous effect created, on the other hand, it is intensified due to the unpredictability of the behaviour of the overseer from the socket. The same text shows the ambivalent essence of humour: a political anecdote simultaneously becomes a cause of repression for two interlocutors and a mechanism for removing responsibility for a third.

### 2. Sousveillance – counter-surveillance of the observer.<sup>45</sup>

Everyday resistance, as we have already said, involves constant monitoring of authorities by subordinates to develop a strategy of behaviour, avoid supervision by officials, and to achieve goals painlessly (if they do not coincide with that set out in a general strategy put forward by a given state).<sup>46</sup> In official Soviet discourse, the image of power was constantly updated, especially in the face of different party leaders. This further provoked attention to those in power by ordinary citizens and a rethinking of their activities in uncensored satire. After the Stalin era, jokes about power were still not legal, but their popularity increased along with a loosening up of the regime. With the help of folklore, which continued to spread exclusively in the private sphere, an imaginary dialogue between the public and the authorities played out. During this »dialogue«, the authorities were desacralized, and the disseminators of folklore informed each other about the failures of the authorities, exaggerating them. In anecdotes, the distributors of folklore voiced what they did not dare in a direct dialogue with the authorities: open criticism. However, humour also contributed to the partial acceptance of power: laughter relieved stress and helped not to turn everyday resistance into open protests, thereby extending the duration of the Soviet era.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Tsakona/Popa, In between political critique and public entertainment.

<sup>42</sup> Scott, *Domination and the art of resistance*.

<sup>43</sup> Martin, *The Psychology of Humor*

<sup>44</sup> Крокодил 14, p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Brendecke, *Warum Vigilanzkulturen?*, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Scott, *Domination and the art of resistance*.

<sup>47</sup> Paletz, *Political Humor and Authority* p. 484.

## Can you pronounce *palyanitsya*? Humour and the culture of vigilance during the 2022 Ukraine war

The laughter culture in modern Ukraine boasts several significant differences to that of the recent past. Firstly, the change of the political regime and the development of new political categories affected its content. Secondly, how humour is distributed has changed. A significant number of jokes are distributed through social networks nowadays. This also leads to a greater visualization of humour. Thirdly, the line between official and unofficial humour has become less obvious. Self-censorship plays an even bigger role when choosing which joke to tell those within earshot.

Such differences can be found and described to a greater extent, however, two other contexts give us opportunities for comparative analysis: the reestablishment of a culture of vigilance, as well as military actions, which, on the one hand, provoke statements about the inappropriateness of humour and, on the other hand, are responsible for the appearance of a huge number of jokes, especially ones based on dark humour.

In order to trace the connection between the culture of vigilance during the war in Ukraine and modern humour in 2022, it is first necessary to consider which new practices of vigilance have spread throughout the Ukraine since the beginning of the war. A direct threat that concerns everyone in Ukraine is accompanied by a mobilization of the entire society. This can be illustrated by calling on everyone to »help Ukraine in their place« and equalizing any help that a person can provide: service in the ZSU (armed forces of Ukraine), volunteering, donations, and even reposting memes. It was argued in favour of the latter as »laughter helps to fight enemies« according to famous Ukrainian bloggers.<sup>48</sup> Particularly noteworthy in this context are calls to be vigilant, such as a call to citizens to take pictures of enemy equipment and send photos to special telegram channels. Among other things, citizens were encouraged to pay special attention to marks that were made by enemy saboteurs at the beginning of the war. On behalf of the authorities, photos of such marks were posted on social networks and in news sections. Calls were made to cover or paint over the marks when they were found.<sup>49</sup> Citizens were also urged to report any information about specific separatist statements, unsafe telegram channels, and cases in which information posted on social networks could be potentially dangerous to the SBU (Security Service of Ukraine). For example, a new kind of conspiracy arose: citizens were urged not to report the exact location of missile hits on social networks, even said missile attacks had damaged one's own house (the enemy should not be given a chance to »correct their fire«). Particular vigilance was demanded with regards to the reading of any information on the Internet and social networks: the information war generated fake news. Therefore, a new regime of distrust was

established with regards to information, except for information posted on official channels run by the authorities and the military forces.

In 2022, humour, as a controversial phenomenon, was periodically condemned. For example, according to eyewitness accounts in public transport, some passengers began a discussion on the topic: »Aren't you ashamed to laugh and joke during the war?«. To which other passengers replied that humour raised morale, and that that was the main thing.<sup>50</sup> In all other cases, separate topics for jokes were condemned: is it possible to laugh at death, at Russian soldiers, etc. The lack of humour and laughter became an attribute of the victim (when one of the volunteers compared refugees from Kyiv and Kharkiv, she noted a lack of strength to joke Kharkiv residents who were no longer able to crack jokes). The most illustrative example is a joke about what a millionaire looks like in Mariupol (the meme depicted a block of cigarettes).<sup>51</sup> The admins of the telegram channel in which the joke was published were evacuees from Mariupol. This meme caused a flurry of criticism, which even the excuses of the channel admins could not mitigate, detailing how they were the ones who cracked such jokes in Mariupol, as they were the ones exchanging their things for cigarettes. Self-censorship become rife if one can only tell jokes to those whom one trusts, and whose positive reaction to the joke can be predicted. However, the publicity of social networks implies the broadcasting to a larger audience. All this made sometimes made it difficult for individuals to justify why they were spreading humour at such times. For example, Internet folklore claimed that a nation that laughs whilst bullets are being fired cannot be defeated.<sup>52</sup> It also claimed that laughter heals tears, and that the Ukrainian people will laugh through tears (at the same time, references were made to the famous poem by Lesya Ukrainka). The call to laugh also appeared in public pages with advice on psychological survival: »Laugh! Laughter heals the mind«.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, humour has been proclaimed as a weapon of the »information troops of Ukraine«.<sup>54</sup> Humour was legitimised to an even greater extent by its use in nightly addresses (immediately after the extremely serious speeches of Volodymyr Zelenskyy) by official military observer Alexei Arestovich. It is noteworthy that he used the most popular memes about Chernobaevka and Konotop witches.<sup>55</sup> The inclusion of humour in the urban space has become especially popular, too: recognisable memes are reproduced on posters, billboards, and murals. Interestingly, representatives of institutionalised humour (for example, the Kwartal 95 studio) initially took a wait-and-see attitude towards the possibility of creating humorous content during the war. Therefore, the *Bayraktar News* that appeared on March 19,

<sup>50</sup> Marinchenko.

<sup>51</sup> Telegram, Як виглядає мільйонер в Маріуполі (20.03.2022), <https://t.me/c/1710400715/152>.

<sup>52</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=pfbid036gT-que8UBDZ6er8J5QmeRc4vnqAttdJz2kVKZArCxxYaTDbYL6qVKVDSkpQYUB-1d&id=100017224632274](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid036gT-que8UBDZ6er8J5QmeRc4vnqAttdJz2kVKZArCxxYaTDbYL6qVKVDSkpQYUB-1d&id=100017224632274) (05.03.2022).

<sup>53</sup> Раойн Медицина, Гумор та війна. <https://medicine.rayon.in.ua/news/522138-gumor-ta-viyna-chi-var-to-lyudyam-smiyatisya>

<sup>54</sup> Степаненко, Гумор під час війни – це доречно?

<sup>55</sup> Арестович, По Чернобаевке сегодня.

<sup>48</sup> Hassan, Постити меми – теж чесна праця.

<sup>49</sup> Українська енергетика, Міненерго просить повідомляти.





Fig. 5 Specific Ukrainian words were illustrated with incorrect pictures. Screenshot

2022, consisted mainly of jokes that reflected upon the most popular wartime memes.<sup>56</sup>

But even without such legitimation, a huge array of memes, videos, and text jokes were called into being. As was the case in the 1920–1930s in the USSR, as well as for the 9/11 terrorist attacks, society, wanting to protect itself psychologically, began to produce a huge variety of humour, including dark humour. The question is, what connection does this humour have to cultures of vigilance?

### 1. Be vigilant about your social environment

When retelling a joke, we expect a certain reaction from our listeners. Especially when the meaning of the joke correlates with a current agenda relating to danger, state integrity or other critical things. That is why, the refusal to laugh at enemies slain or those taken prisoners provokes discussions and, sometimes, condemnation, or even exclusion from social groups. It also creates suspicion towards anyone who does not ›get the joke‹.

### 2. Establishing normativity

Making fun of wrong behaviour (inaction, venality etc.) and even interweaving correct behaviour into jokes helps to establish normativity at a critical moment and correct citizens' daily strategies with regards to vigilance?

### 3. Reproduction of objects for vigilance and the formation of appropriate optics

One way or another, but jokes about dead enemy soldiers, destroyed enemy equipment, established marks (which were often drawn in memes on Putin's forehead), actualize objects which require vigilance. Also, with the help of humour, any action taken toward objects of vigilance was reproduced in a playful way. As in the case for jokes dating from the Soviet era, in the humour relating to the 2022 war, there exists a conceptualization of calls for vigilance and their humorous rethinking. So, for example, in one of the jokes circulating during the Easter period, citizens were urged not to report the exact coordinates where Jesus Christ resurrected and not to post photos

and videos of this event under any circumstances.<sup>57</sup> The same situation was repeated with image of Stepan Bandera. After information began to spread on the social networks that Ramzan Kadyrov (the leader of the Chechen Republic) was ready to declare a bounty on Bandera's head,<sup>58</sup> a meme appeared in which citizens were asked not to disclose the whereabouts of the Ukrainian nationalist (who died in Munich in 1959) under any circumstances.<sup>59</sup> These two jokes have different objects of ridicule. The base of the first one has repeated calls to keep important information private. The second joke is more about the ignorance of the leader of the Chechen Republic. However, both of these cases actualize the practices of vigilance.

#### 4. Memes

Some vigilance practices quickly found their way into memes, making humour one of the ways to update and spread such practices. One of the brightest is the word *palyanytsya* (a kind of bread), a word which those who are not Ukrainian cannot pronounce. If a person was suspected of sabotage, pronouncing this word constituted a form of citizenship test. In memes, *palyanytsya* instantly became the central element around which the collective identity of Ukrainians was created and the image of an ›alien other‹ was constructed, one who could not pronounce *palyanytsya*, making them potentially dangerous. For example: »While the Russians are practising pronouncing *palyanytsya*, we have changed the password to *nisenitnytsya* (nonsense in Ukrainian)«. <sup>60</sup> Quite interesting was the publication of memes in which specific Ukrainian words were illustrated with incorrect pictures. The humorous effect occurs when the recipient of said humour understands the discrepancy between the meaning of the Ukrainian word and the illustration. Thus, it was not only an act of implementing vigilance, but also a way to be vigilant through the spread of humour: will the person to whom you show this meme understand it or not?

Humour also gave rise to other practices of vigilance and ways of identifying the enemy. For example, several memes suggested to asking suspects the following questions: »Whom the world caught and did not catch«, »Who is depicted on the 1 000-hryvnyas banknote«, »What stations of the Lviv metro do you remember« (correct answers: Skovoroda, Vernadsky, there is no metro in Lviv).

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So, the main thing these described cases have in common is the connection between humour and vigilance culture in every society and historical context. It all starts with limitations in humour culture that lead to attempts, on the one hand, to control humour and, on the other hand, to circumvent the bans and taboos in this sphere. Taboos in humour discourse reinforce normativity in everyday communication when instead of laughter inappropriate jokes provoke condemnation. All these require vigilance not only to control humour but also for choosing the recipient of controversial humour in case you dare to spread it. We always test our social environment and limits with the help of humour.

A time of crisis and danger establishes an even more visible relationship between cultures of laughter and cultures of vigilance. Both the culture of vigilance and the culture of laughter simultaneously receive an impulse to develop.

The transformation of the culture of vigilance and laughter culture that existed within the USSR was directly dependent on changes that took place within the political regime and culture. The mobilised Soviet society in the days of totalitarian Stalinism formed a specific culture of vigilance, one combined conspiracy and attempts to establish an emotional regime of distrust of others and absolute trust in the authorities. At the same time, official humour and satire became a tool for conceptualizing calls to vigilance, creating specific optics, according to which the recipient of humour became a witness to the activity of the objects of vigilance (invisible enemies), and learned to recognise them in reality. Humour simultaneously outlined the normativity of the Soviet culture of vigilance and sometimes implicitly ridiculed it. Unofficial humour rethought the concept of vigilance formed by the authorities, helped to avoid vigilance on the part of pro-government observers, who, in their jokes, warned others belonging to their group about the dangers of being suspected of being anti-Soviet, and also helped to form a circle of trusted individuals among which it was possible to criticise the authorities.

