COLLOQUIA RAURICA 17

Lucas Burkart,
Beate Fricke (Eds.)

SHIFTING HORIZONS

A LINE AND ITS MOVEMENT IN ART, HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY

SCHWABE VERLAG

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Introduction: Shifting Horizons – a Line and Its Movement in Art, History, and Philosophy

Lucas Burkart and Beate Fricke

What happens when horizons shift? More specifically, what occurs when that line, which in everyday experience appears so consistent and omnipresent, reveals itself to be contingent? And if the horizon line is mutable, what does that imply about the systems of knowledge, order, and faith that the seemingly *im*mutable horizon appears to neatly delimit and order? These are the questions the following volume of essays addresses, offering perspectives from multiple historical periods and disciplines that tackle instances in literature, history, and art in which shifts in conceptualizing the horizon have made themselves manifest. These shifts, as the contributions here point out, propose models for re-thinking the horizon's boundaries as mobile instead of static.

The horizon, as Albrecht Koschorke has observed, is many qualities: it appears as a motif, a symbol, a locus, and a metaphor.[1] Most of all, the horizon is a figure of thought (*Denkfigur*) that serves as a means of organizing perception and information.[2] Fixing the horizon thus means delimiting parameters (visual, epistemological, experiential) that aid in establishing a framework for understanding the world and the place of humans within it. Shifting the horizon, on the other hand, means rethinking the fixity of these limits; it means taking a step over to the other side in order to acknowledge a point of view that may well be obscure or elusive, but which is nonetheless present if one conceives of knowledge and experience as multivalent and situated.[3]

To make these observations more concrete, we propose to introduce this volume by taking a look at a particular example of a moment in which we can observe the horizon shifting.[4]

In an illuminated twelfth-century British manuscript we encounter a curious image (Fig. 1). At first glance, it seems a rather unusual choice for an examination of the horizon, for in this image seems to be no horizon at first glance. Looking closer we begin to imagine, however, that it does exist, running somewhere along the diagonal boundary where green and blue waves meet in the image's center.

1 Koschorke (1990).

2 For the terms *Denkfigur* and *Denkraum* in Aby Warburg's Oeuvre see Treml/Flach/Schneider (2014).

3 On «situated» knowledge see e. g., Harraway (1983; 1989).

4 Alexander (1970), 141 n. 2; Ayers (1973), 127, Fig. 4.17; Baker (1978); Brown (2003), 209; Stein-Keks (2011).

Fig. 1: British Library, Yates Thompson MS 26, fol. 74v. Announcement of Cuthbert's death, last quarter, 12th century.

What can be perceived in this illumination is the moment of a transmission of information. On the upper (green) half of the illumination, we see Inner Farne island off the English coast, where St. Cuthbert built a hermitage and died after a short illness in 687 AD. Two monks signal this death by flashing torches. These lights broadcast the event of Cuthbert's death to a monk on another shore (in the lower half of the picture), a member of the monastery at Lindisfarne, another tidal island off Northumberland. The latter receives the message and starts to grieve.

The emphasis given in this twelfth-century manuscript illumination to finding a pictorial solution for (not) depicting the horizon is striking and surprisingly complex. For the image showing the two monks on opposite shores, must also communicate that the monks cannot see each other. Or rather, that their visual access to one another is partial. For the perspective we have as beholders is not the same the illumination's protagonists are restricted to. The artist must convey, in one image, that the monks are beyond each other's immediate horizon, but that they can nonetheless transmit information to one another through the light of their torches. The two monks on the islands, with their specific flora and fauna, are too far apart to see or hear each other; they are beyond the horizontal line demarcating the limits of the visible and audible world, yet the monk on the rocks in the lower left half of the illumination can still receive and understand the message of Cuthbert's passing. The monk receiving the news of Cuthbert's death is depicted a second time in the image. With his hands raised in sadness he walks towards his monastery, Lindisfarne. We can see it with its door open revealing an oil-lamp illuminating the darkness inside. The open door and the light indicate a passage inward (and beyond) the monastery itself. The notion of movement or transgression that undergirds Cuthbert's passage (from life to death) thus finds an echo in the action shown in the image: from the physical world of the island into an illuminated interior, metaphorically beyond even the monastery's threshold. Cuthbert passes beyond the horizon of the terrestrial here and now, just as the message conveying this movement traverses the perceptual horizon that divides one island from the other. The horizons demarcating the thresholds of life, visibility, knowledge – and last but not least of time – conflate into a single picture.

