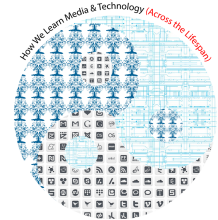




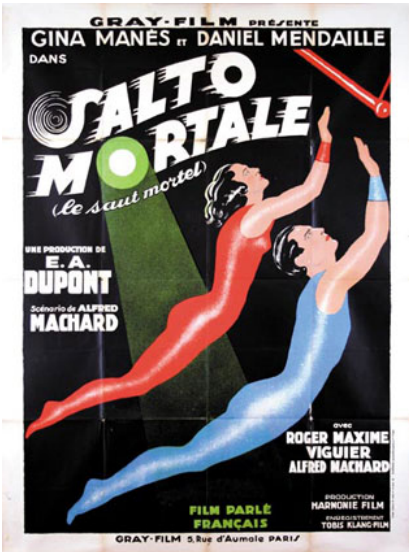
# How We Learn (Media & Technology Across the Lifespan)

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## HWL Tracer Bullet #58

### *Caveat Salto Mortale: On the ANT's and Historian's Values*



1. Working problem:
  - a. There are major discoveries to be made. The problem, or more specifically the historical task, is attending to the 1600 years between Cicero and Ramus or between Cicero's adoption of *τεχνολογία* and *curriculum vitae* and Ramus's adoption of *τεχνολογία* and *curriculum*. Even if Ramus merely copied Cicero, giving ancients immediate presence, this does not describe or explain what happened in the ages or days between.
  - b. On the one hand, historians made a 1600 years *salto mortale*, the fatal leap, from ancient to early modern. On the other, the historical trail of *τεχνολογία* and *curriculum* between the ancients and early moderns ran dry. We just do not know what happened to *τεχνολογία* and *curriculum*, although there are some secondary sources that are helpful. For the most part, the primary sources still hold the answers.

2. *Salto Mortale*

- a. Vaulting Ambition

- i. The mythology of the vaulting ambition is most commonly associated with the leap and flight of Icarus, which indeed does translate into a *salto mortale*.
    - ii. Shakespeare (1606), *Macbeth*:  
I have no spur  
To prick the sides of my intent, but only  
Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself  
And falls on th'other. (1.7.25-8)



- iii. For Shakespeare, vaulting ambition refers to an ambitious, illusory leap across office, station, or lot that life has dealt.
      - iv. Making a leap, *salto mortale* or otherwise, begs a question of vaulting ambition.

- b. *Salto mortale* is a renaissance Latin term generally drawn from the circus and gymnastics to refer to dangerous vaulting or death-defying leaps (e.g., *Il Gimnasta, in Practica ed in Teoria*, 1753). By the end of the eighteenth century, *salto mortale* also referred to a leap from reason to faith, or knowledge to belief, that one necessarily made in religion. At the same time, it became increasingly common to refer to breaks and distinctions between “ancient times” and “modern times,” fueling the lure to leap and sweep cross time.
      - i. Jacoby (1785, p. 366): So if I want to speak of the pleasure of this supreme being, I must not only elevate it above every concept, but must boldly expel it from every concept. My acute friend Mendelssohn was right when he called this a ‘surpassing

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oneself'. It was a *salto mortale*, to which I immediately responded with a *salto mortale* of my own, and thereby I stood again next to the man with whom I was conversing [i.e., leap of faith v what reason denies]