Modern humour related to the 2022 Ukraine also had to be legitimatised at first and coexisted with the establishment of a new culture of vigilance. Given the even greater levels of blurring between institutionalised and non-institutionalised discourses, war jokes have an even greater connection to vigilant culture than during the Soviet period. In particular, humour relating to the war reproduces and also generates practices of distinguishing one's ›own‹ from ›others‹, implements objects of vigilance and serves as an aid with which social groups based on the reaction to, for example, anti-Russian jokes can be established.

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<sup>57</sup> Санченко, Дайджест 24 квітня 2022.

<sup>58</sup> Ватаг, Кадиров назначив винагороду голову Степана Бандери.

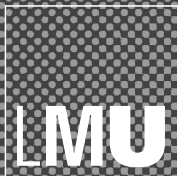
<sup>59</sup> Кадиров змусив Бандеру »заговорити«. On TSN (16.03.2022).

<sup>60</sup> Voitsykh. On: Twitter (28.02.2022). <https://twitter.com/romvoi/status/1498413653225537536>.



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# Praktiken und Semantiken der Aufmerksamkeit in der mittelalterlichen Literatur und Frömmigkeit

**D**er Workshop der Arbeitsgruppe »Ablenkung und Aufmerksamkeit« fand vom 7. bis 9. April 2022 im Senatssaal der LMU München in hybrider Form statt. Organisiert wurde die Veranstaltung von Beate Kellner, Susanne Reichlin, Magdalena Butz und Agnes Rugel.

## Frühgeschichtliche Semantiken

Den Einstieg in das Programm bildete ein Vortrag von Bibelwissenschaftler Holger Gzella (München) über das Vokabular der Aufmerksamkeit in der biblisch-hebräischen

Gebetsprache und seine lateinische Wiedergabe. Obschon das Alte Testament keine Definition des Begriffes »Aufmerksamkeit« als Willensakt oder Disposition enthält, tritt in der förmlichen Prosa und Poesie das Verb *qšb* (»aufmerken, aufmerksam hören«) – häufig in Verbindung mit *šm'* (»hören«) oder *'zn* (»das Ohr spitzen«) – auf. Seltener werden Verben des Sehens in diesem Zusammenhang gebraucht. Das Phänomen der Aufmerksamkeit tritt in drei alttestamentlichen Genres auf: in der Weisheitslehre, der Apokalyptik und dem Gebet. Jene Stellen werden in der lateinischen Übertragung der Vulgata vereinheitlicht, indem unterschiedliche Vokabeln überwiegend



Abb. 1 Achtsamkeitsübung, um 1800, Wandgemälde, Wat Na Phra That, Nakhon-Ratchasima, Thailand



mit *contemplari* und *meditari* – das sich im Gebetskontext als Standardvokabel herauskristallisiert –, *qšb* auch als *adtenere* oder *auscultare*, visuelle Bedeutungen als *videre* übersetzt werden. Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich die Aufmerksamkeitsvokabeln in den Psalmen und anderen Gebeten zumeist auf Gott beziehen, dessen Aufmerksamkeit erregt werden soll, während die Aufmerksamkeit des Betenden vorausgesetzt wird.

Die Frühgeschichte religiöser Aufmerksamkeit auf interkultureller Ebene thematisierte Indologe Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München). Er stellte Semantiken der Selbstoptimierung (achtsam, wachsam, aufmerksam) im indischen Buddhismus vor. Alle Übersetzungen stammen von den Begriffen im Sanskrit *apramāda* (Gegenteil von ›Rausch/Trunkenheit› Unaufmerksamkeit) und *smṛti* (›Erinnerung› Konzentration ›Aufmerksamkeit›).<sup>1</sup> Diese Semantik hat eine kognitive sowie körperliche Dimension, denn die wachsame Selbstbeobachtung dient dazu, Distanz zum Ich zu gewinnen und sich zu konzentrieren, um Affekte – die zu unangemessenem Verhalten führen – ständig kontrollierbar werden zu lassen. Zu den entsprechenden Praktiken zählen unter anderem Atemübungen und Körperbetrachtungen, die den Mittelpunkt des buddhistischen Denkens erfahrbar machen: die Prozesshaftigkeit der Welt (Abb. 1). Zudem ist diese Aufmerksamkeit nicht an Rhythmen gebunden: Das Ideal (Buddha) ist allzeit achtsam.

## Aufmerksamkeit in der mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit: Gebet, Gewissen und Askese

Eine Zusammenfassung der religiösen Aufmerksamkeitslenkung zwischen 1400 und 1520 mitsamt deren Strömungen in Bezug auf Seelsorge, Andacht und Gewissen brachte Berndt Hamm (Erlangen) in den Diskurs ein. Im transformativen Zeitraum des sogenannten Spätmittelalters (der Referent plädierte für einen anderen Begriff, da dieser im Sinne von ›abklingen‹ und ›Niedergang‹ verstanden werde) erforderte die Seelsorge wachsame, konzentrierte Aufmerksamkeit als Zustand des Seelsorgers. Johannes Gerson (1363–1429) war hierfür prägend durch seine elementarisierende Theologie mit einem Fokus auf Katechese. Dekalog, Gewissenserforschung und vor allem *Ars moriendi*, die die Sterbesituation innerlich präsent machen will, stehen für diese Entwicklung. Andacht ist wiederum in sich selbst aufmerksamkeitsbestimmt (auf Gott gerichtet). Und das Gewissen folgt drei Grundsätzen: Es ist die Aufmerksamkeitsinstanz schlechthin gegen die niemand handeln darf, obwohl es sich oft irrt. Das Gewissen bedarf insofern Aufmerksamkeit, als es vom Richtigen überzeugt werden muss. Diese Frömmigkeitstheologie begründet wiederum ein entlastendes, gnadenhaftes Modell der Sündenfreiheit gegenüber dem strengen Regime von zwingender Beichte, Reue und

Buße vor dem Fegefeuer oder – schlimmer – der ewigen Verdammnis, das der absoluten Reue und Willensausrichtung auf Gott hin dieselbe erlösende Wirkung zuspricht.

Jonathan Stutz (München) beschrieb den Aufstieg zu Gott in der Zelle mithilfe von strenger Askese, durch den Brief Wilhelms von St. Thierry (ca. 1175–1148) an die Karthäuser von Mont-Dieu. In der apologetischen sowie zu einem eremitischen Mönchtum anleitenden Schrift beschreibt Wilhelm den Weg des Mönches zu Gott in drei Stadien. Zuerst sei er im *status animalis*, in welchem er von äußeren Stimuli zum Gottesgehorsam bewegt werden kann. Die Zelle fungiert dabei als *stabilitas loci*, die den Körper bindet, ebenso wie die Regeln den Willen binden. So kann der Mensch mithilfe der habitualisierten Praxis von Gebet, Schriftlesung, Arbeit und körperlicher Einschränkung den *status rationalis* und anschließend den *status spiritualis* erlangen. Die Zelle allegorisiert Wilhelm in ihrer Kargheit als Kurort und Spiegelbild der Seele, die ebenso die Vergänglichkeit des Körpers wie auch Gott selbst abbilde. Gedacht wird sie als Sakrament, dessen Notwendigkeit das gesamte Leben über bestehen bleibt. Die soziale Rolle von Aufmerksamkeit bleibt nur in der angemahnten Haupttugend, der *humilitas* und der damit verbundenen Nächstenliebe in einem äußerst reduzierten Sozialleben bestehen.

Weg von der monastischen Theologie führte Magdalena Butz (Teilprojekt C01) mit der *Hymelstrasz* Stephans von Landskron (ca. 1410–1477), worin Gebetshaltung und Aufmerksamkeit frömmigkeitstheologisch auf ein Laienpublikum abzielend in das Programm des Textes – den richtigen Weg zum Heil aufzuzeigen – eingebunden werden. In den Kapiteln 41 bis 44 behandelt Stephan die Aufmerksamkeit (›auffmercken‹) im Gebet, die als siebtes von acht Kriterien für gottgefälliges Gebet genannt wird. Diese geforderte Aufmerksamkeit ist erneut dreigeteilt. Zu achten ist auf den richtigen Wortlaut und das Verständnis des Gebetstextes sowie die innere Ausrichtung auf Gott. Nur der erste Punkt, die richtige Aussprache, ist für Stephan obligatorisch. So werden monastische Praktiken der Andacht, die auf Innerlichkeit zielen, auf das Laiengebet übertragen. Dabei entstehen jedoch Schwierigkeiten, die eine Hierarchisierung der Aufmerksamkeitsforderungen nötig macht, denn inhaltliches Verstehen des lateinischen Gebetstextes ist für Laien schwer umsetzbar. Gleichzeitig stellt sich die Frage, wie zur selben Zeit die Aufmerksamkeit des Betenden sowohl auf den Sinn und den Wortlaut des Gebets als auch auf Gott, beispielsweise evoziert durch imaginierte Betrachtung, gelenkt werden kann, ohne dass sich durch die Überblendung der Aufmerksamkeiten wiederum Ablenkung ergibt.

Unter der Leitung von Kathrin Chlench-Priber (Bonn) wurden im Workshop Gebete des Johann von Neumarkt (ca. 1310–1380) gelesen und Strukturen der Aufmerksamkeitslenkung im Gebetstext diskutiert. Im Gegensatz zur *Hymelstrasz* ist Aufmerksamkeit auf den Inhalt eines Gebetes für dessen Gelingen notwendig, was häufig in Vorworten eingefordert wird. Zur Interpretation der Gebete bietet Chlench-Priber ein Modell an, das zwischen vertikaler und horizontaler Aufmerksamkeit unterscheidet: Die Betenden haben zur angerufenen Instanz eine vertikale Beziehung, während der Gebetsautor mit seinem Gebetstext den Betenden

<sup>1</sup> Jens-Uwe Hartmann stützte sich in seinem Vortrag auf Erkenntnisse des Indologen Peter Skilling, der diese in seinem bald erscheinenden Buch veröffentlichen wird. Peter Skilling (Bhadra Rujirathat): *Buddha's Words for Tough Times. An Anthology: Twenty translations from Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Pāli*.



Abb. 2 Das gute und das schlechte Gebet, Holzschnitt, 1430

auf einer horizontalen Ebene begegnet. In *Anselms Marien- gebet III*, der volkssprachlichen Aktualisierung eines lateinischen Gebetstextes Anselms von Canterbury, zeichnen sich die Aufmerksamkeitsstrategien in (intensivierenden) Wiederholungen/Anrufungen (*Schaw*) und anaphorischen Reihungen syntaktisch ab. Als Adressat werden wechselweise Maria, deren Aufmerksamkeit erbeten wird, und die eigenen Sünden genannt. Durch die Anrede der eigenen Sünden, die beliebig modifizierbar für den individuellen Gebrauch formuliert sind, wird der Erfolg des Gebetes garantiert.

Den Zielen menschlicher Aufmerksamkeit widmet sich Mirko Breitenstein (Dresden) im anonymen Traktat *Vom inneren Haus*, den er zusammen mit Susanne Linscheid-Burdich ediert und übersetzt hat.<sup>2</sup> Drei Thesen strukturierten den Vortrag: Der Text lenke Aufmerksamkeit auf das Gewissen der Lesenden, das Gewissen lenke die Aufmerksamkeit der Lesenden auf den Text und zwar vom Sichtbaren zum

Unsichtbaren. Mit den Gewissensmetaphern wie der des Hauses mit sieben Säulen, dem Gewissensbuch oder dem Gewissen als Spiegel zieht der Text die Aufmerksamkeit der Lesenden an, die diese Aufmerksamkeit wiederum auf die eigenen inneren Prozesse lenken. Ebenso richtet das Gewissen die Aufmerksamkeit der Lesenden auf den Text, da die Lesenden mit sich selbst konfrontiert werden. Das Gewissen ist damit gleichzeitig Instrument und Ziel von Aufmerksamkeit, es lenkt diese und bedarf ihrer gleichermaßen. Zudem wird in Kap. VIII.26 deutlich, dass Aufmerksamkeit immer prozesshaft zu denken ist. Beschrieben wird darin die ›Seuche‹ der sündigen Erinnerung, die immer wieder lockend in das Bewusstsein eindringt und wiederholt vertrieben werden muss. Gefordert wird deshalb eine grenzenlose Selbsterforschung, die selbst im Genießen der sündigen Erinnerung erneuert zur Sünde wird und somit in einer Sündenspirale, einem Dilemma, münden kann.