For the beholder of the manuscript, the horizon as a threshold between the visible and invisible lies at the core of this illumination, although it is not frankly depicted: it remains hidden and subject to our imagination. By understanding the demarcation of invisibility and visibility that is put into play in this illuminated page, we also understand the embedded meaning of this picture; the soul of Saint Cuthbert has left the terrestrial world and has ascended to heaven. We, therefore, observe a kind of doubling, since the message that one monk communicates to another – across a horizon – mirrors the passage of Cuthbert's soul across the demarcation between earth and sky. The horizon referred to but not depicted as a line unfolds its relevance and meaning by asking the observer to imagine multiple interconnected spaces: 1) the horizon between the islands, 2) the death of the saint and the voyage of his soul from life in our world towards eternal life in heaven and, hence, the horizon between earth and heaven.

Perhaps it should come as no surprise that at the time the illumination was produced – in the second half of the twelfth century – philosophers were trying to define the location of the soul within what was then known as the «order of causes». With the «order of causes» philosophers described an all-encompassing order explaining all causes and their effects, differentiating between higher and lower causes. The soul posed a particularly intriguing question in relation to questions of causality because of the ambiguity of the soul's origin, location, and afterlife as well as its role within the causal order, e. g., in the process of the generation of human life.

The very notion of an order of causes had filtered into the west across an apparent cultural horizon; it arrived via the so-called *Liber de causis*, an Arabic textual excerpt, which was almost a revision of Christian creation theology attributed to Proclos.[5] This text was translated into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona (1114–1187) and had a significant impact upon Western medieval philosophy, for instance on the writings of Albertus Magnus (1193?–1280), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and Giles of Rome (1243–1316), to name just a few (see the contribution by Andreas Lammer in this volume). According to the *Liber de causis*, a person's soul was located «below» (*inferius*) the eternal world and «above» (*supra*) time (*quoniam est in horizonte aeternitatis inferius et supra tempus*) whereas the body was decidedly terrestrial.[6] Humankind was divided in two by the horizon which marked the limits of earthly experience and that which lay beyond.

At the same time the illumination was made the philosopher and poet Alain de Lille (1125/30–1203) referred to ideas articulated in the *Liber de causis* in his *De fide catholica contra haereticos* in which we can observe how the term horizon steps out of the confines of the neoplatonic tenets that until then had dominated western medieval theological-philosophical discourse.[7] The knowledge of ancient philosophy in the medieval period was constrained to a rather limited body of texts. Boethius (–524) and John Scotus Eriugena (–877) were the most influential commentators on Platonic thought and their works contributed greatly to the spread of neoplatonism. In the twelfth century, however, the works of Aristotle (–322 BC) and new works by Plato (428/7–348/7 BC) (e. g., second half of *Timaios*), were translated into Latin, just as Arabic texts (including translations of Antique texts) were filtering into European philosophical discourse. In his phrase «*in horizonte aeternitatis, et ante tempus*» de Lille links the term horizon exclusively to the human soul and interprets *aeternitas* as *perpetuitas*, or temporal perpetuity.[8] The human soul has a beginning but will not have an end (*etsi habuerit principium, non habebit finem*), he writes, unlike the body which is finite, defined by

5 Anon. (2003), XV–XVI.

6 Ibid., 60 and 119, n. 1.

7 Alanus de Insulis, De fide catholica contra haereticos I, 30. MPL 210, 332; Baeumker (1894), 418 f.

8 Pattin (1966), 138, 165. Vincent Guagliardo points out: «The Arabic is considerably clearer for this proposition: ‹Every destructible and non-perpetuable substance either is composite or is present in something else, because the substance is either dissoluble into the things from which it is, such that it is composite, or it needs a substrate for its stability and subsistence, such that when it sep-

a horizon designated as earthly. On earth, within the constraints of a visible horizon, the body lives and dies, whereas the soul inhabits a realm whose horizons are unlimited – or perhaps limited only by their contrast to the terrestrial boundaries of life and death. While the mental crossing of horizons, and the creation and circumscription of imagined territories in poetic and narrative texts have been well studied, the effect of changing and shifting horizons in such texts has remained a blind spot.[9] When we contextualize an image like the Cuthbert illumination within shifts in philosophical ideas about the horizon, however, we are encouraged to consider how new forms of representation of the horizon emerged to articulate expanding epistemological perspectives.

This brief excursus into illuminations and *Denkfiguren* of the twelfth century demonstrates that the figure of the horizon itself is subject to historical change.[10] Depending on location, era, knowledge, and culture, the horizon line is variably and contingently delineated and defined, open to new meanings and configurations. In this sense, the horizon appears not as a constant astronomical or cartographic fixture but as something subject to continuous movements that shift the relationship(s) between the visible world and imaginary realities in incessantly (re)calibrated new ways. New geographical regions – both earthly and imaginary – open up to discovery as new thought experiments and epistemologies extend knowledge into a hitherto invisible or yet unknown world. In this context, new constellations of networks re-configure lived experience based on shifts in thinking the horizon in every age, every epoch.