- ii. Kant (1793, p. 134): But if even this faith itself were presented as if it had so special a power or such a mystical (or magical) influence that, although as far as we know it should be considered merely historical, it were yet able, if one clings to it and to the feelings linked with it, to improve the whole human being from his very basis (make a new human being out of him), then this faith itself would have to be regarded as conferred and inspired (with and beneath the historical faith) directly by heaven—at which point, then, everything, even with the moral constitution of the human being, amounts ultimately to an unconditional decree of God: “He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth” which, taken according to the letter, is the *salto mortale* of human reason.
- iii. James & Pragmatism
  1. James (1904): Whosoever feels his experience as something substitutional, even while he has it, may be said to have an experience that reaches beyond itself. From inside of its own entity it postulates reality existing elsewhere. For the transcendentalist, who holds knowing to consist in a *salto mortale* across an ‘epistemological chasm,’ such an idea presents no difficulty, but it seems at first sight as if it might be inconsistent with an empiricism like our own. Have we not explained conceptual knowledge to be wholly constituted by things that fall outside of the knowing experience itself— by intermediary experiences and by a terminus that fulfills?... This is what, as a radical empiricist, I say to the charge that the objective reference which is so flagrant a character of our experiences involves a chasm and a mortal leap. A positively conjunctive transition involves neither chasm nor leap. Being the very original of what we mean by continuity, it makes a continuum wherever it appears. (pp. 561, 562)
  2. James (1907a): The idea, in ‘meaning’ an object separated by an ‘epistemological chasm’ from itself, now executes a *salto mortale*; in knowing the object's nature, it now ‘transcends’ its own. The object in turn becomes ‘present’ where it is really absent, etc.... In the case of the epistemological chasm the first reasonable step is to remember that the chasm was filled with some empirical material, whether ideas or sensations, which performed some bridging function and saved us from the mortal leap. (pp. 399-400)
  3. In *The Meaning of Truth*, James (1909, pp. 114, 138-153) gives a full treatment of the *salto mortale* and attributes his understanding to correspondence with Strong (e.g., 1907), who writes:
    - a. In the first place, there are two kinds of relations, which I shall call, till I can think of a better pair of words, ambulatory and saltatory relations. In the saltatory relations we pass directly from one term to the other, and consider simply the impression which the second term makes on us ·in coming from the first; no third term, or intervening existence between the terms, is requisite to the relation. Of these similarity is an example. In the ambulatory relations we make our way from the first term to the second over a medium of the same kind as the terms it unites, and this middle existence is an indispensable implicate of the relation. So different times and places are connected by intervening time and space.... Now only the ambulatory relations are existential, and serve to connect

experiences. The saltatory relations are logical. (quoted in James, 1975, p. 180)

- iv. Santayana (1920, p. 183): Transitivity in knowledge has two stages or leaps; the leap of intuition, from the state of the living organism to the consciousness of some essence; and the leap of faith and of action, from the symbol actually given in sense or in thought to some ulterior existing object. The first leap, which is primary and fundamental to knowledge, alone concerns us here. It reveals some universal term, which borrows nothing whatever from the observer except its presence to him, which is perfectly adventitious to its nature, and not indicated there. Essences, like things, become objects by accident. Consequently knowledge of essence too is transitive, terminating in an object which is self-determined in its logical sphere and essential relations, and may be revealed to many minds at different times, in various contexts, and with more or less completeness.
- v. Latour & ANT
  1. (1994, p. 121): William James, a century ago, made fun of all the epistemologists who, after having cut an abyss between words and world, imagined no other way to relate them than a '*salto mortale*' above the yawning gap. He described his own position as a 'deambulatory' theory of truth, because it skipped no intermediary, no transition (James, 1907 [1975], p. 245). Now, what James was doing conceptually, we have done empirically.
  2. (2005, pp. 122, 191): What is requested from us is not the impossible task of jumping, in one *salto mortale*, from our mental representation to the four former sources of uncertainty, but to ask the simple question: What do we do when we trace social connections? Are we not, in effect, writing down accounts?... Whenever the urge to go away from local interactions manifested itself, and instead of trying some *salto mortale* toward the invisible rear-world of the social context, I proposed to trudge toward the many local places where the global, the structural, and the total were being assembled and where they expand outward thanks to the laying down of specific cables and conduits.
  3. (2007, p. 88): Provided, that is, that we don't jump. William James made a lot of fun of those who wanted to jump through some vertiginous *salto mortale* from several shifting and fragile representations to one unchanging and unhistorical reality. To position the problem of knowledge in this fashion, James said, was the surest way to render it utterly obscure. His solution, unaided by science studies or history of science, was to underline again the simple and plain way in which we rectify our grasp of what we mean by establishing a continuous connection between the various versions of what we have to say about some state of affairs. His solution is so well known — but not always well understood — that I can rehearse it very fast, by insisting simply on a point rarely highlighted in the disputes around the so called "pragmatist theory of truth".
  4. (2011, p. 7): This work of assembly is especially necessary if we now are to imagine the "we" that humans are supposed to feel part of in taking responsibility for the anthropocene. Right now there is no path leading from my changing the light bulbs in my home straight to the Earth's destiny: such a stair has no step; such a ladder has no rung. I would have to jump, and this would be quite a *salto mortale*! All assemblages need intermediaries: satellites, sensors, mathematical formulae, and climate models, to be sure, but also nation states, NGOs, consciousness, morality and responsibility. Can

this lesson of assembly be followed?