<sup>2</sup> *De interiori domo/Der Traktat vom inneren Haus*. Hg. und übers. von Mirko Breitenstein und Susanne Linscheid-Burdich. (Vita regularis. Editionen 7) Münster 2022 [in Druckvorbereitung].



## Aufmerksamkeit und Gebet in Roman, Gedicht und Lied

Dem Gebet im literarischen Kontext widmete sich Christian Schmidt (Hamburg). Es ging um schnelles und langsames Beten als Aufmerksamkeitslenkung in Heinrich Wittenwilers *Ring* und in der Frömmigkeitskultur des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. In der Auseinandersetzung mit einer in der Forschung kontrovers diskutierten Szene zwischen dem werbenden Protagonisten und dem zukünftigen Schwiegervater, worin der Bräutigam gängige Gebete als Zeichen für seine Ernsthaftigkeit auf-sagen soll, plädiert Schmidt für die Komik der Szene, die sich in deren Performanz und dem Dialog samt farblicher Markierung am Rande der Handschrift manifestiert. Indem der Protagonist die Gebete zu schnell ›herunterrasselt‹, was die Eile der Eheschließung spiegelt, bricht er die beispielsweise im *Großen Seelentrost* unter dem 3. Gebot entworfene Konvention, Gebete andächtig, das heißt mit gesammelter Aufmerksamkeit auf das zukünftige und vergangene Heil, emotional involviert und langsam zu sprechen. Inneres und äußeres Handeln fallen mit der Fokussierung auf den Schoß der Angebeteten auseinander. Thematisiert wird eine solche Inkongruenz auch in anderen Medien, vor allem im Bild, worin auf einen Blick falsches, aber auch richtiges Gebet darstellbar sind (Abb. 2). Diskutiert wurde im Anschluss die Frage des Settings des Gebetsvortrags.

Uta Störmer-Caysa (Mainz) eröffnete die Diskussion über lyrische Umsetzungen in der Volkssprache mit ihrem Beitrag über das mystische Gedicht *Von der tiefen minne* aus der Hs. I 221, fol. 48<sup>v</sup> der Mainzer Stadtbibliothek. Als Klosterprodukt ist das Gedicht geprägt von der Überregulierung und ständigen Selbstprüfung des monastischen Alltags. Unter Rückgriff auf Meister Eckharts Begriffe von Selbstkontrolle (*abegescheidenheit, läzen, huote, synderesis*) und das Vokabular bekannter Mystiker wie Heinrich Seuse und Johannes Tauler, fragt die Referentin nach den Arten und dem Stellenwert von Selbstbeobachtung und -steuerung im vorliegenden Gedicht. Im Gegensatz zu Eckhart findet darin keine Abstraktion des Ichs statt, sondern Seele und Sprecher-Ich entfremden sich gegen Ende des Gedichts. Gekoppelt werden in der aus der Liebe hervorgehenden Reflexion über Gott Selbsterkenntnis und *abegescheidenheit*, beschrieben in voluntativen syntaktischen Strukturen (*Ich wil...*). Dadurch, dass das Ich bis kurz vor der Unio die Kontrolle behält, begrenzt der Text die Radikalität Eckharts. Für diesen ist der letzte Schritt auf dem Weg zu Gott die Selbstkontrolle abzulegen, während im vorgestellten Gedicht die Abgrenzung von Seele und Ich stattfindet, wobei der Text im Vagen und Impliziten über die erneute Vereinigung bleibt. In der anschließenden Diskussion kristallisiert sich heraus, dass der Text mithilfe von Zeitebenen das Problem einer möglichen Unio im Diesseits umgeht, indem die Wiedervereinigung von Seele und Ich ins Jenseits verschoben wird. Jens Haustein erinnert in diesem Zusammenhang an die Ich-Dissoziation im Minnesang.

Die Diskussion vertiefte Agnes Rugel (C01) mit einer Lektüresitzung zum anonymen Lied *Wo ich hinker* aus dem Hohenfurter Liederbuch (Nr. 59), worin geistliche Texte zu Melodien mit weltlichem Bezug festgehalten wurden. Im vorgestellten

Lied klagt anfangs ein Ich, Gott antwortet und lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit des Ichs auf die Leidenden und dennoch Gläubigen (*Siech an...*), worauf das Ich um Gnade bittet. Mirko Breitenstein mahnte den wenig monastischen Impetus des Liedes an. Bereits Vers 3 *Kain lieb ich spüer noch frewntschaft mer* stehe dem Prinzip der Klostersgemeinschaft entgegen. Durch die präsentische Formulierung des Begnadens bleibt das Heilsgeschehen präsent, kann gleichzeitig aber auch futuristisch gelesen werden und auf das Modell der späten Reue vor dem Tod hinweisen. Zudem ist das Lied offen für Orientierungsangebote und bietet Identifikationsmöglichkeiten an. Fraglich bleibt, ob es zu einem Gesinnungswandel des sündigen Ichs kommt.

## Blicke und Bilder

Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati (München) eröffnete am nächsten Morgen eine weitere Perspektive auf das Thema der Aufmerksamkeit, indem Schauen als religiöse Praxis durch Bilder, die ›Spiegel der Vernunft‹ darstellen, vermittelt wird. Zwei Beispiele wurden im Workshop eingehender betrachtet: ein Einblattholzdruck von 1488 und ein Ölgemälde im Beinhaus St. Michael bei Oberägeri von 1677 (Abb. 3). In der Spannung von Schauen als religiöser Praxis, dem reflektierenden Spiegel und dem Bild als Praxis – da es als Medium weitere individuelle Bilder im Geiste des Betrachtenden evoziere und so der Betrachtende selbst zum Ort der Bilder werde – sind Aufmerksamkeitspraktiken zu finden. Semantisch kreist das visuelle Medium mit den integrierten Texten um Blicklenkungen, die zudem auf innere Prozesse verweisen. Beide Bilder stellen die christliche Kosmologie (Himmel, Erde, Hölle, Gericht) und im mittleren Teil ein Menschenleben dar. Die Diskussion drehte sich um die Frage, wie Text- und Bildelemente zusammenwirken und – in Anlehnung an die bereits erörterten Vorträge – ob beide verstanden werden müssen.

Einen Themenwechsel hin zu den Stimuli und Praktiken der Aufmerksamkeit in der Liturgie vollführte Benedikt Kranemann (Erfurt), der kleine Liturgiken des 19. Jahrhunderts vorstellte. Diese Texte verstehen sich selbst als »Leiter, Führer und Dolmetscher« für Teilnehmende am nicht aus sich heraus verständlichen Gottesdienst, die nicht selbst Handelnde der Liturgie sind, aber innerlich teilnehmen. Sie zielen auf die Intensivierung des Erlebens, die Disziplinierung und das Mitwirken in der Liturgie ab, damit sich deren Wirkung entfalten kann.<sup>3</sup> Die Aufmerksamkeit richtet sich dabei auf Gott, Klerus sowie Mitfeiernde, die unter Einbezug aller Sinne, verbal sowie nonverbal, innerlich sowie äußerlich gelenkt werden kann. Eben die kultischen Objekte und Handlungen erklären die Liturgiken, illustriert und dadurch verknüpft mit biblischen Szenen. So verbinden sie ebenfalls die innere und äußerliche Haltung, die dem Körper Bedeutungen einschreiben und ein Identifikationsangebot bieten. Gleichzeitig werden die

<sup>3</sup> Zu den Mitteln der Aufmerksamkeitslenkung sowie -intensivierung in der Messfeier zählen Glocken, Tafeln, Kruzifixe, Kerzenhalter, die Lichtführung im Raum, die blickführende Architektur, das Messgewand, die Gesten der Handelnden (wie das Hochheben der Konsekration) etc.





Abb. 3 *Speculum rationis*, Leinwand auf Holz, 1677,  
Beinhaus St. Michael, Oberägeri



Vigilanzsignale, deren aufmerksamkeitsstiftende aber auch ablenkende Wirkung nah beieinanderliegen, in einen zeitlichen Kontext eingebettet.

Saskia Dirkse (München) lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit neben den Text, auf die Paratexte am Blattrand, in ihrem Vortrag über metrische *Kephalaia* in byzantinischen Evangelienmanuskripten, die zuweilen den Evangelientext in ein heroisches Idiom übertragen. So kann der aufmerksame und gelehrte Leser das Vokabular Hesiods oder Rückgriffe auf Homers *Ilias* erkennen, das eine Verbindung zwischen den Evangelien und den großen antiken, mythischen Texten herstellt. Es handelt sich dabei weniger um eine Nachahmung früherer Texte als vielmehr um eine Archaisierung der griechischen Evangelien.

## Schreiben als Aufmerksamkeitspraxis

Im Zentrum der von Veronika Lütkenhaus (München) geleiteten Lektüresitzung steht die Aufmerksamkeitsaufrichtung des zu Gott Strebenden. Die Referentin lenkt den Blick auf Augustinus' Bearbeitung von Plotins *Enneade* I 6, der in den *Confessiones* mit dem verwandten Johannesprolog verglichen wird. Sowohl Plotins als auch Augustinus' Text thematisieren die eigene Aufmerksamkeit: Schon Plotin reflektiert den eigenen Erkenntnisprozess in *Enneade* I 6 und kommt in Kapitel 9 zu dem Schluss, dass die spirituelle Heimkehr durch eine vollkommene Ausrichtung auf das Innere ohne vermittelnde Instanz möglich ist. Augustinus überblendet diesen Prozess jedoch mit der gnadenhafte Hilfe Gottes, die unbedingt nötig für diese Form der Perfektion ist. Die vollkommene Ausrichtung aller Aufmerksamkeit rein auf Göttliches ist für ihn ein essenzieller Schritt, führt jedoch noch nicht aus sich heraus zu Gott.

Um das perfekte Ich dreht sich auch der Vortrag von Patrick Geiger (Teilprojekt A03), spezifischer um Selbsttexte des 18. Jahrhunderts, wie die Autobiographie *Personal Narrative* von Jonathan Edwards und Benjamin Franklins Autobiographie, die in sich eine Praxis der Aufmerksamkeit darstellen. Ihre didaktischen Fluchtpunkte sind die angestrebte Perfektion und grundsätzliche Sündhaftigkeit, die subjektiv durch Nachdenken und Sprechen über die Selbstverortung in der Welt umgesetzt werden. Besonders Edwards gibt Einblicke in sein spirituelles Selbstverständnis, indem er als Selbstzeuge seines persönlichen Weckerlebnisses auftritt.<sup>4</sup> An Stelle der bei Edwards notwendigen Gnade Gottes, tritt bei Franklin die gelebte Frömmigkeit. Allerdings ist dazu der unablässige Blick auf sich selbst und radikale Ehrlichkeit sich selbst gegenüber notwendig. Dazu zählt auch das rigorose Notieren eigener Sünden, was sein Denken in textlichen Kriterien offenbart: Das ganze Leben wird analog zur mittelalterlichen Gewissensmetaphorik als Buch gedacht.

## Resümee

Indem der Workshop den doppelten Fokus auf Semantiken und Praktiken von Aufmerksamkeit setzte und nach literarischen Inszenierungen und kulturspezifischen Realisierungen fragte, berücksichtigte er einen in der mediävistischen Frömmigkeitsforschung zu wenig betrachteten Zusammenhang. Die Referent:innen nutzten die offene Konzeptualisierung der Veranstalterinnen, indem sie die körperlichen, kognitiven sowie sozialen Dimensionen von Aufmerksamkeit im Frömmigkeitstheologischen Kontext untersuchten, einzelne Praktiken wie das Gebet in den Mittelpunkt stellten oder nach Lenkung, Evokation, Skalierung und Rhythmisierung von Aufmerksamkeit fragten. Die vielfältigen, interdisziplinären Vorträge mit ihren unterschiedlichen Zugängen und Überlegungen zu Aufmerksamkeit repräsentierten das Potenzial, das das Konzept der Vigilanz für die theologische sowie literaturwissenschaftliche Forschung birgt. Ebenso wie die multidimensionale Gestaltung des Programms haben sich das hybride Format des Workshops sowie die diskussionsanregenden Lektüresitzungen bewährt und den Workshop entscheidend bereichert.