The line of the horizon as a reference point is, however, a key and remarkably consistent element in the history of art, of philosophy, and of history. It is, therefore, often considered a category of static and consistent permanence. It serves as an enduring reference point one can organize and delimit information with: this happens *here*, that happens elsewhere.[11] But as we have suggested, once changed or set in motion, horizons redefine the limits of description, imagination, and interpretation in poetry, literature, theatre, and film.[12] Furthermore, the expansion of the horizon defining the known world in ancient, medieval, early modern and modern world changed the order and balance of citizens and imperial structures as well as constitutive elements in descriptions of the (kn)own and the exploration of the (other)world, beyond already charted territories.[13] Thinking beyond the threshold, the limit, of the horizon depends, therefore, on trespassing the overar-

arates itself from its substrate, it corrupts and is destroyed. So if the substance is not composite and present [in something else, but] is simple and per se, then it is perpetual and altogether indestructible and indissoluable.›» Guagliardo/Hess/Taylor (1996), 146.

9 Glauch et al. (2011); Hoffmann/Wolf (2012), especially Ingrid Baumgärtner, «Erzählungen kartieren: Jerusalem in mittelalterlichen Kartenräumen», 231–262.

10 Hinske/Engfer/Janssen/Scherner (1974).

11 Koschorke (1990), 49.

12 E. g., in Homer's Illiad, Book 3, lines 121–244, Auerbach (1938); Koschorke (1990); Siegert (2015); Iser (1983), 547–557; Hawthorne (1994).

13 Reichert (2014); Decker et al. (2009); Pabst (2004); Simek (1992); Obrist (2004); Müller (2008); Canny/Morgan (2012); Burghartz (2011).

ching order of an imagined system implied to be constant, consistent, and knowable because it is bounded by the horizon's line. So, what exactly happens when this line moves, tilts, changes or disappears? How do different cultures and periods react to such an experience of radical change? Do they reorganize or process what previously was considered to have been of constitutive importance? The contributions to this volume address the consequence of these horizon «shifts» and their impact upon the redefinition and reconstitution of the inner structure of works of art and literature, manifestations of the perception of the world and cognition of its (changing) systems, something hinted at by the illumination described above.

Reflecting, digesting, or anticipating such changes, shifting horizons have redefined how we think about the organization, meaning, and perception of works of visual art as well as literature, architecture, and urbanism. In the history of painting, for example, the dominant Eurocentric narrative of the so-called rise of perspective, linked to a more «naturalistic» mode of representation aligned with new forms of optical science and the observation of nature since Giotto (–1337) has been repeatedly questioned, although the horizon itself has curiously played a remarkably small role in those revisions.[14] In literature, changing horizons impact key elements – such as teichoschopy, i. e., when invisible scenarios and events are described by one of the actors, persons or the narrator – or what the influential German literary scholar Hans Robert Jauss termed the «*Erwartungshorizont*» (horizon of expectation). Like Jauss, the historian Reinhart Koselleck also insisted on the importance of the horizon as an ordering principle, though Koselleck's interest was specifically linked to the horizon's relationship with temporality. For him, the concept of the horizon is one of two poles that societies use in order to locate themselves in the present: between past and present. This present, he argued, determined itself as a negotiation between experience in the world (*Erfahrungsraum*) and a horizon of expectations, an *Erwartungshorizont*, à la Jauss that has yet to be experienced, but is nonetheless projected. Whether one wants to accept Koselleck's argument that a fundamental change in the experience of temporality occurred during the eighteenth century (the transitional period, for him, between pre-modernity and modernity), his observations about the horizon remain important: thinking about the horizon means not only thinking spatially, but temporally – as we have already observed in the case of St. Cuthbert.[15]

Aristotle had already noted the shifting nature of the horizon in his arguments that the earth was a sphere and not a flat disc, noting in his *Meterology* that «throughout the habitable world the horizon constantly shifts, which indicates that we live on the convex surface of sphere».[16] Macrobius, later, would also

14 Panofsky (1991); White (1957); Arasse (1980; 1999); Damisch (1987); Schlie (2008); Summers (2003); Belting (2009).

15 Koselleck (1989), 349–375.

16 Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 365a30; the horizon similarly defined is also a basic part of Aristotle's geometric discussion of the rainbow (ibid. 375b16–377a28), which provided the basis for subsequent arguments; see for example the early 14th-century Theodoric of Freiburg: Freiburg (1974), 435–441. For Aristotle's arguments concerning the sphericity of the earth, see *De caelo*, 296a14–298b21.

write that while the horizon's specifics are fixed in terms of how far one can see (e. g., 180 degrees), the boundary of the horizon nonetheless obviously moved with the body of the observer. It remained both a constant *and* constantly mutable fixture, including new elements while others were discarded as they fell out of sight.