c. Bunjee Jumping

- i. Cameron (2002, p. 287): Imagine this: I am standing on a narrow ledge on the side of a suspension bridge. In a moment I am going to jump off, trusting that the elastic rope attached to my ankles will stop me plunging to certain death in the river 43 metres (142 feet) below. Such bungee jumping derives from the harvest celebrations in Vanuatu in the South Pacific when men leapt from 20 m platforms with vines attached to their ankles.

d. Chronic and Diachronic Leaps

- i. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it became increasingly common to refer to breaks and distinctions between “ancient times” and “modern times,” or between the ancient and modern philosophy, fueling the lure to leap and sweep across time. For example, Sprat (1667, pp. 80-81), in *The History of the Royal-Society of London*, begins by reasoning: “In my foregoing discourse, I try’d to make out the advantages of the *Moderne* Times, above the *antient*; by following the progress of Learning, down through their tracks, to which *Schollars* usually confine it; I will now also strengthen that argument; by briefly comparing the skill, and the works of the *unlearned* parts of the *present* world, with those that are *past*.”
- ii. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, history ostensibly provided a reliable “modern era” from which to leap, *salto mortale* or otherwise, backward and forward in time. “Progress must characterize the onward sweep of time,” an analyst of civilization contended (Steinhauser, 1926, p. 27).
- iii. The periodicity of the break of modern from ancient was nonetheless contentious. Ferguson’s (1948) *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* made a case for a “Renaissance period” of time roughly between 1300 and 1600. “In contrast to the medieval darkness, the age of the Renaissance was illuminated by the first evidence of modern progress toward rational en- lightenment,” Ferguson (p. 90) insists. He notes that
  - historians obviously regarded the period that has since been called the Renaissance as one of revolutionary change in the condition of Western Europe.... In a word, it was at the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth that the Middle ages ended and the modern era began.... Despite its epoch-making significance, however, they made little attempt to isolate the transitional age or to characterize it by itself. (pp. 101-102)

3. Scholarly Values

a. Historian’s values

- i. Taylor (1937, p. 101): “careful assembly of evidence, sound generalization, intelligent synthesis, and clear portrayal.”
- ii. Frankel (1953, p. 354): “historical sweep” (i.e., *salto mortale*) versus “careful marshalling of evidence” and “almost passionate desire not to be misunderstood.”
- iii. Chirot (1983): “clear thought, careful marshalling of evidence, and incisive writing.”
- iv. “Conscientious attention to detail” and “careful chronology.” “Clarity.”
  1. Intricacies of History
    - a. Woodward (1963, p. 840): tolerance for the intricacies of history and the frailties of human nature.
    - b. [Cultural historians] are less interested in the emplacement of critical labels than committed to teasing out the intricacies of historical and historiographic meaning. They are concerned with investigating the formative if fuzzy processes of individual and collective memory, of

- myth-making and changing, of social change and cultural production. (Slocum, 1988, p. 178)
2. Nuances of History
    - a. Bogue (1984, p. 511): “Colorful material, painstakingly culled from a host of sources” and “clear, active prose.”
    - b. Wood (1984, p. 512): “historians value fellow workers who are able to boil down everything in the field to a clear and concentrated substance— not too thick or too thin.”
    - c. Allardyce (1987, p. 377): “historians value accuracy of fact above conceptual synthesis”
    - d. Butler (2006, p. 50): Historians value specific contexts, and they exhibit more than considerable wariness about behavioral “laws” and over-reaching interpretive schemes—in short, theory. They indeed generalize. But they almost always insist that generalizations apply to specific places in specific times.
  3. Interpretation & Innovation in source and text
    - a. Birr (1962, p. 72): It has become a commonplace of recent historiography that each generation engages in the reinterpretation of its past. And why is such a reinterpretation necessary? At least in part because each generation has new questions to ask of the past.
  - v. Moral Judgment, e.g., Higham, “Historian as Moral Critic” (1962):
    1. Too feeble an involvement in the life of the present makes for a slack and routine grasp of the past. But present commitments that are too parochial imprison our imagination, instead of challenging it. At one extreme, historical thought is sterile, at the other tendentious. How can historians, by the strength of their detachment, rise above a constricting present, and, by the amplitude of their commitment, enter a living past? (p. 609)
    2. Having learned something of the relativity of values, today's historians can exercise a morally critical function with tentativeness and humility, with a minimum of self righteousness, and with a willingness to meet the past on equal terms.... Neither the dogmatic moralist, nor the pure scientist, nor the pragmatist offers a satisfactory model. (p. 619)
    3. We are now too well aware of the wide disparities between ethical systems, and too ignorant of their relation to one another, to impose our own arbitrarily on another time and place. Let us beware of the easy temptations of moral judgment in essaying, the difficult adventure of moral criticism. Let us operate on any subject with a conviction of its dignity and worth. Let us grant to every actor in a moral drama the fullest measure of his [her or their] particular integrity; let us not destroy the drama by hastening to condemn or to absolve. The serious historian... is not a judge of the dead, but rather a participant in their affairs, and their only trustworthy intermediary. (p. 620)
    4. To write as a critic, however, is to assume an active responsibility both to a phase of the past and to a contemporary public, and to engage one with the other (p. 620)
    5. Historical method acquires a new dimension when we begin to speak of the criticism of life in addition to the technical criticism of documents. (p. 621)
    6. [This value] calls attention to the need for a thoroughgoing moral criticism, in contrast to the impressionistic moral judgments that creep into historical writing at every turn. (p. 622)
  - vi. Theory and Politics
    1. Crespi (1915, p. 223): “Philosophy without history is empty; history without