<sup>4</sup> Für ihn sind Gewohnheiten, eingeübte Verhaltensmuster und Dogmen ein früher Schritt auf dem Heilsweg, die die vollkommene Aufmerksamkeit zwar vorbereiten, aber keine dauerhafte Sündenfreiheit herbeiführen. Die tatsächliche Erweckung findet als Vision Christi statt. Franklin hingegen schätzt die Macht der Gewohnheit anders ein. Sie stellt für ihn eine universale Aufmerksamkeitspraxis dar.

# Social Media Surveillance and Digital Vigilantism

The CRC workshop on »Social Media Surveillance & Digital Vigilantism«, held on 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> July 2022, took place amid bookcases and works of art at the Lyrik-Kabinett e.V. The event brought together leading scholars in the field so as to introduce participants to the various conceptual models of conventional vigilantism and its digital version in existence, as well as to illuminate surrounding issues relating to, amongst others, privacy, visibility, autonomisation/deputisation, moral gatekeeping and hate speech. It was organized and hosted by Professor Irene Götz and PhD student Alena Zelenskaia (both members of the subproject team B07) and support for the event was provided by Professor Eveline Dürr and Dr. Johnathan Alderman (B06).

The workshop's intense programme (<https://www.en.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/events/archive/online-surveillance/index.html>) was composed of two parts. The first day, during which the history and frameworks of (mediated) vigilantism were dealt with, consisted of three keynote lectures given by Dr. Daniel Trotter (Erasmus University Rotterdam), Dr. Gilles Favarel-Garrigues (Science-Po Paris) and Dr. Daniel Kunzelmann (University of Basel). The second day was dedicated to seeking nuances within the theory, methodology and ethics of (mediated) vigilantism by taking a closer look at three case studies in which concepts of online surveillance, vigilance, and digital vigilantism had been used. Dr. Avital Binah-Pollak (Technion Israel Institute of Technology), Alena Zelenskaia (LMU) and Carolin Luiprecht (LMU) presented the results of their research in Chinese-Israeli, Russian-German and US-Mexican contexts, respectively.

## Main Takeaways

In his presentation titled »Digital Vigilantism, Online Policing and Vigilante Show«, Gilles Favarel-Garrigues provided a brief account of the emergence and practice of vigilantism and emphasized the importance of case studies to strengthen theories relating to it, focusing on online vigilante shows in Russia. Using the Les Johnston's traditional definition, the workshop's participants were introduced to the main features of vigilantism and different manifestations of citizen policing initiatives in history and across cultures were discussed. While conducting field research in the U.S. it is important to keep in mind

that the term »vigilantism« in the States bears derogative connotations and has in the past been used to refer to groups of private citizens who had enforced the law and exercised power through lynch mob violence. Lynching is tightly connected to the social phenomenon of vigilantism, but is a distinct modus operandi, which deserves special consideration. Vigilante shows by the Russian groups discussed – »Lev Protiv«, »Stop Kham« and »Khryushi Protiv« (Piglets Against) – are not all punitive, although sometimes they carry out all stages of judicial proceedings. Vigilantes in modern Russia act as moral entrepreneurs and self-proclaimed rule enforcers, using social media to communicate, to reach large audiences and, in doing so, to generate profit. One of the most discussable features of Russian vigilante groups is autonomisation. These groups claim to uphold social order, but in the end effectively serve as a tool enabling the further consolidation of dominant social groups. »Whose security is considered?« and »whose interests are protected?« are questions that must be asked within this context and the participants also discussed whether vigilantism could serve progressive causes and whether social movements such as the #metoo movement could be regarded as vigilantism.

Territory adds another dimension to the practices of vigilante groups. Closeness to a given territory is important for community belonging. Vigilantes can »read« identities and are especially watchful when it comes to the Other. The history of vigilantism boasts examples in which Person A was able to stop an act of violence by claiming to know another Person B, thus vouching for their innocence, and in doing so stopping the lynching of Person B. Digital vigilantism is challenging due to the lack of spatial, social and temporal boundaries within online communication and so »context collapse« is typically the result of this. Frontiers between public and private spaces are also of no relevance. All this raises issues relating to responsibility, visibility, reputation, denunciation etc. all of which were dealt with in Daniel Trotter's lecture »Digital Media Visibility: Surveillance Practices and Grievance Media Platforms«.

By drawing on prominent and minor cases in Anglo-American and Dutch contexts, Trotter's presentation addressed the routinisation and legitimisation of mediated scrutiny and denunciation and disputes around these practices. Trotter outlined his models of social media surveillance and digital vigilantism. In his view, online spaces function as »attention



spaces” and produce shared vulnerability, making individuals, institutions, and businesses feel the need to remain vigilant both with regard to their own interests and to those of others. Digital vigilante groups or individuals use social networking sites to assert a particular social order by exposing, scrutinising, and evaluating offensive acts or crimes against society. They can, however, also enhance any harm caused and reproduce discriminative patterns. Thus, visibility can be used as a weapon to achieve justice. Digital media platforms “allow a global public to air grievances, enabling both accountability and abuse”. Practices of shaming, naming, doxing, cancel culture, stigmatisation, harassment, stalking, flagging – all represent what has been termed »digital vigilantism«.

Daniel Kunzelmann placed researchers within the group of »watchers« on social media and talked about the ethical and methodological issues of digital ethnography. His talk »The Vigilant Researcher?« highlighted some of the dilemmas that exist within this realm: What is the main methodological challenge when there are no clear boundaries between text and context, private and public, online and offline? How do media algorithms and social media infrastructure lead our scientific gaze? What is a personal blog – personal information, textual artifact, or culture product? What ethical issues should be considered when examining personal feeds on Facebook and Instagram?

The second day of the workshop provided participants with the time and space to reflect on three ethnographic examples. Alena Zelenskaia’s contribution »Are You Marrying Germany? Vigilance and Digital Vigilantism Among Russian-Speaking Users in a Facebook Group« critically examined entries and comments posted on marriages between German men and women from developing countries in one of the most popular Facebook groups of Russian-speaking migrants in Germany. The analysis showed that vigilant discourses on Facebook are interlinked with stereotypes at both micro- and macro-levels with regard to border regulations in Germany, and that the types of marriages mentioned above are often viewed as economically-driven migration strategies and the misuse of the institution of marriage.

In their joint presentation »Social Media Watchfulness and Healing for Justice in San Diego, USA« Carolin Luiprecht and Jonathan Alderman argued that, for a group of self-proclaimed witches in San Diego, social media functioned as a platform for self-empowerment, interaction, and also served as a tool of vigilance against oppression. Here, marginalized people use virtual denunciation and self-reflection to make triggers and perpetrators of trauma more visible. In the final talk, given by Avital Binah-Pollak and titled »Moral Gatekeeping of Chinese towards Chinese Transnational Students during the COVID-19 pandemic«, insight was provided into Chinese nationalistic sentiment towards Chinese living in Israel. During the 2020 pandemic, Chinese users of Sina Weibo targeted Chinese transnational students studying abroad regarding them as threats to Chinese national security. The digital involvement of Chinese nationals in tasks relating to the observation of others, and the mistrust and anxiety created, shows that China’s nationalist discourse has spread beyond its official state borders.

The day drew to a close with an hour-long discussion on social media denunciations within the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war. Some of the examples, collected and translated by Alena Zelenskaia, were not just denunciations, but rather »kill lists« of the kind that are typical for »death squads«. Others demonstrated symbolic and communicative value and teetered on the edge of »fake news«, albeit still functioning as a vital instrument in the ongoing information war between the two sides. Concluding the workshop, Irene Götz highlighted how the LMU Collaborative Research Centre’s notion of »vigilance« is framed within the culture of vigilantism, and, in particular, how it is integrated into the public policies that shape the practices of vigilante groups. Feedback on the workshop was very positive and the wide-ranging and varied contributions made by external experts were especially valued.

All presentations are available here: (<https://www.en.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/events/archive/online-surveillance/index.html>) or directly from Alena Zelenskaia: [a.zelenskaia@lmu.de](mailto:a.zelenskaia@lmu.de).



**Fig. 1**  
Daniel Kunzelmann, Gilles Favarel-Garrigues and Avital Binah-Pollak

**Fig. 2**  
Arndt Brendecke and Irene Götz

**Fig. 3**  
Alena Zelenskaia, Irene Götz and Avital Binah-Pollak

**Fig. 4**  
Gilles Favarel-Garrigues, Daniel Trottier and Daniel Kunzelmann

# Masterclass des Integrierten Graduierten- kollegs mit Eva Illouz

**A**m 21. und 22. Juli 2022 betrat die israelische Soziologin Eva Illouz das virtuelle ›Klassenzimmer‹ des Sonderforschungsbereichs. Im Rahmen einer Masterclass des Integrierten Graduiertenkollegs organisierten die Doktorand:innen Loredana Filip (A05), Sébastien Demichel (B04), *Poppy* Tushingam (B01) und Alena Zelenskaia (B07) einen Vortrag und einen Workshop mit der Professorin.

In ihren umfangreichen Werken, die in 18 Sprachen übersetzt wurden, thematisiert Eva Illouz die Einflüsse des Konsumkapitalismus auf die Produktion und Transformationen von Emotionen sowie die Rolle der Massenmedien in romantischen Beziehungen, der Partnerwahl und dem Individualismus. Liebe, insbesondere in gescheiterten Liebesbeziehungen, und Leiden in der Liebe dienen als wichtigste Ausgangspunkte für



Abb. 1  
Eva Illouz



Illouz' soziologische und historische Analyse. Ihre bedeutungsvollsten Publikationen sind *Gefühle in Zeiten des Kapitalismus* (2007), *Warum Liebe weh tut. Eine soziologische Erklärung* (2012), *Wa(h)re Gefühle. Authentizität im Konsumkapitalismus* (2018), *Warum Liebe endet. Eine Soziologie negativer Beziehungen* (2018) und *Das Glücksdiktat und wie es unser Leben beherrscht* (2019).

Als Professorin für Soziologie an der Hebräischen Universität Jerusalem, Studiendirektorin an der École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris wurde sie mit verschiedenen Preisen, unter anderem mit der prestigeträchtigen Albertus-Magnus-Professur der Universität Köln, ausgezeichnet. Die SFB-Mitglieder bekamen die Gelegenheit, virtuell an einer Lektüresitzung und einem offenen Gespräch mit der Professorin teilzunehmen.

Im Vortrag »From real threats to social control: Fear and the Case of Israel« stand die Sicherheit des von Feinden umgebenen und stark militarisierten Staates Israels im Fokus. In ihrer scharfsinnigen Untersuchung begründete Eva Illouz die überragende Bedeutung von Sicherheit für die israelische Gesellschaft mit dem kollektiven Trauma des Holocausts und der geographischen Lage des Landes. Diese Konstellation führte zu großem Misstrauen, zu einem Gefühl der Furcht sowie zur Diskriminierung der arabischen Israeli und einer Politik der ethnischen Exklusivität. Anhand aktueller Nachrichten aus Israel und persönlicher Erfahrungen zeigte Eva Illouz wie Furcht während Netanjahus Regierungszeit »demokratisiert« und zu einer der Hauptemotionen wurde, aus denen sich das Selbstbewusstsein der Israelis ableitet.

Am darauffolgenden Tag leitete Eva Illouz für einen kleineren Kreis von SFB-Doktorand:innen einen Workshop zum

Thema »Emotionen und Kapitalismus«. Für die zweistündige Diskussion wurden Kapitel aus zwei Werken gewählt: *Emotions as Commodities* (2018) und *Manufacturing Happy Citizens* (2018). Von der Kontrolle des Assyrischen Reichs, über die Pest-Epidemie in Frankreich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert bis hin zum Grenzregime im modernen Europa konnten die Teilnehmenden auf Grundlage der Publikationen von Eva Illouz ihr Wissen erweitern. Kann man moderne Modelle der Selbstoptimierung im Kapitalismus auf religiöse Praktiken der Vormoderne anwenden? Welche Rolle spielen Apps wie Happifi, die Emotionen von Menschen in Echtzeit verwalten, bei der Entmachtung/Deresponsibilisierung von Personen, die zu Objekten massiver Überwachung werden? Ist es möglich, das Phänomen »Angst« politisch oder gesellschaftlich zu kontrollieren? Die Antworten auf diese und viele andere Fragen inspirierten die Doktorand:innen hinsichtlich der eigenen Forschungsprojekte.

# Kurze Nachrichten

- Eda Güclü, ehemalige Mitarbeiterin des Teilprojekts B05, wechselte im Juli 2022 als akademische Koordinatorin an das Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies an der Central European University in Wien.
- Yasir Islam Kaplan ist seit August 2022 neuer wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter im Teilprojekt B05.
- Francesca Mezzenzana und Hannes Ziegler sind seit Oktober 2022 neue Mitglieder des Sonderforschungsbereichs.