From Antiquity onward, if not earlier, it can be assumed that the word takes on a cultural dimension associated with the body. In Greek, the verb *horizein* (ὁρίζειν) means to stake boundaries, limiting space through marking, for instance when one makes a settlement and defines it with a fence.[17] This fence would be denoted by the noun *horos*, which could refer to natural phenomena like mountains, but also to borders and frontiers. Whether the boundaries are «natural» or man-made, in either case they denote a difference between two zones: inside and outside, a delineation manifesting itself in cultural, or anthropological and corporeal terms. Highlighting these anthropological and bodily aspects of the word, it is worth noting that it also stems from the Greek expression ὁ ὁρίζων κύκλος, meaning the circle of the face, as well as ὁρίζω, which denotes the act through which this circle is defined – again a reference to visual and cultural markers that rotate, like a circle, around the individual.[18]

This encircling band, however, was not limited to earthly bodies, but, as we have seen, was understood to extend outward into the macrocosm of the harmonic celestial spheres. Because the horizon was also the boundary between earth and sky, it was part of a set of circles that reached from earth to heaven, each one marking a specific region that was at once thought to be spatial and philosophical (the circle of the zodiac, for instance). The horizon was thus at the same time macrocosmic, deeply linked to what was beyond visual perception, and microcosmic, since it delimited in a very concrete sense man's experience on earth; it was a spatial given, but also a cultural artifact. Moreover, it lay, as the Bishop of Nemesios of Emsea (around 400), in turn has written, at the «border between reason and sensation» (ἐν μεθορίοις ἐστὶ νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας), as well as «the border between irrational and rational nature» (Ἐν μεθορίοις … τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς φύσεως), *and* the boundary between mortality and immortality.[19] «Inside» and «outside» could be construed not only as denoting here and there, but also as dividing spiritual and psychic interiority from the external sensual world.

In the Latin West in the thirteenth century (one century after de Lille and the illumination of St. Cuthbert's death), Thomas Aquinas thus used the Latin word *confinium* as a translation of the Greek word horizon to denote the border between earthly corporeality and the soul's ultimate voyage to a spiritual realm beyond the body. Experience within the horizon, Aquinas implied, was just one part of the soul's much larger and longer voyage, a hinge between mortality and everlasting life.[20] These ideas travelled far. In the political anthropology of Dante's (1265–

17 «ὁρίζειν» in: Liddell/Scott (1940).

18 Ibid.

19 Nemesios von Emesa, *De natura hominis* c. 1 = MPG 40, 508 and 512.

20 Thomas von Aquin, S. contra gent. III, 61, hg. C. Pera Nr. 2362; II, 81 = Nr. 1625; und In 3. sent., prol.; S. contra gent. II, 68 = Nr. 1453; citation after Hinske/Engfer/Janssen/Scherner (1974), col. 1187 f.

1321) *Monarchia*, for example, this hinge-like aspect of the horizon comes to the fore when the author describes it as the limit between «earthly paradise» and «celestial paradise». In using the borrowed Greek word (*orizon*) instead of the Latin derivation (*finiens*), Dante not only carried on ancient and medieval philosophical traditions, but at the same time transformed the horizon into a parable of human nature: «man would be correctly compared to the horizon by philosophers, because both stand between two hemispheres» (*… zu Recht würde der Mensch von den Philosophen mit dem Horizont verglichen, der zwischen zwei Hemisphären steht*).[21] For only man, of all God's creatures, possesses two parts (*pars essentialis*), a mortal body and an immortal soul. Thanks to this unique nature, Dante continues, man also pursues two goals. On one hand, the realization of happiness in this life, a task accomplished by developing his unique ability to reason and thereby attain «earthly paradise».[22] On the other, man also strives towards happiness in eternal life, something achieved in *visio beatifica*, where only faith can lead. Dante's conceptualization of the horizon as a dividing line between terrestrial and celestial paradise is only one important example of how the horizon line could be deployed either in a philosophical or a pictorial/spatial sense – or both at once.

