

**Changes in the image of
man from the Enlightenment
to the age of Romanticism**

Changes in the image of man from the Enlightenment to the age of Romanticism

Philosophical and scientific
receptions of (physical) anthropology
in the 18–19th centuries

Edited by
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On the cover:

Resolution and Adventure in Mataʻoai Bay, by William Hodges

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Struck on the fiftieth anniversary of Friedrich Blumebach' doctorate (1825),

by Heinrich Gube

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The Emergence of World Ethnography in Hungary before 1848

*Agents and Sources**

ILDIKÓ SZ. KRISTÓF

How did the science of anthropology – and the particular (and earlier) branch that can be called “world ethnography” – emerge in the Kingdom of Hungary (part of the Habsburg Empire between 1697 and 1918) before 1848? Fig. 1 illustrates an example of global ethnography from the year 1805. It testifies to the knowledge about the variety of the indigenous peoples living in the known parts of the world: in Greenland (1), Unalaska (2), Virginia (3), Patagonia (4), and Tierra del Fuego (5). The richly illustrated *Bilderbuch* was published in Vienna, Austria, but it came out in a quadrilingual edition, too, in German, French, Latin and Hungarian.¹ As the picture tells us, in that time, world ethnography was conceived of as a basically *descriptive* science. It seems to have been used in this sense not only by the author of the album, Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747–1822), a German publisher and scholar of natural history from Weimar, but also in general in Europe. At its birth, this science tried to grasp the *external* elements of the alien, non-European cultures: the costumes,

* Research and publication sponsored by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office, Hungary, Project No. 119577.

¹ Bertuch, Fridrich Justin: *Természethistóriai képeskönyv az ifúság hasznára és gyönyörködtetésére*. Bécs, 1805. (Copy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

skin colour, hairstyle, body ornamentation, forms of habitation, arms and tools, etc. of the known indigenous peoples of the world.

It is the period between roughly 1760/70–1830, that the science of anthropology and world ethnography started emerging in Europe, in Western Europe as well as in the East/East-Central-European area, including the Kingdom of Hungary.² Various kinds of primary sources and the appropriate religious and/or scientific discourses testify that a huge, mosaic-like stock of knowledge about the indigenous peoples of Asia, the American continent, the Pacific area, and also the “The North” – or the “Polar Circle” as it was called in the age – appeared between the 1760s and 1830. This knowledge was fairly detailed, it was rather ethnographical in character, and it appeared in the East-Central part of Europe, too. The above mentioned *Bilderbuch* of Bertuch depicts, for example, a variety of indigenous peoples from Asia. The reader could find natives of India, Siberia etc. – in the latter case the male figure depicted was meant as a Yakut, the female a Chukchee, but there were also Kalmuck Tartars and Arabs to be seen. As the *Bilderbuch* itself testifies, the ethnographical knowledge of the period was preserved mostly in textual and visual (figural) forms, but also in the form of objects.

The emergence of ethnography and anthropology seems to have been embedded in the cultural program of the Enlightenment just as in Western European countries, and it also seems to have been related to the discourses of the so-called *useful literature* – trave-

² Vermeulen, Han: *Before Boas. The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*. The University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London, 2015. Henceforth referred to as HV; Marshall, Peter James/ Williams, Glyndwr: *The Great Map of Mankind. British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment*. London/ Melbourne/ Toronto, 1982; Liebersohn, Harry: *The Travelers' World. Europe to the Pacific*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA – London, 2006; Thomas, Nicholas: *Discoveries. The Voyages of Captain Cook*. Penguin Books, London, 2003; Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen (Hrsg.): *Das Europa der Aufklärung und die außereuropäische koloniale Welt*. Wallstein, Göttingen, 2006.

logues, accounts of discoveries, geographies, natural histories, etc.³ Moreover, together with these discourses, the emergence of domestic and world ethnography in Hungary seems to have been related to a certain extent to the late 18th-century state sciences and state politics, too.⁴ It seems to have conveyed as well as been infiltrated by a number of the most significant historical–philosophical ideas of the age; first and foremost by the Enlightenment concepts of *linearity* and *stadiality*.⁵ An image of such a linear and stadial

³ HV; Kontler, László: William Robertson and his German audience on European and non-European civilisations. *Scottish Historical Review* 30: 2001, 63–89; Kontler, László: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments. William Robertson in Germany 1760–1795*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014; Gurka, Dezső: Reflexiók és iniciatívák. Az Európán kívüli világ (re)prezentációja a göttingai egyetemen [Reflections and Initiatives. The (Re)presentation of the World Outside of Europe at the University of Göttingen], *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 36: 2003/3, 341–357; Gurka, Dezső (ed.): *Göttingen dimenziói. A göttingeni egyetem szerepe a szaktudományok kialakulásában [The Dimensions of Göttingen. The role of the University of Göttingen in the Development of Scientific Disciplines]*. Gondolat, Budapest, 2010.