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<https://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/newsletter/newsletter/index.html>

# *History Club*

## ›Vigilanzkulturen‹

### Private Aufmerksamkeit in Geschichte und Gegenwart

**A**ls im April 2021 Schüler:innen, ausgewählt aus den 9. und 10. Klassen der Gymnasien »Oberbayerns Ost«, so die ministeriale Bezeichnung des geographischen Einzugsbereichs, zusammentrafen, stand der *History Club* im Zeichen der Pandemie. Die der Veranstaltung zugrundeliegende Idee, dass Geschichtsinteressierte in Kontakt mit universitärer Forschung kommen sollen, schien so gleich von Beginn nicht selbstverständlich. Trotzdem gelang es im Laufe der folgenden beiden Semester, dass es dank des Engagements der eingeladenen Gäste und des unermüdlichen Interesses der Schüler:innen zu spannenden und fruchtbaren Diskussionen kommen konnte.

Der *History Club* ist ein besonderes Angebot, das die Freude und das Interesse für Geschichte als gemeinsames Band zwischen Schule und Universität nutzt. Inhaltlich ging es in der zweiteiligen Veranstaltung um das Thema, zu dem der Sonderforschungsbereich ›Vigilanzkulturen‹ arbeitet. Der Vorteil war, dass man nicht nur historisch arbeitende Wissenschaftler:innen in den *History Club* einbinden konnte, sondern auch solche, die den Fachbereichen der Literatur-, Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaften und Ethnologie angehören.

Aber war die Thematik ›Vigilanz‹ wirklich für einen Kurs mit noch recht jungen Schüler:innen geeignet? Das Forschungskonzept stellt ja eher eine komplexe Heuristik dar, mit der moderne Kulturwissenschaft versucht, bestimmte Phänomene der Aufmerksamkeit, Wachsamkeit und Kontrolle als Funktionen historischer und gegenwärtiger Gesellschaften zu deuten. Erwarteten wir nicht zu viel, wenn wir gleich in schwierige Forschungsdebatten einführten, die zumal oft sehr voraussetzungsreich waren und selbst fortgeschrittenen Studierenden zuweilen Verständnisprobleme bereiten?

Schnell stellte sich heraus, dass diese Befürchtungen unangebracht waren. Nicht nur wir als Veranstalter, sondern auch die Gäste, die als Expert:innen in ihre jeweiligen Forschungen einführten, waren beeindruckt, wie schnell eine Tiefe des Verständnisses und der Diskussionen über die Untersuchungsgegenstände erreicht wurde. Anstatt sich mit einer oberflächlichen Einführung in die Materie zufriedenzugeben, gelang es immer wieder, die ambivalenten Deutungspotenziale und auch die auf den ersten Blick verborgenen Dimensionen von Vigilanzphänomenen offenzulegen.

Den Aufschlag der Diskussion machte Alexander Zons, Filmwissenschaftler und Geschäftsführer des Sonderforschungsbereichs, der über Hitchcocks REAR WINDOW im *History Club* sprach. Hitchcocks Gebrauch von Vigilanzinstrumenten, wie der Kamera, warf gleich die Diskussion über die doppelte Beobachtersituation auf der Leinwand und dem Zuschauerraum auf. Dieses Thema der unterschiedlichen Analyseebenen kehrte dann wie ein Leitmotiv immer wieder zurück, so in der Straßenfotografie, die Zeitgenossen um 1900 als neues Medium gleich die Vorstellung des Beobachtetwerdens direkt als Problem vor Augen führte.

Auch das Wintersemester, das einige neue Teilnehmer:innen begrüßen durfte, war weiterhin von der Vorstellung unterschiedlicher Ebenen oder Fassaden in räumlichen Vigilanzsituationen geprägt. Bei Hofe, auf der Theaterbühne, in der Beichte, im Kloster... All diese Räume erhielten auch eine Gegenwartsrelevanz, wenn Schüler:innen auf eigene Lebenssituationen reflektierten, etwa in öffentlichen Räumen, der Einschätzung von Gefahren und wie man mit Verdachtsmomenten umgehen muss. Interessant waren die Antworten auf die Frage, wie man etwa im Falle einer Zeugenschaft agiert, wo



die Notwendigkeit einer Meldung im Sinne einer Anzeige gegeben ist und wann sie als Denunziation problematisch werden kann. Hier zeigte sich eine Differenzierungsfähigkeit, die nicht hinnahm, einfache Regeln für komplexe gesellschaftliche Probleme zu finden, sondern einen angemessenen Reflexionsgrad hinsichtlich der unterschiedlichen Kontexte anzustreben.

Selbsttechniken, wie sie etwa von Loredana Filip, Patrick Geiger oder Vitus Huber vorgestellt wurden, stellten Vigilanzpraktiken in Hinsicht auf das eigene Innenleben dar. Auch hier konnte ein historisches Alteritätsbewusstsein eine neue Perspektive auf den heutigen Umgang mit dem eigenen Körper, seine Individualität und Religiosität genutzt werden. Gesellschaftliche Probleme mit Vigilanz erscheinen daher nur als eine Seite derselben Medaille, indem sich viele soziale und politische Funktionen auch auf einer subjektiven Ebene nachweisen lassen.

Insgesamt schaffte die Begegnung der forschenden Gemeinschaft mit der Schülerschaft nicht nur eine Lehrsituation, in der die Schüler:innen eine passive Rolle einnahmen. Vielmehr waren gerade die Forscher:innen vor die Herausforderung gestellt, ihren Gegenstand so eindeutig und klar herauszuarbeiten, dass er auch ohne breite Voraussetzungen zu verstehen war. Das gelang erstaunlicherweise in jeder Sitzung und resultierte auch für die Forschenden in einer Erfahrung, die sich fruchtbar auf den weiteren Verlauf des eigenen Projekts auswirken sollte.

Ein Treffen in Präsenz am Ende des Sommersemesters in der Großen Aula der LMU führte die Bedeutung des Raumes für die gegenseitige sinnliche Wahrnehmung eindrucksvoll vor Augen. Wie in einem Panoptikum konnten die geladenen Eltern der Schüler:innen das Geschehen der letzten Sitzung von der Empore miterleben. Gleichzeitig beachteten alle Teilnehmer:innen die Abstandsregeln, die auch durch die Tischordnung vorgegeben war. Zuletzt aber entspannte sich später das Zusammensein beim gemeinsamen Eisessen. Wie schön diese Begegnung war, konnte man auch in den ersten Wochen des Wintersemesters erleben, als sich der *History Club* in den Räumen des Historicums noch ein paar Mal treffen konnte. Später zurück auf Zoom konnte man sich mittlerweile gut und konnte das Gespräch untereinander auch abseits der Veranstaltungsreihe weiterführen. Der *History Club* hat so ein neues Forum des Austauschs zwischen geschichtsbegeisterten Schüler:innen geschaffen, das weiter Fortsetzung in unterschiedlichen Formen findet. Im Rahmen des SFBs ist eine Reihe von Blogbeiträgen entstanden, in denen Teilnehmerinnen von ihren Eindrücken und Überlegungen, die die Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte der Vigilanzkulturen angeregt haben, berichten. Die Beiträge legen ein eindruckliches Zeugnis des weit gereiften Reflexionspotentials der Schüler:innen ab. Ferner gab es die Gelegenheit eines persönlichen Wiedersehens ein knappes halbes Jahr später, als viele Teilnehmer:innen des *History Club* einer Einladung des Vorsitzenden des Kuratoriums des Historischen Kollegs zu einer Festveranstaltung in der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften folgten. Anlass war die Verleihung des Preises des Historischen Kollegs an den Zeithistoriker Michael Wildt mit einer anschließenden Podiumsdiskussion über sein Buch *Zerborstene Zeit*.

*Deutsche Geschichte 1918–1945*. Hier und beim anschließenden Festempfang zeigte sich, wie inspirierend die Zusammenkunft von Jung und Alt in diesem würdigen Rahmen für beide Seiten war.

## Sommersemester 2021

1. Sitzung: Eröffnungsveranstaltung
2. Sitzung: Film. Das Fenster zum Hof (REAR WINDOW), Alfred Hitchcock, USA 1954 (Alexander Zons)
3. Sitzung: Überwachung an der Grenze zwischen Mexiko und der USA (Eveline Dürr)
4. Sitzung: »Wenn jemand nur etwas gesagt hätte...«  
Denunziation um Verbrechen zu verhindern (Felix Grollmann)
5. Sitzung: Inquisition. Das Recht auf Anonymität vor Gericht (Arndt Brendecke)
6. Sitzung: Selbsttechniken I. Das Tagebuchs Schreiben als Spiegel seiner selbst (Patrick Geiger)
7. Sitzung: Selbsttechniken II. »Schütte dein Herz aus!«  
Bekenntnisse vor laufender Kamera (Loredana Filip)
8. Sitzung: Privatheit I. Kodak No. 1. Straßenfotographie und die Debatte um Privatsphäre. (USA, 19. Jh.) (Benjamin Steiner)
9. Sitzung: Privatheit II. Film: PLEASANTVILLE
10. Sitzung: Der beobachtende Teufel. Mittelalterliche Erzählungen zur Wachsamkeit (Michael Waltenberger)
11. Sitzung: Abschlussdiskussion der ersten Hälfte

## Wintersemester 2021/22

1. Sitzung: Einführung
2. Sitzung: Soziale Kontrolle. Gegenseitige Beobachtung in der höfischen Gesellschaft (Benjamin Steiner)
3. Sitzung: Mechanismen assyrischer Macht. Vigilanzstrategien und imperiale Kohäsion vom Mittelmeer bis zum Iran. (9.–7. Jh. v. Chr.) (Karen Radner)
4. Sitzung: Whistleblowing. Zivilcourage oder Verrat? (Elke Wienhausen-Knezevic)
5. Sitzung: Wachsamkeit und Kontrolle im mittelalterlichen Kloster (Julia Burkhardt)
6. Sitzung: Die Beichte. Literatur und Theologie (Agnes Rugel und Magdalena Butz)
7. Sitzung: Selbstoptimierung (Vitus Huber)
8. Sitzung: Fastenpraktiken und Religion (Iryna Klymenko/Kilian Harrer)
9. Sitzung: Der Spiegel. Eine Vigilanzmetapher bei William Shakespeare (Tobias Döring)
10. Sitzung: Pest in der Stadt (Brendan Röder)
11. Sitzung: Islam und Wachsamkeit (Eda Güclü)
12. Sitzung: Küstenwache und Schmuggel (Hannes Ziegler)
13. Abschlussitzung

# Veranstaltungen

Nähere Informationen zu den Veranstaltungen des Sonderforschungsbereichs sind im Internet abrufbar: <https://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/veranstaltungen/index.html>

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## Veranstaltungsrückschau

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### Gastvorträge

**Dr. Martyn Wemyss (Goldsmiths, University of London) (in Kooperation mit dem Institut für Ethnologie)**  
*Cultures and Subjectivities of Vigilance across Legal Worlds in Highland Bolivia*  
19. Mai 2022

**Prof. Dr. Niklaus Largier (UC Berkeley)**  
*Mit Auerbach Lesen*  
30. Mai 2022

**Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heyde (GWZO Leipzig)**  
*Diversität in der Vormoderne – Forschungsansätze und Diskussion*  
1. Juli 2022

**Prof. Dr. Eva Illouz (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)**  
*From real threats to social control. Fear and the Case of Israel*  
21. Juli 2022

**Prof. Dr. Almut Suerbaum (University of Oxford)**  
*Alternative aesthetics and collective authorship. Medieval German religious song*  
25. Oktober 2022

### Vorträge von Mitgliedern des SFB

**Prof. Dr. Arndt Brendecke (Sprecher des SFBs) im Gespräch mit Prof. Dr. Sebastian Watzl (Oslo) im Gespräch über die philosophische, ethische und ökonomische Bewertung der Aufmerksamkeit**  
*SFB-Dialog: Wohin mit der Aufmerksamkeit?*  
19. Mai 2022

**Dr. Christiane Brenner (Teilprojekt C07)**  
*Online roundtable. Prostitution in twentieth century Europe*  
23. Mai 2022

**Dr. Christiane Brenner (Teilprojekt C07)**  
*Scharf überwachter Sex? Prostitution in der sozialistischen Tschechoslowakei*  
8. Juni 2022