In different epochs and different cultures, countless possibilities existed to think through the meaning of the horizon and using it as a vehicle in order to locate the position of mankind in larger constellations of space and time. Here, we have only briefly touched upon the late medieval moment in the Western tradition, excluding even the most important later theorists of the horizon in the West from Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) to Leibniz (1646–1716), to Kant (1724–1804), to Heidegger (1889–1976) and Husserl (1859–1938).[23] Looking beyond the West, the volume of perspectives on the horizon is even more expansive, not to mention moments in which cultural traditions intersect and inform one another, calling new types of representation and new conditions of philosophical possibility into being across cultures. In these moments, when cultural horizons cross, the question of whether the horizon functions as a barrier or a bridge emerge with heightened urgency. Does one mode of thinking the horizon simply subsume the other into

21 Dante (1989), 241 f.

22 On Dante's anthropology see the last chapter of Kantorowicz' pivotal study entitled «Man-centered kingship: Dante» Kantorowicz (1957), 451–495.

23 Bodemann (1895), 83. Leibniz discusses the horizon in the context of the *scientia generalis* in *De l'Horizon de la doctrine humaine*. The limits of knowledge apply also to Leibniz the contemporary horizon of science, about a shifting regard future horizons demarcating the expansion of knowledge cannot be speculated. (*Et quaevis mens horizontem praesentis suae circa scientias capacitatis habet, nullum futurae*, Ettlinger (1921), 33.) For the further developments in the thoughts of Chr. Wolff, G. F. Meier, and A. Baumgarten see Hinske/Engfer/Janssen/Scherner (1974), col. 1187 f. McGrath (2008), 36; Flécheux (2014); Jullien (2014); Anderson (1992); Boehm (1989); Otagiri (2014). Husserl distinguishes an interior horizon of the single thing from an exterior horizon. Husserl (1954), 28 f. Later, Heidegger emphasizes the transcendal meaning oft he horizon to retract statements about transcendence. «Der H. und die Transzendenz sind somit von den Gegenständen und von unserem Vorstellen aus erfahren und nur im Hinblick auf die Gegenstände und unser Vorstellen bestimmt.» Hinske/Engfe/Janssen/Scherner (1974), col. 1187 f.

its purview or does the intersection produce a shift, setting in motion new definitions and understandings of time and space on both sides of the line?

To close this introduction, we will turn to another late medieval European object that speaks to some of these ambivalences in visual terms: Bartolomeo da li Sonetti's nautical atlas from 1485.[24] We will just briefly address the innovative aspects of his *atlas nautique* and what they add to already established pictorial modes of representing the visible world.[25]

Let us focus on the page representing the island of Cyprus[26] (Fig. 2). Bartolomeo's *atlas nautique* continues the tradition of Islamic and Western medieval portolan charts depicting coastlines, towns, lighthouses, and mountain ranges that helped guide sailors along coasts and avoid obstacles such as shallow waters and reefs. Generally, portolans presented a cartographic overview, combined with labels marking coastal landmarks in a fashion that encouraged the viewer/user to turn the map around in his hands, as if s/he were moving along the coast in a particular direction (the direction being decided by the orientation of the scripted labels). In Bartolomeo's atlas, we also find a new dimension of representation added to the portolan format. For whereas portolan maps generally present a unified, cartographic surface, Bartolomeo's renderings combine the portolan's cartography with chorography, or a rendering of the island in question as a bird's eye view landscape, so that two visual formats meet in a single image. We can thus make out the nautical chartlike elements which guide the eye (and the sailor) around the island's coast, but also assume not one but two fictive viewing positions from above (showing us the island in both cartographic plan and chorographic elevation simultaneously). These positions, in turn, conflate with the form of a compass, overlayed as a circle over the island. Meanwhile, these mapped renderings are interspersed with seventy sonnets describing the maps, extolling the particular qualities of islands like Cyprus, supplying an abridged history and describing the natural resources and manufactured goods to be found in each location. These multiple, overlapping visual and epistemological registers are remarkably fluid: they position the viewer both along the coast and above it as well as in the inner regions of an island, equipped with information one would want in order to seek out the bounty the island could provide through trade, or plunder.

24 An important predecessor is the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* of Cristoforo Buondelmonti, composed between 1420 and 1422. A contemporary project was the *Insularium Illustratum* by Henry Hammer, who was active as a cartographer between about 1480 and 1496 in Florence.