⁴ Tóth, Gergely: Bél Mátyás, a történész [Matthias Bel, the Historian], in *Humanista történetírás és neolatin irodalom a 15–18. századi Magyarországon [Humanist Historiography and Neo-Latin Literature in Hungary in the 15–18th Centuries]*, (eds. Békés, Enikő/ Kasza, Péter/ Lengyel, Réka) MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest, 2015, 157–167 (Convivia Neolatina Hungarica 1); Bodnár-Király, Tibor: Államleírás és a „statisztika elmélete” a 18–19. század fordulóján [The Description of the State and the „Theory of Statistics” at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries], *Századok* 151: 2017/5, 971–986; Török, Zsuzsa: *Exploring Transylvania. Geographies of Knowledge and Entangled Histories in a Multiethnic Province, 1790–1918*, Brill, Leiden, 2015.

⁵ In general, see: Wolff, Larry/ Cipolloni, Marco (eds.): *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto CA, 2007; Harris, Marvin: *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1968; Sárkány, Mihály/ Somlai, Péter: A haladástól a kontingenciáig. Vázlat a szociokulturális evolúció változó elméleteiről [From Progress to Contingency. A Sketch of the Changing Theories of Sociocultural Evolution], *Szociológiai Szemle* 13: 2003/3, 3–26; Bödeker, Hans Erich/ Büttgen, Philippe/ Espagne, Michel (Hrsg.): *Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen in Göttingen um 1800. Wissenschaftliche Praktiken, institutionelle Geographie, europäische Netzwerke*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008. On a parallel Scottish approach see: Kontler, László *William Robertson and*

development of the human societies of the world can be seen in Fig. 2. This is an illustration from a Hungarian translation of the work of Georg Christian Raff, originally entitled *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*. The author (1748–1788) was a professor of natural history and geography in the lyceum of Göttingen and his work saw no less than three Hungarian translations and publications in the period between 1779 and 1846.⁶ The idea of stadiality and graduality is perfectly visible in the depiction of the different human societies in the image. The latter were expected to develop from an imagined stade of *nature* to that of *savages* (gatherers), and from that to the stade of *non-European pagan civilizations*.

As regards the socio-cultural embeddedness of the representation of indigenous people, let us examine three examples. Several 16th- and 17th-century authors accessible in the Kingdom of Hungary provided a demonised description and depiction of the American Indians, and with that they influenced the Catholic missionaries trained, among other places, in the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat (presently Trnava). Fig. 3 shows such a diabolic representation painted by the Flemish artist Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) for the travelogue of Girolamo Benzoni (1519–1570) in the 1590s. It illustrates very well how the Caribbean Indians were imagined along certain Christian theological concepts as heathens adoring demons

his German audience, 2001. and Kontler: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments*, 2014; SM, 90–94.

⁶ See my studies on the Hungarian translations of Raff's work: Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: The Uses of Natural History. Georg C. Raff's *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (1778) in its Multiple Translations and Multiple Receptions, in Adams, Alison (ed): *Le livre demeure. Studies in Book History in Honour of Alison Saunders*. Droz, Genève, 2011, 309–333; Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy. The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History, in Demski, Dagnosław/Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó/ Baranieczka-Olsewska, Kamila (eds.): *Competing Eyes. Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe*. L'Harmattan, Budapest, 2013, 40–66.

and/or the devil. The works of De Bry, Benzoni and many other early explorers of America were available in the ancient library of the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat (presently Trnava), and also in some other institutional and private libraries in 17th-century Hungary.⁷ Much later, around 1835, i.e. at the other end of the period discussed, the Australian aborigines were depicted as rather brute, animal-like savage creatures by a Hungarian physician. Pál Almási Balogh (1794–1867), who most probably saw and used for his description the text and the images contained in a contemporary French collection of travelogues. It was edited by Jules Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842) and it saw several editions in the French and German languages during the first half of the 19th century. Almási Balogh possessed two copies of this work (in German) in his private library.⁸ And, between the two ends, the Greenland Inuits have