**Agnes Rugel (Teilprojekt C01)**  
*Vigilant Throughout the Night. The Watchman in Medieval Spiritual Poetry*  
10. Juni 2022

**Dr. Kateryna Yermieieva (SFB-Stipendiatin)**  
*»I shouldn't have laughed, but I couldn't resist«. Black humour and the war in Ukraine*  
13. Juni 2022

**Dr. Brendan Röder (Teilprojekt B03)**  
*Controlling emotions and the senses during epidemics in early modern Germany*  
28. Juni 2022

**Dr. Kateryna Yermieieva (SFB-Stipendiatin)**  
*The black humour of wartime*  
21. Juli 2022

**Dr. Iryna Klymenko (SFB-Mitglied)**  
*Food and Fasting. Between Religion, Medicine, and Society in Judaism*  
28. Juli 2022

**Dr. Iryna Klymenko (SFB-Mitglied)**  
*Rechtlicher Umgang mit gesellschaftlicher Diversität in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt in Zeiten religiöser Umwälzungen. Der Fall von L'viv um 1600*  
6. September 2022

**Benedetta Chizzolini (Teilprojekt C02)**  
*Hygienic and Sanitary Issues on Early Modern Papal Galleys, 16th–17th centuries*  
21. September 2022

**Dr. Brendan Röder (Teilprojekt B03)**  
*Gestank und Gefahr im frühneuzeitlichen Augsburg*  
21. September 2022

**Dr. Christiane Brenner (Teilprojekt C07)**  
*Neue Geschlechtergerechtigkeit? Prostitution vor Gericht in der Tschechoslowakei der 1950er Jahre*  
22. September 2022



**Prof. Dr. Eveline Dürr**  
(Teilprojekt B06)  
*Stay trucha, be watchful! Unsettling the US-Mexican borderlands*  
12. November 2022

**Dr. Brendan Röder**  
(Teilprojekt B03)  
*Sinnliche Wahrnehmung und bürgerliche Wachsamkeit in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*  
22. November 2022

**Sébastien Demichel**  
(Teilprojekt B04)  
*La vigilance en temps d'épidémie. L'exemple de la peste de Marseille de 1720–1722*  
24. November 2022

**Benedetta Chizzolini**  
(Teilprojekt C02)  
*Circa il peccato aborrito dalle bestie. Rappresentazioni, discorsi e strategie punitive nelle galere pontificie (secoli XVI–XVIII)*  
7. Dezember 2022

## Veranstaltungen des Integrierten Graduiertenkollegs

Workshop »Karrierewege in und außerhalb der Wissenschaft« mit Dr. Neela Enke  
9.–10. Juni 2022

Masterclass »Emotionen und Kapitalismus« mit Prof. Eva Illouz  
22. Juli 2022

## Workshops/Tagungen

**Tagung in Kooperation mit dem SFB**  
*The Bright Side of Night. Nocturnal Activities in Medieval and Early Modern Times*  
10.–11. Juni 2022

**Workshop des Teilprojekts B05**  
*The Spatial and Sensory Dimensions of Sufism*  
16.–18. Juni 2022

**Workshop mit Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Leach (Faculty of Music, University of Oxford) und Prof. Dr. Almut Suerbaum (Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford) organisiert von Agnes Rugel (Teilprojekt C01)**  
*Melodische und textliche Verfahren im Hohenfurter Liederbuch*  
1. Juli 2022

**Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heyde (GWZO Leipzig)**  
*Diversität in der Vormoderne – Forschungsansätze und Diskussion*  
1. Juli 2022

**Workshop mitorganisiert von Hannah Michel (Teilprojekt A02)**  
*Workshop »Trickster: Auf den Kopf gestellt. Interdisziplinäre Betrachtung der Trickster-Figur.*  
2.–3. Juli 2022

**Workshop organisiert von den Teilprojekten B07, B06 und A06**  
*Online Surveillance and Digital Vigilantism*  
11.–12. Juli 2022

**Workshop vom Teilprojekt B06 in Kooperation mit dem Teilprojekt B07**  
*Borderland Vigilance. Re-conceptualising borders in comparative perspective*  
19.–20. Juli 2022

**Oberseminarsitzung der Teilprojekte C01 und A02 mit Prof. Dr. Horst Brunner (Würzburg)**  
*Einführung in die einstimmige Musik des deutschen Mittelalters*  
21. Juli 2022

**Interner Vortrag mit Christiane Bayer**  
*Praxisworkshop zur digitalen Sichtbarkeit von Forschungsarbeit*  
6. September 2022

**Interner Workshop**  
*Workshop »Academic English Writing«*  
20. September 2022

**Interner Workshop mit Almut Suerbaum**  
*Sitzung der AG »Aufmerksamkeit & Ablenkung«*  
26. Oktober 2022

**SFB-Jahrestagung**  
*Politics of Vigilance*  
27.–28. Oktober 2022

**Collegium Carolinum in Kooperation mit dem SFB**  
*The Watchful Society. Sexuality, Society, and Vigilance in East-Central and Southeast Europe 1945–1989*  
17.–20. November 2022

**Workshop des Teilprojekts C02**  
*Inspecting the Human Body. Vigilance, Sexuality and Otherness in Early Modernity*  
12.–13. Dezember 2023

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## Veranstaltungsvorschau

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**Workshop des Teilprojekts B04**  
*La sécurisation des côtes méditerranéennes (France/Corse, Gênes), circa 1650–1800*  
18. Februar 2023

**Workshop des Integrierten Graduiertenkollegs**  
*Sprungbrett Forschung! Akademische Karriere und Bewerben auf Postdoc-Stellen mit Dr. Dieta Kuchenbrandt*  
3.–4. April 2023

**Panel des Teilprojekts B06 auf der NACCS Conference**  
*Being trucha in the borderlands: Watchful lives in times of COVID-19*  
30. März 2023

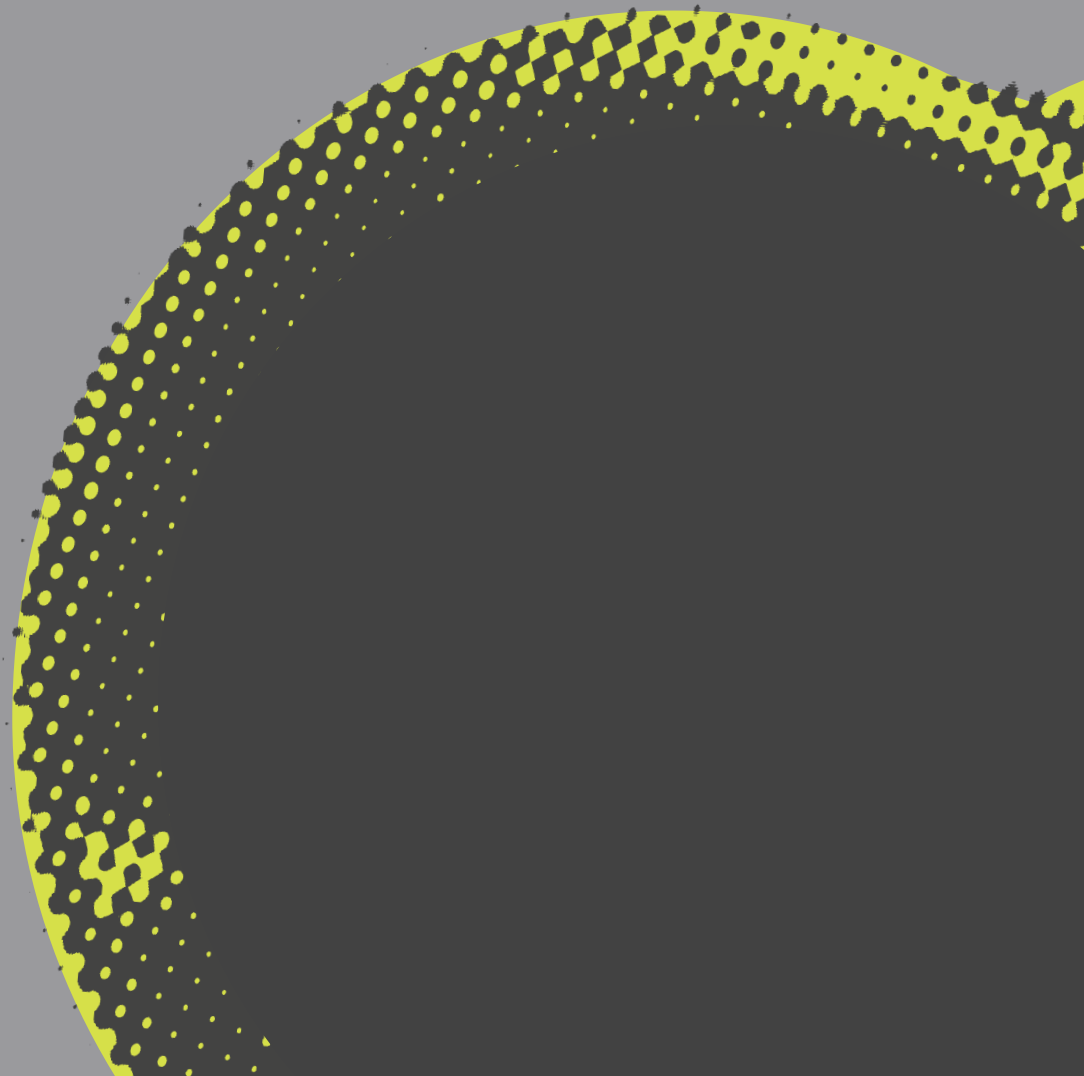
**Vortrag von Dr. Brendan Röder**  
*Sensing Danger. Sinne und Wachsamkeit in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*  
15. Mai 2023

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Vigilanz  
Kulturen  
SFB 1369

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[www.vigilanz.hypotheses.org](http://www.vigilanz.hypotheses.org)







# Neue Publikationen des SFB 1369

Die aktuelle Übersicht der Publikationen des Sonderforschungsbereichs finden Sie auch im Internet unter <https://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/publikationen/publikationsliste/index.html>

- Alderman, Jonathan/Whittaker, Catherine: A Bridge that Divides: Hostile Infrastructures, Coloniality and Watchfulness in San Diego, California. In: *Sociologus Journal for Social Anthropology*. Volume 71/2 (2021), S. 153–174.
- Bockman, Jörn/Martin, Alena/Michel, Hannah/Struwe-Rohr, Carolin/Waltenberger, Michael (Hrsg.): *Diabolische Vigilanz. Zur Inszenierung von Wachsamkeit in Teufelserzählungen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022.
- Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022.
- Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne: *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit. Eine Einleitung*. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 1–12.
- Brendecke, Arndt: Wachsame Arrangements. Zeitverläufe von Vigilanz in ethologischer, psychologischer und geisteswissenschaftlicher Forschung. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 13–36.
- Brenner, Christiane: Konjunkturen der Wachsamkeit. Kampagnen gegen Prostitution in der sozialistischen Tschechoslowakei. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 157–178.
- Butz, Magdalena: Oswald von Wolkenstein: »Mein sünd und schuld, eu, priester, klag« (KL 39) im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Beichtliteratur. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft 141* (2022), S. 53–80.
- Butz, Magdalena/Kellner, Beate/Reichlin, Susanne/Rugel, Agnes (Hrsg.): Sündenerkenntnis, Reue und Beichte. Konstellationen der Selbstbeobachtung und Fremdbeobachtung in der mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Literatur. In: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie Sonderheft 141* (2022).
- Butz, Magdalena/Kellner, Beate: Sündenerkenntnis und Heilsgewinn. Heinrichs von Langenstein »Erchantnuzz der sund« und Stephans von Landskron »Hymelstrasz« vor dem Hintergrund der mittelalterlichen Beichtsummen. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft 141* (2022), S. 151–194.
- Döring, Tobias: Uneasy heads. Shakespeares schlafende Herrscher. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 103–131.
- Dürr, Eveline/Ivasiuc, Ana/Whittaker, Catherine (Hrsg.): The Power and Productivity of Vigilance Regimes. In: *Social Conflict. Advances in Research* 8/1 (2022), S. 57–171.
- Dürr, Eveline/Ivasiuc, Ana/Whittaker, Catherine (Introduction): The Power and Productivity of Vigilance Regimes. In: *Social Conflict. Advances in Research* 8/1 (2022), S. 57–72.
- Dürr, Eveline/Whittaker, Catherine: Vigilance, Knowledge, and De/colonization: Protesting While Latin@ in the US-Mexico Borderlands. In: *Social Conflict. Advances in Research* 8/1 (2022), S. 156–171.
- Dürr, Eveline/Whittaker, Catherine: Wachsamkeit als Alltagspraxis. Dekolonisierung von Zeit und Raum im Chicano Park in San Diego, Kalifornien. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 179–210.
- Fingerle, Maddalena: *Lascivia mascherata. Allegoria e travestimento in Torquato Tasso e Giovan Battista Marino*. Berlin/Boston 2022.
- Harju, Bärbel: *Vigilanz, Privatheit und Whiteness in Suburbia*. Hannover 2023.
- Heberling, Carolina: Schöne, neue, sichere Welt? In: *Vigilanzkulturen*, 09/08/2022, <https://vigilanz.hypotheses.org/3554>.
- Kanthak, Sabrina: Kunst – Inklusion – Vigilanz. Interview mit Jana Zöll. In: *Vigilanzkulturen*, 15/03/2022, <https://vigilanz.hypotheses.org/2829>.
- Kellner Beate/Reichlin, Susanne: Eine Einleitung. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft 141* (2022), S. 1–50.
- Kellner, Beate: Erforschung der Seele. Anleitung zur Beichte und Buße in einem volkssprachlichen Seelenratgeber des späten Mittelalters. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft 141* (2022), S. 195–228.
- Kölbel, Ralf/Herold, Nico: Whistleblowing und das Geheimwissen des Staates. In: *Goldammer's Archiv für Strafrecht* 169 (2022), S. 377–392.
- Reichlin, Susanne: Wunderbare Sichtbarkeit. Transformationen eines Altväter-Exempels. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft 141* (2022), S. 121–148.
- Reichlin, Susanne: Wachen und Warten. Erwartungsstrukturen in der Oberaltaicher Adventspredigt Nr. 5. In: Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 37–60.