25 Michalsky (2011); Krüger (2000); Hofmann (2019); Helas (2010).

26 «This is that Acamantis which charmed so much delicate and tender Venus. Anciently it was called Amathusia and Macaria, now Cyprus. It lies thus – see! on the side where the sun rises it is set over against Syria, and on that where it sets towards Caria; with its plains and hills sloping more towards the north-west, so that the winter blasts are hushed. It is like Crete in size, and lies open to almost the same winds. Of old it held more than one kingdom. Here are sugar, much salt, and wealth, for Ceres showers here store of grain. Here a wine black when made grows light of itself. Here the women are not chary of their favours. Here Paphos and Salamis were renowned: and we hear of Tamassus and Soloi. Here Buffavento looks to every side. Lydinia, Citium, Carpas and Constantia, Famagusta, and Nicosia, seat of kings.» Excerpta Cypria (1908), 50.

Fig. 2: Isolario de Bartolomeo da li Sonetti atlas nautique datant de 1485 70 sonnets bnf.fr/fRl vue 115, Cyprus.

The reader/viewer thus finds him- or herself in multiple positions at once with numerous points of view. The horizon makes itself manifest here as a variable entity that shifts as the viewer adjusts in these points of view and positions of observation. This variation, of course, is encouraged by the temptation offered for gaining riches, either in the form of material goods or simply in the form of knowledge, a knowledge shared between those who have previously navigated these coast lines and those learning about them in the comfort of their *studioli* and libraries far away in the form of the book. The atlas format itself (though in this case not yet consistently scaled) also proposes a kind of potentially exponential expansion: new pages could theoretically be added to the compilation infinitely, as new territories are seen, charted, and conquered. Reading and interpreting this type of object thus lends itself well to thinking about the question of how horizons shift and how these shifts might be visualized and *thought* since once we begin to look, we begin to discover in Bartolomeo's guide how a shifting horizon manifests itself in various interconnected ways all at once.[27]

These drawings and the literary descriptions embedded into the accompanying sonnets provide us with an overview of nautical, geometrical, historical, cultural, poetical, and cosmological knowledge, and combine, thereby, several modes of representation. The combination of these modes of illustrating different aspects of knowledge about the world convey how the modes of perceiving these works may have significantly contributed to conquering, navigating, or comprehending the world and at the same time shifting both individual and collective horizons.[28]

27 The depiction combines an oblique bird's view from a fictive point high above the horizon with a vertical view upon the visible part of the sea resulting in a circle, and the outline of the island seen from above. However, within the island of Cyprus little elevations, hills and mountains, houses and small settlements and a walled town are indicating the location of these landmarks in an abbreviated form. Red and black inscriptions providing names legible from all sides surround the circle and are inscribed into the island. The pointer of an arrow orients the beholder towards north, on every other page accompanying the illuminations are 70 sonnets describing the islands. The illuminations provide the views upon the islands in different scales and even within the illumination's different scales of the depicted world's dimension are combined. The sonnet includes information on former names, how far the visual world reaches – the horizon spans from Syria (sunrise) to Caria (sunset), the size of and the winds impacting the island, names mythical and historical figures and cities on the island, and describes the island's wealth (sugar, salt, grain, wine).

28 Hans Blumenberg violently rejects the assumption of an epochal break between the Middle Ages and the modern period, taking Nicolaus Cusanus as one of his exemplary cases to show that the transition from the medieval to the obviously different modern conceptions of God, man, and the cosmos were not a sudden change brought about by a single occurrence, but the result of a complex series of events, weaving together Scholasticism, the Scientific Revolution, and later the Enlightenment. Blumenberg demonstrates that Cusanus's contribution to science is completely consistent with views emerging in late medieval theology. However, this moment of shifting conceptions is also the period in which, as Lucia Nuti has put it, «a mistaken connection between geography and painting was established» – based on a misinterpretation of the Ptolemaic text. Blumenberg (1983), 588–594. See also McKnight (1990), 184; Ditchfield/Bauer (forthcoming); Nuti (1999), 90. For the elevated (impossible) viewpoint on maps see Nuti (1994).

Currently, we are witnessing major changes in global systems of trade, the migration of populations (or their enclosure and policing), of climate, and the distribution of wealth and poverty, to name just a few. The horizons of the contemporary world are shifting before our eyes, so fast that new epistemologies and political theories, let alone policies, can scarcely keep up. Under Covid-19 lockdown, prognoses for the world's future change every few minutes, and though we are asked to socially isolate and confine our horizon to the four walls of our homes (if we are fortunate enough to have a home), our *Erwartungshorizont* is in constant motion.