⁷ Benzoni, Hieronymus: *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis, qui vulgo Americae et Indiae Occidentalis nomine usurpatur*. Mattheus Merian, Frankfurt am Main, 1644. (Copy of the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest). See my analysis of the demonised representation of indigenous people in Hungary: Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: Missionaries, Monsters, and the Demon Show. Diabolized Representations of American Indians in Jesuit Libraries of 17th and 18th Century Upper Hungary, in Kérchy, Anna/ Zittlau, Andrea (eds.): *Exploring the Cultural History of Continental European Freak Shows and „Enfreakment*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012, 38–73; About the collection of other libraries holding the early works on America in Hungary see Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: „Indi legendi & scribendi usum mirantur.” Egy kulturális sztereotípiát múltjáról és régi magyarországi előfordulásáról [„Indi legendi & scribendi usum mirantur.” About the Stereotypical Representation of America in Hungary in the Early Modern Period], in Nyerges, Judit/ Verók, Attila/ Zvara, Edina (eds.): *MONOKgraphia. Tanulmányok Monok István 60. születésnapjára [MONOKgraphia. Festschrift for István Monok's 60th Birthday]*. Kossuth, Budapest, 2016, 435–446. On the work of De Bry and its influence see: Groesen, Michiel van: *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)*, Brill, Leiden/ Boston, 2008.

⁸ Almási Balogh, Pál: *Az ember Ausztráliában [Man in Australia]*. cca. 1835. (University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Manuscripts). For further references see my study on the manuscript: Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: The Representation of the Australian Aborigines in Text and Picture: Dr. Med. Pál Almási

been rather exoticised by the Rev. Mihály Dobosy (1780–1853), the Hungarian translator of the mission account of David Cranz (1723–1777), a Moravian pastor. The original work was published in Barby, Sweden in 1765, while the Hungarian translation came out in 1810 (and was carried out only a couple of years before). The original depicted the Inuit – both textually and visually – as idealised, innocent children of nature, and the Hungarian adaptation preserved that aspect well.⁹

Demonisation, hierarchisation, animalisation, barbarisation, exoticisation were international representations that arrived in Hungary mostly from Western Europe together with the translations and adaptations of early ethnographical/anthropological works. They were, one could say, “armchair representations”, i.e. textual and visual stereotypes that could be accessed without doing any particular fieldwork, without having even travelled to the lands described. At the same time, a specific, *local* cultural–political filter, built upon

Balogh (1794–1863) and the Birth of the Science of Anthropology in Central Europe/ Hungary. *Caiana Revista academica de Historia del Arte y Cultura Visual de Centro Argentino de Investigadores de Arte (CAIA)* (Buenos Aires), 5: 2014, 126–140.

⁹ Cranz, David: *Historie von Groenland enthaltend Die Beschreibung des Landes und der Einwohner etc insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brueder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels*, Mit acht Kupfertafeln und einem Register, Barbÿ, Heinrich Detlef Ebers. Weidmanns Erben, Leipzig, 1765. (Copies of the Somogyi Library, Szeged, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest); Cranz, David: *Grönlánd históriája, melyben ez a' tartomány lakosival együtt leíródik és a' természeti-históriára sok jegyzések tétetnek*. Fordította és egynehány világosító jegyzésekkel bővítette Dobosy Mihály Vaiszlói Réfor. Prédikátor. Buda, Landerer Anna, 1810 (Copies of the Somogyi Library, Szeged, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest). See Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: „Terepmunka” a terepmunka kora előtt: Dobosy Mihály, a grönländi inuitok és az etnológia (antropológia) születése a 19. század eleji Magyarországon [„Fieldwork” before the Age of Fieldwork: Mihály Dobosy, the Greenland Inuits and the Birth of Ethnology (Anthropology) in Hungary at the Beginning of the 19th century], *Ethno-lore* 32: 2016, 1–23.

the specific local cultural–political milieu constituted the closer context in which and through which the larger representations have been received in the scholarly contexts of late 18th- early 19th- century Hungary. The *local appropriation* of early ethnographical/anthropological knowledge is also worth considering.¹⁰