- philosophy is blind” (ostensibly quoting Croce, 1915)
2. Miller (1939, p. 36): “Theory without history is empty, history without theory is blind” (see Emery, 1941, p. 231).
    - a. Derived from Kant:
      - i. Kant, *Critique of Pure Knowledge* (Muller, Trans.) (1781/1881, p. 45): “Thoughts without contents are empty, intuitions without concepts are blind.”
      - ii. Kant, *Critique of Pure Knowledge* (Meiklejohn, Trans.) (1781/1889, p. 46): “Thoughts without content are void; intuitions without conceptions, blind.”
      - iii. Schurman (1898, p. 19): Concepts without precepts are empty” and “percepts without concepts are blind.”
    3. H. G. Wells. *Outline of History* (1920, p. 700): We become political in spite of ourselves. “Politics without history has no root,” said Sir J. R. Seeley; “history without politics has no fruit.”
  - vii. See also Historical Consciousness
    - 1.
  - b. Empirical @ Evidence
    - i. Empirical (*ἐμπειρία*) is defined as representations that stand in immediate relation to the evidence (Kant)
    - ii. Evidence @ Example
      1. Aristotle, argues that inductive examples lack persuasive power but admits them as a kind of proof:
        - a. If we have no enthymemes, we must employ examples as demonstrative proofs [*ἀπόδειξις*], for conviction is produced by these; but if we have them, examples must be used as evidence [*ἐμπειρία*] and as a kind of epilogue to the enthymemes ... if they stand last they resemble evidence, and a witness [*μάρτυς*] is in every case likely to induce belief. (*Rhetoric*, 2.20.9)
      2. Cicero (e.g., *de Legibus* and *de Oratore*) acknowledges the effectiveness of examples (*exempla*) in argument and oratory.
      3. The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (ca. 80 BCE) admits that in some authors “an example (*exemplum*) is used just like testimony to prove a point” (4.1.1-2.2) but holds that “examples are set forth, not to confirm or bear witness [*nec corifirmandi neque testificandi causa*] but to clarify [*sed demonstrandi*]” (4.3.5). (Albl, 1999, p. 72)
    - iii. Chain of Evidence
    - iv. Chain of Reference
    - v. Chain of Inscriptions
  - c. ANT’s Values and the Value of Ants
    - i. Myopticality and Tactility
      1. ANT’s ants
        - a. Latour, *Reassembling* (2005, p. 9): I was ready to drop this label for more elaborate ones like ‘sociology of translation’, ‘actant-rhizome ontology’, ‘sociology of innovation’, and so on, until someone pointed out to me that the acronym A.N.T. was perfectly fit for a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveler. An ant writing for other ants, this fits my project very well!
        - b. Latour, *Reassembling* (2005, p. 25): Traveling with ANT, I am afraid to say, will turn out to be agonizingly slow. Movements will be constantly interrupted, interfered with, disrupted, and dislocated by

the five types of uncertainties. In the world ANT is trying to travel through, no displacement seems possible without costly and painful translations. Sociologists of the social seem to glide like angels, transporting power and connections almost immaterially, while the ANT-scholar has to trudge like an ant, carrying the heavy gear in order to generate even the tiniest connection. At the end of this book, we will attempt to summarize what differentiates a good ANT account from a bad one—a crucial quality test—by asking three questions: have all the difficulties of traveling been recognized? Has the complete cost of the travel from one connection to the next been fully paid? Has the traveler not cheated by surreptitiously getting a ride from an already existing ‘social order’? In the meantime, my advice is to pack as little as possible, don’t forget to pay your ticket, and prepare for delays.