Perhaps it is not easy to find a silver lining to the current experience of a global pandemic, which has caused so many deaths and had massive political, economic and social repercussions. Yet, as Bruno Latour and others have pointed out, this may also be a historic chance to recalibrate our socio-political horizons by bringing topics to the table that until now seemed (for many) frustratingly ignored.[29] The current situation demands a broad public debate over how the world will reinvent itself in the wake of Corona. Which parts of life that have been disrupted by the epidemic can be discarded? Which need to be maintained, but reformed? The pre-Covid world was hardly a paradise to which we should hurry back. Instead of simply returning, therefore, to a «*productivité d'avant crise*» (Latour), the current moment has revealed the urgent necessity of shifting our individual and collective horizons in order to imagine (and build) a previously unimaginable future. By excavating the history of shifting horizons, this volume aims to contribute to this process by re-examining how these shifts have occurred in the past, as well as the present.

The contributions to the book emerged from a conference held on the topic in Switzerland in 2019. The conference was organized into six sections: pictorial space and horizon, horizon and imagination in literature, global spaces, cartography and world-ordering, narration and historiography, as well as representation and realization. Participants from art history, literary history, and the history of philosophy as well as the history of science addressed topics that stretched from antiquity to the present. The following papers came out of the presentations and discussions, and address the topics outlined above and exploring the horizon as a dynamic zone, as well as a border, which prompts cultures to redefine transgression – and also establish cultural stabilities and norms – by asking us to imagine what lies beyond the horizon in novel ways.

1. Seth *Estrin*'s contribution investigates how boundary stones in fifth and fourth century (BC) Athens defined the limits of land owned by individuals, cities, or the state. He investigates how these markers made space apprehensible, providing contours to the material world. Estrin demonstrates how these signs made of rock thereby established spatial dimensions for beholders through their materiality as well as through their inscriptions. The confluence of ma-

29 Bruno Latour, «Imaginer les gestes-barrières contre le retour à la production d'avant-crise», *Analyse Opinion Critique* March, 2020.

terial object and text/image rendered legal and political horizons tangible in ways that fused juridical and perceptual imaginaries.

2. Andreas *Lammer* systematically analyzes various declinations of the horizons in different cultural and historical contexts. His discussion accounts for philosophical deliberations over how various «horizons» such as notions of the celestial conflated aspects of visuality (the limits of the visible) with both spiritual and physical considerations about the boundary between the sky and the earth. Departing from Aristotelian ideas regarding this boundary and their reception in Arab commentaries, Lammer concludes by discussing the particular case of skapulimantics, a divination practice that involved shoulder blades, again, connecting visible earthly signs with the invisible realm beyond the horizon.
3. Niklaus *Largier* explores how the idea of the horizon marked both perception and defined perspectives in medieval thought. He posits the horizon as key element in discussions of the relationship between the soul and temporality; Largier's analysis investigates how the figure of the horizon impacted perceptual order by defining space and time in ways that had implications for the structure of profane life as well as for the soul. He dedicates particular attention to the highly influential *Liber de Causis*, an Arabic tract, which was translated and attributed to Aristotle in the Latin West. A key phrase – «in the horizon of eternity» – provoked extensive discussions in the works of Thomas Aquinus, Nikolaus Cusanus, and others, as Largier details.
4. Avinoam *Shalem* puts the focus in his essay upon the horizon and how representations of the horizon contributed to the rendering of depth and distance in Islamic art. The Arabic term *afq* and the Hebrew *ofek* signify specific circles in the sky, establishing an explicit divide between what is visible and/or imagined above and below. He analyzes changes in the representation of depth and the introduction of panoramic views of landscape in illustrated manuscripts from the Ilkhanid, Timurid and Safavid periods, including the *Shahnama* illustrations from the Shiraz school in Iran, Mughal paintings, and the film *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962).
5. Ingrid *Baumgärtner* discusses cartographic configurations of the edge of the world in the Latin West. Departing from the reception of ancient knowledge about the cosmos, she demonstrates how diagrams accompanying Isidor of Seville's compendium *Etymologiae* remained important for medieval map production in manuscripts as well as early printed cartography. Her contribution reveals the relationships between visualized space and knowledge about what lays beyond the horizon. The shifts in these relationships address temporal change, connecting eternal promises and testimonies about the past. Encyclopedic knowledge pertaining to the horizon was also incorporated in the making of medieval maps and represented changing ideas about the cosmos.
6. Hans *Aurenhammer* examines how the representation of the horizon as a curved line changed in the decades following the introduction of perspectival representation in European art. Starting with Alberti's tract *On Painting*, he emphasizes that the perspectival horizon was not considered to be identical

to the visible horizon. His analysis includes works by the Maestro dell'Osservanza (Sano di Pietro), Giovanni di Paolo, Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, and Gentile da Fabriano. Aurenhammer shows how these artists used atmospheric color, depictions of changing light, and circular representations of the cosmos to negotiate representing the horizon as a limit between the seen and the invisible parallel to the development of one point perspective.