In the period between 1760/70 and 1830, at least three local groups were to be found working for the importation of global ethnography/anthropology information to Hungary. The first one was that of the Jesuits. The Jesuit missionaries educated in Nagyszombat (presently Trnava) most frequently supported the Habsburg governments in Vienna, but had their own independent interests, composing their own powerful faction in addition to being a well organised province (i.e. the Austrian province). The academy of the order, acting as the East-Central European centre of the formation of missionaries, in Nagyszombat was promoted in local almanacs as early as the second half of the 17th century. Founded in 1635, the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat used its almanacs for publicizing not only the overseas (mostly American and Asian) activity of the missionaries, but the geographical/ethnographical knowledge emerging from that activity, too.¹¹

The second group of agents was made up of some Lutheran scholars in Pozsony (Pressburg, presently Bratislava). During the 1810s, they gathered together around a knowledgeable superin-

¹⁰ *Appropriation* is a term introduced by Roger Chartier in cultural historical analysis during the 1990s. See for example Chartier, Roger: *Le monde comme représentation*, *Annales E.S.C.* 6: 1989, 1505–1520; Chartier, Roger: *Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader*, *Diacritics* 22: 1992/2, 49–61; Chartier, Roger: *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1995.

¹¹ See Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: *Local Access to Global Knowledge: Historia naturalis and Anthropology at the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), as Transmitted in its Almanacs (1676–1709)*, in Almási, Gábor (ed.): *A Divided Hungary in Europe. Vol 1: Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2014, 201–228.

tendent called János Kiss (1770–1846), and they produced, among other works, a number of geography books of wider scope. János Tomka-Szászky (1692–1762) belonged, for example, among them, and published an *Introductio in orbis antiqui et hodierni geographia, in duos tomos divisa, quorum prior continet [...] Europam, posterior Asiam, Africam, et Americam* in 1777.¹² The engraving next to the title page showed an allegorical representation of the four continents imagined as females. Europe stood in the foreground and was dressed in Greek attire, Asia was wearing a turban, and Africa and America were smaller figures wearing feathered headdresses in the background. This layout itself suggested a particular idea of the stereotypisation and hierarchisation of the continents.

The third group included individual pastors serving the Reformed Church of Hungary and were involved in the transmission of important Western European scientific works to Hungary. This was a loosely organised circle of churchmen with scholarly interests in natural history, geography and the emerging science of world ethnography. Rev. József Fábrián (1762–1825) lived in the city of Veszprém, he translated the above mentioned *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* of Georg Christian Raff into Hungarian in 1799. Rev. Mihály Dobosy lived in the town of Szentes, Csongrád county, and translated the *Historie von Groenland* of David Cranz. Also noteworthy is Pál Almási Balogh, a Calvinist physician, who was the private physician of István Széchenyi (1791–1860) and Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), and he compiled the first ethnographic profile about the Australian aborigines published in Hungary around 1835.¹³

¹² Tomka-Szászky, János: *Introductio in orbis antiqui et hodierni geographia, in duos tomos divisa, quorum prior continet, cum praecognitis, Europam, posterior Asiam, Africam, et Americam*. Posonii et Cassoviae, 1777. (Copy of the Somogyi Library, Szeged) Henceforth referred as TSZJ.

¹³ See my research on Raff: Sz. Kristóf: *The Uses of Natural History*, 2011. and Sz. Kristóf: *Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy*, 2013. On Cranz and

As for the details of the activity of the three groups in relation to global ethnography, and the sources that they used – or even produced – for the latter, the following points should be emphasised.

The Jesuits handed down numerous manuscript accounts (*relationes*) of their missionary work and they compiled several *synopses* of world history. The almanacs published by the academy of Nagyszombat (presently Trnava) and some other Jesuit academies in the region during the late 17th century and throughout the 8th contain an important stock of material based on both *relationes* and *synopses* relating to America, Africa, and Asia.¹⁴ Having missionised the Moxo Indians in present day Bolivia between 1753 and 1767, Ferenc Éder Xavér SJ (1727–1772) wrote the history of his work (in Latin) including a detailed ethnographical description of the Moxos.¹⁵ The almanac published in Kassa (presently Košice) in 1745, contained a longer description (in Latin) of the costumes of the Crimean Tartars.¹⁶ Many of the texts (so-called *dissertationes*) included in the almanacs of Nagyszombat were everyday reading during the 17th century and conveyed age-old stereotypes for the depiction and classification of aboriginal peoples of far-away lands. They told, for example, of the so-called *homo sylvestris* (man of the woods). As Fig. 4 shows, the latter was imagined as a hairy, half-an-

Dobosy see: Sz. Kristóf: „*Indi legendi & scribendi usum mirantur*”, 2016. On Almási Balogh: Sz. Kristóf, *The Representations of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014.