- c. Latour, *Reassembling* (2005, p. 121): One must remain as myopic as an ant in order to carefully misconstrue what ‘social’ usually means. One must travel on foot and stick to the decision not to accept any ride from any faster vehicle.
  - d. Latour, *Reassembling* (2005, p. 175): Myopic ANT scholars have a great advantage over sharp-sighted all encompassing overseers. Not only can they ask gross and silly questions, they can do so obstinately and collectively.
  - e. Latour, *Reassembling* (2005, p. 176): Having reached this point, don’t try to be intelligent, don’t jump, don’t switch vehicles: if you do so, you’ll miss the embranchment and fail to trace the new landscape. Just follow the trails myopically. Ant you have accepted to be, ANT you will remain! If you stick obstinately enough to the decision of producing a continuous trail instead of a discontinuous one, then another mountain range begins to emerge.
  - f. Latour (2014, p. 46): We have a case that interests us a lot here about ants. Because ants and ANT (Actor Network Theory) are very related, we are always interested in ants. If you look at research about ants, many people would say that ants are not directed by any sort of superior entity—the organicist version—and that it is only “individual” ants that do the acting. But, we in the humanities are trained to be attentive to the dozens of cases where, in the texts of the same scientists who say we have abandoned the idea of a super organism, in fact, ants appear as a character, an actant, they are doing the job of a society, of a big organism, precisely what was not supposed to be there.
- ii. Hesitation (instead of leaping): “a certain capacity to multiply the room for manoeuvre” (Latour, *Making of Law*, 2009, p. 151)
  - iii. No trace, no talk:
    - 1. “No trace left, thus no description, then no talk. Don’t fill it in.” This is the mantra Latour (2004, p. 70; 2005, p. 150) articulates in the Socratic dialogues between the Professor and Student, which we enter here in *media res*:
      - S: But if my people don’t act, if they don’t actively compare, standardize, organize, generalize, what do I do? I will be stuck! I won’t be able to add any other explanations.
      - P: You are really extraordinary. If your actors don’t act, they will leave

no trace whatsoever either. So you will have no information at all: you will have nothing to say.

S: You mean I should remain silent when there is no trace?

P: Incredible! Would you raise this question in any of the natural sciences? It would sound totally silly. It takes a social scientist to claim that they can go on explaining even in the absence of any information. Are you really prepared to make up data?

S: No, of course not, but still I want . . .

P: Good, at least you are more reasonable than most of your colleagues. No trace left, thus no description, then no talk. Don't fill it in. It's like a map of a country in the sixteenth century: no one went there, nor did anyone come back—so leave it blank! *Terra incognita*.

iv. Please, more details

1. Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* (1603): swerve not from the smallest article of it, neither in time, matter, or other circumstance.
2. Latour (2005a, p. 19): But once we have moved beyond the image wars, once we have regained a good grasp of the masses of intermediaries necessary to represent anything, once we have moved back to things, could we extend the same attention for mediators to the most despised activity, namely political spin [i.e., critique]? (p. 19)
3. Latour (2005b, p. 40): If the nuance [between ANT and the sociology of the social] looks moot, its effects are radical. If, for instance, a social difference is 'expressed in' or 'projected upon' a detail of fashion, but that this detail—let's say a shine of silk instead of nylon—is taken as an intermediary transporting faithfully some social meaning—'silk is for high-brow', 'nylon for low-brow'—then it is in vain that an appeal has been made to the detail of the fabric. It has been mobilized purely for illustrative purposes. Even without the chemical difference between silk and nylon, the social difference between high and low-brow will have existed anyhow; it has simply been 'represented' or 'reflected' on a piece of cloth that has remained wholly indifferent to its composition. If, on the contrary, the chemical and manufacturing differences are treated as so many mediators, then it may happen that without the many indefinite material nuances between the feel, the touch, the color, the sparkling of silk and nylon, this social difference might not exist at all. It is this infinitesimal distinction between mediators and intermediaries that will produce, in the end, all the differences we need between the two types of sociologies. To sum up the contrast in a rudimentary way, the sociologists of the social believe in one type of social aggregates, few mediators, and many intermediaries; for ANT, there is no preferable type of social aggregates, there exist endless number of mediators, and when those are transformed into faithful intermediaries it is not the rule, but a rare exception that has to be accounted for by some extra work—usually by the mobilization of even more mediators! No two viewpoints of the same object could be more different. (p. 40)
4. Latour (2005b): The useful notion of 'thick description' provides a welcome attention to details but not necessarily to style. 'Thickness' should also designate: 'Have I assembled enough?' It should give the word 'assembling' a political meaning. (p. 136)
5. Latour (2005b): A good text should trigger in a good reader this reaction: 'Please, more details, I want more details.' God is in the details, and so is everything else—including the Devil. It's the very character of the social to