7. Kailani *Polzak* explores the littoral zone between the horizon as seen from the ship and from the shore. She interrogates how this zone was represented in prints, drawings, and nautical charts in the context of James Cook's expeditions. Her visual analysis pivots around the encounters between indigenous people and British voyagers. The shore emerges here as a visual horizon and also a horizon of cultural expectations, which finds representation in drawings, prints, and later wallpaper designs. These encounters feature prominently in the recent video work by Lisa Reihana as well. Entitled *in Pursuit of Venus [infected]*, 2015–17. This contemporary framework sets the stage for Polzak's discussion of hegemonies of «looking» at the shoreline.
8. In his contribution, Peter *Geimer* interprets the horizon and its spatial and temporal movement. Geimer links this to a specific type of history painting, which gained popularity beginning in 1800. This genre centered around the representation of historical events, especially battles in a panoramic format. Departing from the paradigm change described by Reinhart Koselleck from experienced space (*Erfahrungsraum*) to the horizon of expectation (*Erwartungshorizont*) as a period characteristic, he analyzes the significance of panoramas for the representation and perception of history. Geimer concentrates upon the painted horizon as a limit, but also as a pivotal element between audience and painted events, the so-called *faux terrain* and its material and discursive equipment.
9. Eva *Geulen* asks how language shapes demarcations. Her essay emphasizes how, since the early modern period, the dominant significance of the visual field as well as the use of the term horizon as a metaphor constituted simultaneous limitations. Examining medieval texts, Geulen investigates neglected traditions of interpretation in the history of philosophy, leading to the influential work of Hans Blumenberg. The latter's conception of the horizon was key to his understanding of «world», a concept originating in language that preserved modes of thinking and perceiving a historically specific view of the world.
10. James *Porter* examines the role played by the term «horizon» in the theory of history articulated by Friedrich Nietzsche in his *Zweite unzeitgemässe Betrachtung* (Thoughts out of Season Part 2) entitled *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben* (On the Use and Abuse of History for Life). Porter examines «horizons» regarding the three modes of historical consciousness (monumental, antiquarian and critical) and connects further iterations of the «horizon» used by Nietzsche in the development of his idea of history.

The German philosopher posits history not as an expression of memory of the past, but rather a means of forgetting.

11. Madeleine *Herren* reflects on the term horizon with regard to questions of global history, concretely in the case of the *Schweizerische Konsulargerichtsbarkeit* in Japan. This was one of the privileges enjoyed by Western countries during the colonial period in large parts of the world. Colonial powers could wield this right not only in cases of financial interests but also as a means of fostering process of identification through the development of global social pockets known as *Foreign Residents*. This shared horizon could serve as an umbrella for people of different origins that could identify with one another and build a sort of social cohesion, which was neither intended nor foreseen.
12. Shiben *Banerji* sheds light on the movement and active shifting of the horizon concerning the experience of the subject. He articulates this line of thought from an ecological perspective in relation to urban developments in the period between the two World Wars. This, he suggests, was a time, when the invisible was not primarily associated with transcendence. The exemplary case of an ecologically oriented urbanism from interwar Australia by the Chicago architects Marion Mahony (1871–1961) and Walter Burley Griffin (1876–1937) offered a created space – North Sydney suburb Castlecrag – where architects imagined and attempted to construct a multiethnic and mixed-income community. Their work combined the preservation of extant landscapes and heritage with transnational efforts to theorize urbanism as a method for fostering belonging and mitigating alienation.
13. Photography without horizon – the specific case of aerial photography for the measurement of the country in South Africa – is the subject of the article contributed by Lorena *Rizzo*. Her interest focuses on the pictorial language and semantics employed in these photographs and how they were archived in the service of the state in South Africa. Rizzo investigates the role of these images in relation to the horizon of political and institutional developments in South Africa, considering them as a kind of inner horizon, defined by several different politicized and aesthetic factors.
14. Philip *Ursprung* describes the physical horizon in East Java, following the footsteps of the German researcher Franz Junghuhn, whose account of the island encompassed several years of empirical research. Central for Ursprung's perspective is the map of Java published by Junghuhn in 1855, which encapsulated the multiple perspectives combined in his exploratory enterprise. These serve as inspiration, condition, and conceptual frame at the same time. The German geologist mapped the island not from the sea, which was perceived as a permanent menace by the local societies, but instead from the perspective of the island's volcanos, which were perceived as life-giving. Ursprung uses the active shifting of the horizon in Junghuhns oeuvre to reflect upon the urban future of Southasia, positing them as potentially useful in planning future urban projects.

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