- Röder, Brendan: Sensorische Wahrnehmung und Raumnutzung im Kontext frühneuzeitlicher Stadtbrände. In: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 33 (2022), S. 12–34.
- Rugel, Agnes: Von *jm ich nymmer schaide*. Zur Bekehrung des *grossen sünders* im Hohenfurter Liederbuch. In: *ZfdPh Sonderheft* 141 (2022), S. 305–325.
- Sadan, Ron: The Owl and the Duck: On Failures of Vigilance. In: *Vigilanzkulturen*, 11/05/2022, <https://vigilanz.hypotheses.org/3185>.
- Struwe-Rohr, Carolin/Waltenberger, Michael: Einleitung. In: Bockmann, Jörn/u.a. (Hrsg.): In: *Diabolische Vigilanz. Zur Inszenierung von Wachsamkeit in Teufelserzählungen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022, S. 1–13.
- Struwe-Rohr, Carolin: Blinde Flecken – Zur Problematik übersteigerter Vigilanz in Hans Rosenplüts »Die Tinte«. In: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 141/3 (2022), S. 399–415.

# Working Papers



## Working Paper 02/2021

**Arbeitsgruppe »Responsibilisierung«**  
 (Kölbel, Ralf/Demichel, Sébastien/Förg, Katharina-Luise/  
 Gadebusch Bondio, Mariacarla/Grollmann, Felix/Hengerer, Mark/  
 Lepsius, Susanne/Radner, Karen/Tushingham, Poppy/  
 Wienhausen-Knezevic, Elke) (Hrsg.):

**Responsibilisierung.**

**Working Paper des SFB 1369 »Vigilanzkulturen« 2 (2021).**

**DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.76223>**

**Online-ISSN: 2699-9242**

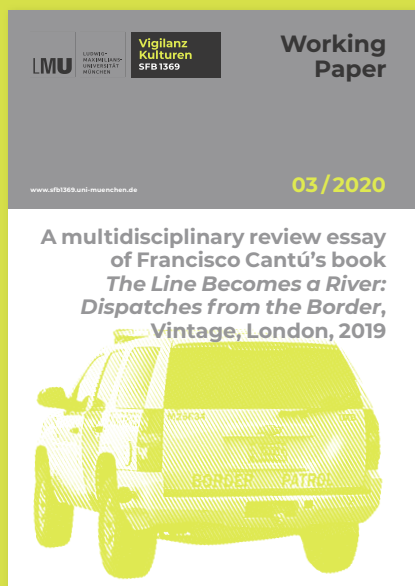
Eine der zentralen, projektübergreifend zu verfolgenden Aufgaben des Sonderforschungsbereich 1369 »Vigilanzkulturen« besteht darin, zu klären, wie man die Responsibilisierung von Akteuren theoretisch fassen kann und zu klären, wie sie kulturell geleitet und historisch veränderlich ist. Mit diesem Working Paper stellt die Arbeitsgruppe »Responsibilisierung« erste Ergebnisse zur Debatte. Sie bietet ein terminologisches beziehungsweise definitorisches Rahmenkonzept an, das helfen soll, die verschiedenen Formen der Verantwortungsübertragung zu unterscheiden und vergleichend zu diskutieren.



## Working Paper 01/2021

**Gadebusch Bondio, Mariacarla/Förg, Katharina-Luise (Hrsg.):**  
***Tierische Symbole und Embleme ärztlicher Vigilanz.***  
**Working Paper des SFB 1369 ›Vigilanzkulturen‹ 1 (2021).**  
**DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.75410>**  
**Online-ISSN: 2699-9242**

In einem interdisziplinären Workshop des Teilprojekts C02 im Dezember 2019 gingen die Teilnehmer:innen aus Medizin-, Philosophie-, Kunstgeschichte und Altphilologie den Entwicklungslinien der Vigilanzsymbolik in der vormodernen Medizin nach. Den Ausgangspunkt bildete der alerte Hahn, der eng mit dem Werk des deutschen Chirurgen Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden (1560–1634) verbunden ist. Überlegungen und Vergleiche zur Metaphorik der Wachsamkeit in der vormodernen Medizin und in ihrer starken Hinwendung zur Antike standen im Fokus der Veranstaltung. Die im vorliegenden Working Paper gesammelten Beiträge diskutieren das Verhältnis der (Äskulap-)Schlange und des Hahns als weiteres Tiersymbol des Arztes bis hin zur Rolle des antiken Motivs der Hahn-Opfer an Asklepios nach erfolgreicher Genesung.

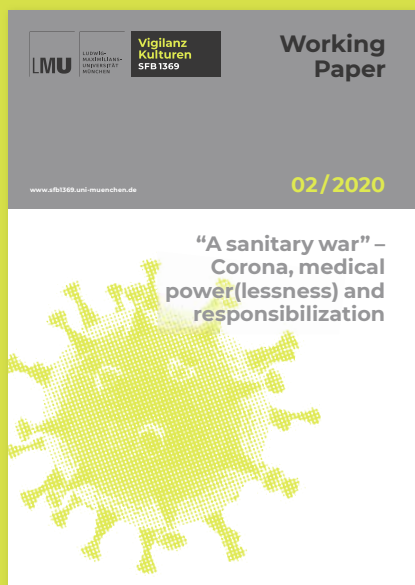


## Working Paper 03/2020

**Dürr, Eveline/Whittaker, Catherine (Eds.):**  
***A multidisciplinary review essay of Francisco Cantú's book***  
**›The Line Becomes a River: Dispatches from the Border‹,**  
**Vintage, London, 2019.**  
**Working Paper des SFB 1369 ›Vigilanzkulturen‹ 3 (2020).**  
**DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.73579>**  
**Online-ISSN: 2699-9242**

What makes this review essay on Francisco Cantú's bestselling book on the US-Mexican border regimes uniquely thought-provoking – and, in equal measure, challenging – is the diversity of the disciplines involved and their relationship to the subject matter. Our working group's aim has been to analyze notions of ›subjectivation‹, that is, the process of becoming a subject in relation to practices of vigilance. Thus, our working group explored what different disciplines can gain from reflecting on and analyzing the same text and which aspects of it they consider particularly relevant to ongoing debates on vigilance and subjectivation. What kind of subtexts are brought to light by these divergent readings and what aspects do some disciplines stress that others would not have noticed in such detail?





## Working Paper 02/2020

Gadebusch Bondio, Mariacarla/Söderfeldt, Ylva:  
*»A sanitary war«. Corona, medical power(lessness) and responsabilization.*

*Working Paper des SFB 1369 »Vigilanzkulturen« 2 (2020)*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.71985>

Online-ISSN: 2699-9242

In this working paper the authors offer a review of the first medical and political reactions to the COVID-19 pandemic. Addresses to their nations made by political representatives of four European countries (Sweden, Italy, France and Germany), all of which were affected by the novel coronavirus at different times and with different severity levels, form the foundation of our study. How these addresses serve to legitimize restrictions to freedom and appeal to the sense of responsibility of citizens, reveals contrasting ways of controlling bodies in the interest of preserving health. Crucially, public health concerns are at the center of both types of pandemic control. Here, past promises of an allpowerful medical field, equipped to overcome any ailment and to reshape human life, clash with a reality in which the medical world in turn is reliant upon political and social dynamics.



## Working Paper 01/2020

Köbel, Ralf u. a.:

*Zur anstehenden Regulierung von Whistleblowing in Deutschland.*  
*Working Paper des SFB 1369 »Vigilanzkulturen« 1 (2020).*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/epub.70684>

Online-ISSN: 2699-9242

Durch das Wirksamwerden der Europäischen Richtlinie 2019/1937 (EU) des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates vom 23. Oktober 2019 kann sich die hiesige Rechtspolitik den durchaus vielgestaltigen Problemen, die sich beim Whistleblowing und dessen Rahmensetzung ergeben nicht länger entziehen. War es ihr bislang möglich, sich einer rechtlichen Ausgestaltung der Problematik (trotz mehrfacher Gesetzesinitiativen) immer wieder zu enthalten, steht sie dank des Europäischen Rechts nunmehr für eine dezidierte Festlegung ausdrücklich in der Pflicht. Dies war Anlass für einen größeren SFB-Workshop, dessen Vorträge und die diskussionseinleitenden Statements in diesem Working Paper dokumentiert werden.

Alle Ausgaben unserer Mitteilungen und Working Paper-Reihe finden Sie online unter:  
[www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/publikationen](http://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/publikationen)

# Publikationsreihe Vigilanzkulturen

Der SFB 1369 gibt die Publikationsreihe *Vigilanzkulturen* beim De Gruyter Verlag heraus, die als Print- und Open Access-Format erscheint. Die aktuelle Übersicht der Schriftenreihe finden Sie im Internet unter <https://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/publikationen/publikationsreihe/index.html>



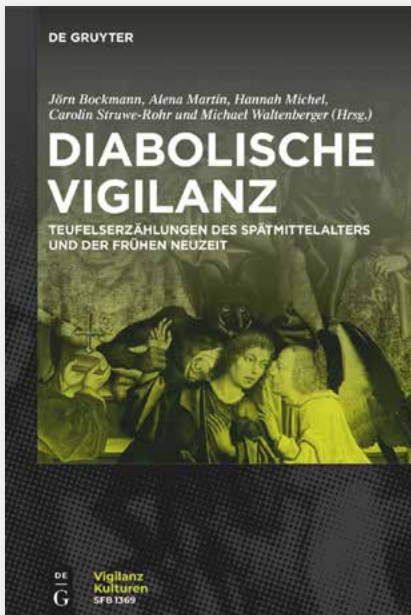
## Band 1

**Brendecke, Arndt/Reichlin, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Zeiten der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022.**

**DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110765137>**

Vigilanz wird alltäglich ausgeübt, etwa im Bereich der Sicherheit, des Rechts, der Religionen oder auch der Öffentlichen Gesundheit: überall dort, wo wir auf etwas achten, gegebenenfalls auch etwas tun oder melden sollen. Der Münchner SFB 1369, in dem dieser Band entstanden ist, untersucht die Geschichte, kulturellen Varianten und aktuellen Formen dieses Phänomens nichtinstitutioneller, aber doch hochgradig funktionaler Wachsamkeit. Der erste Band der Publikationsreihe ›Vigilanzkulturen‹ widmet sich der zeitlichen Dimension von Vigilanz. So wie menschliche Aufmerksamkeit erheblichen Schwankungen unterliegt, ist auch Wachsamkeit zeitlich instabil. Die hohe physiologisch-kognitive Intensität von Wachsamkeit lässt sich nur schwer auf Dauer stellen. Wird über längere Zeit hinweg ein ereignisloses oder unstrukturiertes Geschehen beobachtet, sinkt die Aufmerksamkeit oder richtet sich auf anderes. Kulturelle Anleitungen zur Wachsamkeit arbeiten daher in der Regel selbst mit zeitlichen Strukturen: mit Rhythmisierungen, Habitualisierungen oder Dramatisierungen. Sie geben vor, in welcher Abfolge Wachsamkeit herauf- oder herabgestuft werden soll oder sie variieren denkbare Gefahren. Sie arbeiten mit natürlichen Zeitverläufen (wie Tag und Nacht, Licht und Dunkelheit), die sie, kulturell überformt, nutzbar machen. Darüber hinaus können auch Techniken und Medien helfen, Wachsamkeit zu verstetigen. Der Band untersucht diese zeitliche Gestaltung der Wachsamkeit anhand historisch spezifischer Konstellationen. Er versammelt Beiträge aus unterschiedlichen Disziplinen wie Geschichte, Ethnographie, Kunstgeschichte, Literatur- und Medienwissenschaft, um die Zeiten der Wachsamkeit zu erforschen.