be specific. The name of the game is not reduction, but irreduction. As Gabriel Tarde never tired of saying: 'To exist is to differ.' (p. 137)

- v. Irreductions
  - 1. Latour (1984/1988, p. 158): Nothing is, by itself, either reducible or irreducible to anything else.
  - 2. Latour (1984/1988, p. 190): Those who believe it is possible to reduce one actor to another suddenly find themselves enriched by something that comes from beyond: beyond the facts, the law; beyond the world, the other world; beyond practice, theory; beyond the real, the possible, the objective, the symbolic. This is why reductionism and religion always go hand in hand: religious religion, political religion, scientific religion.
- d. ANT and History
  - i. Latour (1984/1988, p. 12): Pasteur said he could not claim the honor of being a surgeon; I cannot claim that of being a historian. This undertaking does not purport to add anything to the history of science, still less to the history of the nineteenth century. I use history as a brain scientist uses a rat, cutting through it in order to follow the mechanisms that may allow me to understand at once the content of a science and its context. For this reason the presentation of the documentary materials does not follow the historical path but rather the network of associations that slowly make up the Pasteurian world.
  - ii. Asdal (2012, p. 397): And there is a certain irony to the above mentioned contemporary turn accompanying actor-network theory, as actor-network theory can, just as well, be read as method for doing history — a historicizing tool. At least, this is what this article argues. Actor-network theory can be read as a form of inquiry that, in principle, ought to be cherished as the historian's method.
  - iii. Rather than putting actor-network theory in opposition to history, actor-network theory may be employed as a historicizing method that may serve to fruitfully problematize a conventional contextualizing approach.
  - iv. Asdal (2012, p. 398): Actor-network theory resources may inspire "history," I have suggested, to read texts in more radically historicizing ways and, in doing just that, undisciplining history somewhat; opening the discipline for a little bit more theorizing (Asdal 2003) and experimenting.
  - v. Asdal & Moser (2012, p. 301): Asdal takes the debate on history versus STS as her point of departure and asks whether there has been, with a little help of actor-network theory, a contemporary turn in STS. If that is the case, it is somewhat ironical, Asdal argues, as actor-network theory ought to be read as a radically historicizing method.
- e. New Historicism versus "New Erudition"
  - i. Wilson (1997, p. 7): "It all sounds like New Historicism to me, so the curious thing is why Representations should want to repackage it as 'The New Erudition', a peculiar phrase that combines slick American marketing with pomposity."
  - ii. The "new" Erudition
    - 1. Starn (1996, p. 2): A penchant for the arresting detail, trace, clue, sign, shard, and so on—this may overlap with but is not the same as the citation of evidence in an inductive argument or the use of particulars to produce effects of "presence"; erudite details tend to be too contextually embedded to be adduced as "mere" facts or to convey an aura of immediacy.
      - a. A predilection for the curious, strange, unexpected, sometimes uncanny and riddlesome fact, feature, or cultural field, both in its own right and also as "normal" for a hermeneutics of culture.

- b. Interdisciplinarity sans *la lettre*, that is, a latitudinarian attitude toward distinctions of genre, discipline, or cultural status that is usually not denoted by the term “interdisciplinary” or theorized as such; in effect, culture partakes of the archive, library, or museum, inviting scholarly navigation from point to point along various lines of inquiry.
- c. A “genealogical” mode of research and representation attentive to typological relationships across time and to particularities in time.