¹⁴ Sz. Kristóf: *The Representation of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014.

¹⁵ Boglár, Lajos/ Bognár, András: Éder X. Ferenc leírása a perui missziókról a XVIII. századból [The Description of Ferenc Éder X. of the Peruvian missions in the 18th century], *Ethnographia* 86: 1, 1975, 181–192; Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17–18th Centuries), in Szőnyi, György Endre/ Maczelka, Csaba (eds.): *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture. Essays by East-central European Mellon Fellows*. JATEPress, Szeged, 2012, 166, footnote 16.

¹⁶ This was based on the account of a certain P. Du Bois and another French Jesuit missionary working in the region, see Sz. Kristóf: *The Representation of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014, 215, footnote 49.

imal, half-human creature, and it seems to have been quite popular in the early Jesuit descriptions of non-European “pagans” (*ethnici*), be they Asian or, later, American indigenous people. The engraving belongs to the illustrations of the work of Gaspar Schott SJ (1608–1666), entitled *Physica curiosa* and published in Würzburg in 1662. A copy of this work was possessed by the Jesuits of Nagyszombat.¹⁷ There was indeed a whole legion of monsters (*monstra*) – acephalic, cynocephalic and other kinds – mentioned in the Jesuit almanac readings and located in Central Asia, Scythia and/or India, parallel with some ancient Greek and Roman historical narratives.¹⁸ Moreover, as mentioned above, a kind of demonising representation was also present in the early travelogues possessed by the Nagyszombat Jesuits, relating not only to America but certain parts of Asia, too. The diabolic images of the Flemish (and Protestant) artist, Theodor de Bry themselves formed part of their knowledge of non-European peoples. Apart from the example of America discussed above, there was the testimony from the travel account of Jan Huygen van Linschotten (1563–1611) from the years 1599–1601, which also belonged to the early collection of books of the Nagyszombat Jesuits. The images from that work depicted, among others, ways in which the Chinese were imagined to regularly adore demons in their religious rituals.¹⁹

The Jesuits seem to have preserved much of the legacy of the classical Greek and Roman tradition in their representation of al-

¹⁷ Sz. Kristóf: *The Representation of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014, 220–224.

¹⁸ Sz. Kristóf: *The Representation of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014, esp. 218–224.

¹⁹ Linschotten, Joan Hugo von: *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien Von allen Völckern Insulen Meerporten fliessenden Wassern und anderen Orten so von Portugal auß lengst dem Gestaden Aphrica biß in Ost Indien und zu dem Land China sampt andern Insulen zu sehen seind*. Hrsg. von Hans Dieterich und Hans Israel von Bry. Johan Saur, Franckfurt am Meyn, 1599–1601. (Copy of the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest). Henceforth referred to as JHS. See Sz. Kristóf: *The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans*, 2012, 60–61.

ien, non-European peoples, and they appropriated much of that of the Age of the Discoveries, too. “Monsterising” and/or demonising descriptions of indigenous peoples are to be found in their writings well into the 8th century, although their context and interpretation seems to be of more and more doubt and rationalisation. In any case, by means of those writings a certain amount of demonological lore also infiltrated the Catholic geography books published in the Kingdom of Hungary.²⁰

The case of the Protestants and the ethnographical/anthropological lore that they conveyed in the Kingdom of Hungary in the discussed period was different in many respects. The Protestants understandably did not do as much missionary work at that time, but they carried out an enormous amount of *translation*. They translated a large number of foreign scientific works into vernacular Hungarian. It was they – both Lutherans and Calvinists – who fostered the importation and adaptation of the overwhelming majority of 8th -century Western European travel writing to the Kingdom of Hungary: the works of Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), James Cook (1728–1779), Jean-François Galaup de La Pérouse (1741–1788), George Macartney (1737–1806) and so on. It is also worth mentioning here that it was especially Protestant (and mostly Lutheran) scholars who made contact with Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) in the Kingdom of Hungary during the 1790s–

²⁰ Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: *The Representation of the Australian Aborigines*, 2014. For a comparison to the Protestant lore on the native peoples of South America in early modern Germany and Hungary, see Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: “Amerika und seine UreinwohnerInnen in den ungarischen Kalendern des 17. Jahrhunderts: David Frölich vs. die Jesuiten” in Herbst, Klaus-Dieter/ Greiling, Werner (Hrsg.): *Schreibkalender und ihre Autoren in Mittel-, Ost- und Ostmittel-Europa (1540–1850)*. Edition Lumière, Bremen, 2018, 355–369.