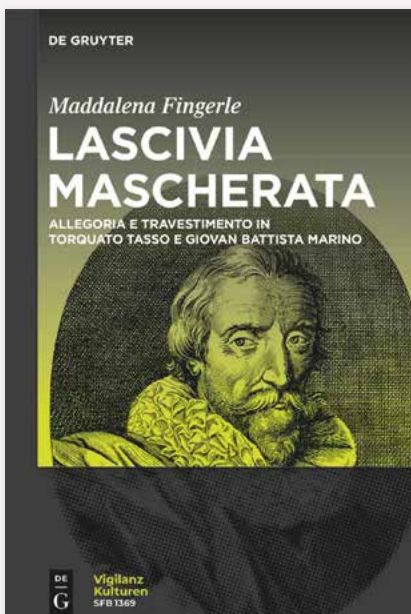


## Band 2

Bockman, Jörn/Martin, Alena/Michel, Hannah/Struwe-Rohr, Carolin/Waltenberger, Michael (Hrsg.): *Diabolische Vigilanz. Zur Inszenierung von Wachsamkeit in Teufelserzählungen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin/Boston 2022.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110774382>

Während Gott als *inspector cordium* unmittelbar in die Seelen blickt, erscheint das Beobachtungsverhältnis zwischen Mensch und Teufel als immanent-mittelbares, laterales und potenziell reziprokes. Der nie nachlassende diabolische »Verführungsaktivismus« (Luhmann) erzeugt Aufmerksamkeitskonstellationen, deren Funktionen nicht auf disziplinierende Angsterzeugung reduziert werden können. Im Erzählen von Teufeln und Dämonen werden häufig zugleich Mechanismen sozialer Kontrolle verhandelt und Formen wachsamer Selbstbeobachtung profiliert. Die Beiträge des Bandes rekonstruieren in erster Linie narrative, daneben auch dramatische und theologische Modellierungen diabolischer Beobachtungsverhältnisse vom Alten Testament bis zu Luther und zum Faustmythos; ihr Schwerpunkt liegt auf spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Erzähltexten, legendarischen wie auch schwankhaften, in denen der Teufel auf ganz unterschiedliche Weise als Akteur Gefährdungen des Sünders bewussthält. Zugleich zeichnet sich dabei bereits ab, wie die Wachsamkeit gegenüber dem Teufel die Herausbildung von Praktiken der Selbsterforschung forciert und damit zur Genese moralischer Subjektivität beiträgt.

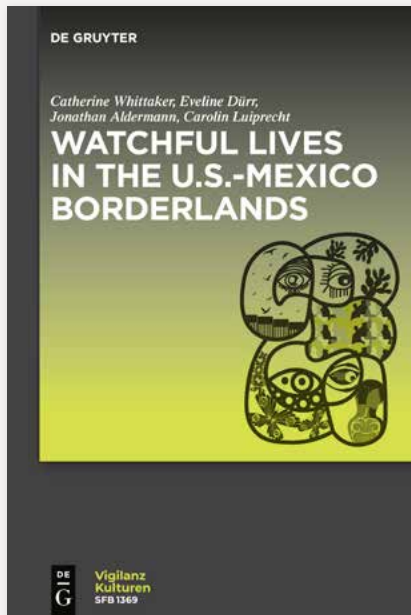


## Band 3

Fingerle, Maddalena: *Lascivia mascherata. Allegoria e travestimento in Torquato Tasso e Giovan Battista Marino*. Berlin/Boston 2022.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110794113>

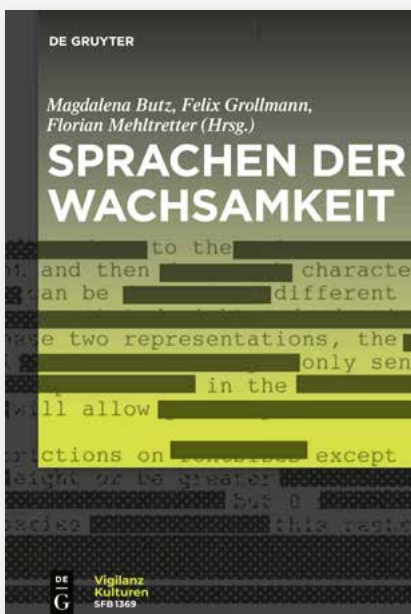
Come reagiscono Torquato Tasso e Giovan Battista Marino al contesto vigilante e normativo tra Cinque- e Seicento? A partire dal rapporto che i due autori nutrono nei confronti delle norme e delle regole si prendono in considerazione due tattiche evasive pensate per salvaguardare lascivie e incanti nei poemi: da un lato l'allegoria, dall'altro il travestimento. Il percorso di Tasso è evolutivo e la sua opinione cambia in base all'interiorizzazione di leggi e valori che portano a una rivalutazione delle opinioni iniziali, mentre Marino trasgredisce le regole e utilizza elementi tipicamente difensivi – quali l'allegoria – rovesciandoli e inventandone un uso celatamente offensivo. In questo contesto vengono così rivalutate le allegorie paratestuali dell'Adone di Marino, finora mal considerate dalla critica, e viene ripensato il percorso tassiano in un'ottica che vede i due autori non come vittime di un sistema censorio, ma come partecipanti attivi.



## Band 4

**Whittaker, Catherine/Dürr, Eveline/Alderman, Jonathan/Luiprecht, Carolin: *Watchful Lives in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Berlin/Boston [im Druck].**

How do Chicaxs, Latinxs, and otherwise watched and »othered« people living close to the U. S.-Mexico border, respond to racism and surveillance? What happens when the watched become watchful? Watchfulness shapes many Chicaxs' and other People of Color's everyday lives in San Diego, California. Going beyond counter-surveillance, watchfulness frames their subjectivity. Focusing particularly on Chicaxs, this book shows how they intervene against structural inequalities and threats in their lives, by re-claiming space, consciousness raising, participating in protests, and through healing practices. It argues that contestations surrounding belonging create particularly watchful selves and that this is a significant aspect of borderland lifeworlds more broadly. This book pays attention to notions of borderlands, coloniality, subjectivity, struggle, the racialized body and the digital sphere. Pushing the boundaries of conventional anthropological approaches, it draws on team fieldwork, digital ethnography, and visual contributions by a borderland artist to radically rethink watchfulness as an ambivalent practice that can also express care and contribute to community building: a »way of life.«



## Band 5

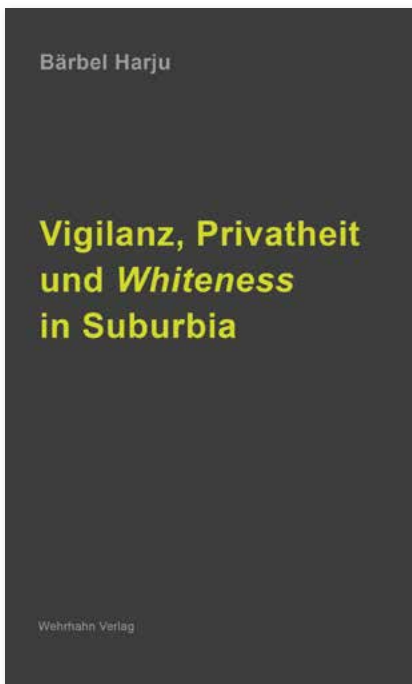
**Butz, Magdalena/Grollmann, Felix/Mehlretter, Florian (Hrsg.): *Sprachen der Wachsamkeit*. Berlin/Boston [im Druck].**

Der interdisziplinäre Band versammelt Beiträge, in denen die sprachliche Dimension von Vigilanz in unterschiedlichen Kontexten untersucht wird. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf den gesellschaftlichen Potentialen, auf normativen und regulativen Effekten von Sprachen sowie auf ihrer Indienstnahme zur Markierung von Gefahren und zur Orientierung von Aufmerksamkeit. Dabei zeigt sich, dass Sprache sowohl Gegenstand als auch Instrument von Wachsamkeit sein und sogar selbst zum Reflexionsmedium von Wachsamkeit werden kann.



# Kleine Reihe

Der SFB 1369 gibt die Publikationsreihe *Kleine Reihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs Vigilanzkulturen* beim Wehrhahn Verlag heraus. Zusätzlich zu den Print-Ausgaben sind die Bände auch online über Open Access LMU verfügbar. Die aktuelle Übersicht der Bände finden Sie im Internet unter <https://www.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/publikationen/kleine-reihe-vigilanzkulturen/index.html>



## Band 1

Harju, Bärbel: *Vigilanz, Privatheit und Whiteness in Suburbia*. Hannover 2023.

DOI: 10.5282/ubm/epub.93605

In den 1950er Jahren zogen junge amerikanische Paare und Familien in massenproduzierte Vororte – und läuteten damit die umfassende Suburbanisierung der USA ein. Doch die Suche nach privaten Rückzugsorten endete für die meisten in einem komplexen Beobachtungsgefüge, das die Grenzen zwischen »privat« und »öffentlich« instabil erscheinen ließ. Großzügige Panoramafenster ermöglichten nicht nur Ausblicke, sondern auch Einblicke; weitläufige Sichtachsen luden zur gegenseitigen Beobachtung ein; durch soziale Kontrolle wurde Konformität hergestellt, während abweichendes Verhalten als verdächtig galt. So konsolidierten die Vororte eine »weiß« codierte Mittelklasseidentität, die durch Vigilanztechniken kontrolliert wurde. In ihrer Studie untersucht Bärbel Harju, wie sich das angespannte Verhältnis von Privatheit und Sichtbarkeit in den USA der 1950er Jahre in Architektur und Design ausdrückt und inwiefern Vorstellungen von Privatheit mit der Idee von Whiteness korrelieren. Am Beispiel der Familie Myers, die 1957 als erste afroamerikanische Familie nach Levittown zog, werden in einer Fallstudie die Rolle von Selbst- und Fremdbeobachtung in neu entstehenden amerikanischen Vorstädten aufgezeigt.



## Band 2

Gadebusch Bondio, Mariacarla/Hengerer, Mark/Kölbl, Ralf/Lepsius, Susanne (Hrsg.): *Techniken der Responsibilisierung. Historische und gegenwartsbezogene Studien*. Hannover 2023.

DOI: 10.5282/ubm/epub.93703

Responsibilisierung ist in den Kulturwissenschaften ein wiederkehrender Begriff, der verschiedene Formen der Verantwortungsverschiebung umschreibt. Ausgehend von diesem variablen Sprachgebrauch untersuchen die in diesem Band vorgelegten Beiträge mannigfaltige Kontexte in denen, sowie Medien und Techniken mit denen Akteure bzw. Instanzen Aufmerksamkeitserwartungen für bestimmte Wachsamkeitsaufgaben übertragen. Während Obrigkeiten und Amtspersonen sich an die Bevölkerung bzw. an niederrangige Bedienstete richten, sind es einzelne Personen – z. B. frühneuzeitliche Stadtärzte oder gegenwärtige Whistleblower –, die von den oberen Instanzen in die Pflicht genommen werden (oder diese in die Pflicht nehmen). Dabei lassen sich verschiedene Strategien und Instrumente, etwa Anreize oder Sanktionen, ebenso wie die Abhängigkeit von der Dringlichkeit des Responsibilisierungsbedarfs aufzeigen. Indem insbesondere Adressierung und Übertragung von Vigilanz-Aufgaben an sehr unterschiedliche Personen bzw. Personengruppen synchron und diachron untersucht werden, konturieren und schärfen die Beiträge den Begriff der Responsibilisierung historisch und situativ.