1810s and started studying his early works and were influenced by his natural history.²¹

One of the most remarkable features characterizing the Protestant translations – and missing in the case of the Jesuits – was a strong Germanophile attitude. The translations either were made directly from a German text, and/or the idea of the cultural transfer itself originated in one or another of the German universities of the late 8th century – Göttingen primarily, but also Jena or Halle – which were regularly attended by the Hungarian Protestant students in the period.²² Thereby, the translations also reveal a *political* dimension and implication of the importation of Western European travel writing, ethnography/anthropology and natural history to Hungary. Those works and their authors and publishers expressed admittedly a subversion, a particular *scientific revolt* in relation to the existing Habsburg – Catholic and imperial, absolutist (and partly also Jesuit) – science. Most of them were embedded in the movement of the Hungarian national awakening, and their aim, empha-

²¹ Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: Alexander von Humboldt és a Podmaniczkyak. Mozaikok a földrajz és az egyetemes néprajz 19. századi tudománytörténetéhez (Alexander von Humboldt and the Podmanitzkys. New Findings to the History of Geography and Ethnology in the 19th Century), in Gurka, Dezső (ed.): *A báró Podmaniczky család szerepe a 18–19. századi magyar kultúrában [The Role of the Podmanitzky Family in Hungarian Culture in the 18th and 19th Centuries]*. Gondolat, Budapest, 2017, 25–40; Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: Alexander von Humboldt és Magyarország: Egy romantikus természettudós jelentősége a magyarországi egyetemes néprajzi érdeklődés kibontakozásában [Alexander von Humboldt and Hungary: The Importance of a Romantic Scientist in the Rise of Interest in World Ethnography in Hungary], *Századok* 151: 2017/5, 987–1006; Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó: Alexander von Humboldt and Hungary: National Identity and The Emergence of Modern Sciences, in Semsey, Viktória (ed.) *On Peripheries and Semi-Peripheries 1870–1945. National Identity and Modernity in Latin America – Southern Europe – Central Eastern Europe*. Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest, forthcoming.

²² Szögi, László: *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789–1919 [Hungarian Students in German Universities and Academies, 1789–1919]*, ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, Budapest, 2001.

sised by a good number of authors, was to establish Hungarian science as such.

Apart from the translations, replicas of foreign works were made like *A' Világ ritkasági* (*The Rarities of the World*) translated by the Hungarian Ferenc Farkas and published in Pest in 1807, which can be considered a simplified replica of Bertuch's *Bilderbuch* and which contained many images and texts of ethnographical/anthropological interest.²³ The Great Wall of China was depicted in one of its engraved illustrations, for example, and the reader could see "Tartar riders" racing about in the lower section. The image was intended to represent a cultural and also civilisational opposition between the settled and the nomadic peoples of the known world shown frequently in the discussed period.²⁴

It is especially important to see that the translators wanted to create vernacular scientific discourses by means of Protestant patterns originating mostly in German universities. This was one of the most significant features of the emergence of late 18th - early 19th-century science in the Kingdom of Hungary in general and that of anthropology and world ethnography in particular.

²³ Farkas, Ferenc: *A' Világ ritkasági a'vagy a Természet és Mesterség remekiei* [*The Rarities of the World or, the Masterpieces of Nature and Art*]. I. köt. Hartleben, Pest, 1807. (Copy of the Somogyi Library, Szeged, Hungary)

²⁴ The latter could have a special significance for the Hungarians, knowing the several (and in earlier times immensely devastating) Tartar attacks against the Kingdom of Hungary in the medieval and early modern periods (1241–42; 1694, 1717).



Figure 1. Friedrich Justin Bertuch: *Természethistóriai képek* könyv az ifjúság hasznára és gyönyörködtetésére. Bécs, 1805.
 (Courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)



Figure 2. Raff György Keresztély: *Természet História Gyermekek' számára.*
Második magyarítás. Ford. Vajda Péter. Kassa, 1837.
(Courtesy of the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest)



Figure 3. Hieronymus Benzoni: *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis, qui vulgo Americae et Indiae Occidentalis nomine usurpatur*. Mattheus Merian, Frankfurt am Main, 1644.
(Courtesy of the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)



Figure 4. Gaspar Schott SJ: *Physica curiosa*. Herbipoli, 1662.
(Courtesy of the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest)