

Contents

<i>List of Explanatory Boxes</i>	viii
<i>The Story of This Book</i>	ix
Part 1: What Is Science? What Is Knowledge?	
Chapter 1: History of Science in the Anthropocene	3
Chapter 2: Elements of a Historical Theory of Human Knowledge	23
Part 2: How Knowledge Structures Change	
Chapter 3: The Historical Nature of Abstraction and Representation	37
Chapter 4: Structural Changes in Systems of Knowledge	65
Chapter 5: External Representations at Work	87
Chapter 6: Mental Models at Work	103
Chapter 7: The Nature of Scientific Revolutions	118
Part 3: How Knowledge Structures Affect Society and Vice Versa	
Chapter 8: The Economy of Knowledge	145
Chapter 9: An Economy of Practical Knowledge	170
Chapter 10: Knowledge Economies in History	190
Part 4: How Knowledge Spreads	
Chapter 11: The Globalization of Knowledge in History	247
Chapter 12: The Multiple Origins of the Natural Sciences	280
Chapter 13: Epistemic Networks	301
Part 5: On What Knowledge Our Future Depends	
Chapter 14: Epistemic Evolution	323
Chapter 15: Exodus from the Holocene	355
Chapter 16: Knowledge for the Anthropocene	377
Chapter 17: Science and the Challenges of Humanity	408
Glossary	417
Notes	435
References	469
Index	543

Chapter 1

History of Science in the Anthropocene

Anybody who does not earnestly wish that all humanity is well, therefore abuses it. But he is not even a true friend of himself, if he wishes to live as a healthy man among the sick, as a wise man among the dumb, as a good man among the bad, or as a happy man among the miserable.

—JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS, *Pampaedia*

Wherever the problem of knowledge does not appear at the *beginning* of the consideration, it has already been robbed of its true force. The decisive achievement of modern philosophy is that it no longer regards knowledge as a question among others, one that can be treated and resolved incidentally on the basis of other systematic presuppositions, that it has learnt to understand knowledge as the creative fundamental force in the construction of the totality of intellectual and ethical culture.

—ERNST CASSIRER, “From the Introduction to the First Edition of *The Problem of Knowledge in Modern Philosophy and Science*”

Stormy Weather

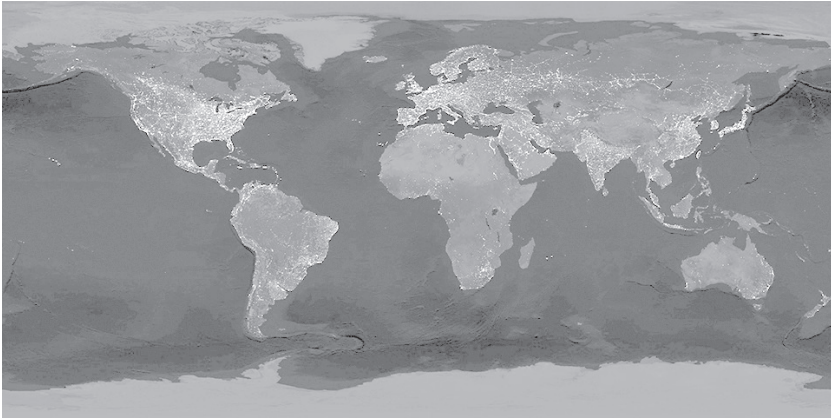
Humans have changed the planet.¹ Actually, humans have drastically changed the planet, with dramatic consequences. Nearly no untouched nature remains.² A large part of the earth’s surface not covered by ice has been transformed. The polar ice is melting, the water level of the oceans is rising, and coastal and marine habitats are undergoing massive changes. More than half of the planet’s freshwater is being exploited by humans. Oceans are being acidified and contaminated by aquacultures. Agricultural soil is being degraded. Beneath the surface, the earth is being altered by mines and drilling. The construction of thousands of dams and extensive deforestation massively affect water circulation and erosion rates and thus the evolution and geographical spread of numerous species. The loss of biodiversity is greater by orders of magnitude than it would be without human intervention. On average, at least every third nitrogen atom in our bodies has been once processed by the fertilizer industry. Most of the biomass of all living mammals is constituted by humans and domesticated animals.

Through energy-intensive chemical processes, humans use and create functional materials (which are rare under natural conditions), and brought them into wide circulation. Among these are elemental aluminum, lead, cadmium, and mercury, fly ash residues from the high-temperature combustion of coal and oil, and also concrete, plastic, and other man-made materials, many of them displaying properties alien to the natural world. Plutonium from atmospheric nuclear testing will persist in the sedimentary record for the next several hundred thousand years while it decays into uranium and then into lead. We are directly measuring the highest atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases carbon dioxide and methane in at least eight hundred thousand years, and indirectly, in at least four million years. The figures are rising steeply. Even if the use of fossil energy resources were to stop immediately, it would take thousands of years before that concentration sank to preindustrial levels.

Some changes have occurred at a much brisker pace than natural processes. The present concentration of carbon dioxide has been reached at a rate at least ten, and possibly one hundred times faster than increases at any time during the previous 420,000 years. Simultaneously, new diseases have spread via carriers with rapid life cycles that allow them to adapt quickly to the new conditions. How quickly will human societies be able to adapt to the same? The ongoing changes will affect, in any case, different parts of the globe in different ways, and the global nature of these changes will not always be easy to recognize for those who suffer from them. With floods increasingly menacing low-lying cities near large bodies of water, new forms of gentrification emerge, raising the prices of dry and secure locations and displacing the poor. Previously fertile farmlands dry out because of drought, inciting allocation battles and migrations to richer nations. Developed countries may actually appear to benefit from climate change, while developing countries suffer—but ultimately everyone will lose. There will be no escape, not even for the rich.

In short, the planet is changing, with irreversible consequences. The human species has mushroomed all over the planet. Humans have massively intervened in various Earth system cycles, such as the carbon cycle, causing climate change, as well as the water, nitrogen, phosphorus, and sulphur cycles, all of which are fundamental to life on Earth. Humanity has affected the energy balance at the earth's surface, resulting in the transition of our planet into a new stage. Humanity does not act against the backdrop of an unchangeable nature; it is deeply woven into its very fabric, shaping both its imminent and distant future. For all of humanity's interventions in planetary cycles, it is still part of the biosphere, with no power to transcend it. We are not outside observers!

The fundamental revision of our understanding of the state of this planet may only be compared to the upheaval of our physical conceptions of space and time in the wake of Einstein's theories of relativity. In classical physics, space and time seemed to be the rigid stage on which world events were taking place. According to Einstein's theory, in contrast, this stage is no immutable framework but is itself part of the drama; there is no absolute distinction between the actors and the scenery. Space and time do not remain in the background of physical processes but rather take part in them. The new reality of the planet confronts us with a similarly radical need to rethink our situation: we are not living in a stable environment that simply serves as a stage and resource for our actions; rather, we are



1.1. Artificial light on Earth. The brightest areas are the most urbanized but not necessarily the most populated. Some remain unlit, such as the jungles of Africa and South America or the deserts of Arabia and Mongolia, even though lights begin to appear there as well. Created in 2006 with data from the US Defense Meteorological Satellite Program's Operational Linescan System. Wikimedia Commons.

all actors in a comprehensive drama in which humans and the nonhuman world take part equally.

In the year 2000, Nobel Prize winner and discoverer of the mechanism responsible for the hole in the ozone layer Paul Crutzen felt uneasy with the official account of the state of the planet, according to which we are presently living in the “Holocene” epoch. Geologists have a sophisticated system to classify the enormous time span of the earth’s history into intervals. *Holocene* means “entirely recent” and is the second epoch of the so-called Quaternary period, after the Pleistocene. However strange it may sound, the Quaternary is actually an Ice Age that began ca. 2.6 million years ago; more precisely, the Quaternary is characterized by a back-and-forth of polar ice. The Holocene is an interglacial period in which the ice retreats. It began 11,700 years ago, and its climatic conditions have been unusually stable ever since.³ Crutzen was participating in a conference on Earth system science outside Mexico City when he was struck by a sudden dislike for the Holocene description, which seemed to utterly belittle the human impact on the Earth system. He told the delegates to stop using the term “Holocene” and, while speaking, searched for a better one: “We’re not in the Holocene anymore. We’re in the . . . the . . . the Anthropocene!”⁴

As it turned out, the term had been used by the limnologist Eugene F. Stoermer since the 1980s.⁵ Similar terms have been introduced independently by several scientists. In particular, the concept of a “noosphere” had been introduced and developed by Vladimir Vernadsky, Édouard Le Roy, and Teilhard de Chardin. They conceptualized, albeit in very different terms, humanity as a powerful geologic force and also considered the ethical implications of this assessment.⁶ The roots of the idea of humanity as a planetary force go back even to the eighteenth century, when the French naturalist Comte de Buffon (Georges-Louis Leclerc) remarked that “the entire face of the Earth bears the imprint of human power.”⁷ Its current centrality for a broad discourse on planetary changes and humanity’s role in them is, however,

connected with that crucial moment in the year 2000. Crutzen himself and scholars of many disciplines have since controversially discussed the Anthropocene and its meaning in understanding humanity's predicament, but also its viability as a geologic time period.⁸ The stratigraphic existence and onset is currently being examined by the Anthropocene Working Group (AWG), an interdisciplinary body of geoscientists, which will submit a formal proposal to the Subcommission on Quaternary Stratigraphy. This subcommission, in turn, reports to the International Commission on Stratigraphy (itself responsible to the International Union of Geological Sciences), where it will be ratified by its Executive Committee. To date, the AWG's recommendation is that a new epoch exists, functionally and stratigraphically distinct from the Holocene, and that its boundary layer should be placed around the mid-twentieth century.⁹ Whatever the final decision of the geological experts may be (at each step of the formal procedure a majority is required with at least 60 percent of the votes in favor), the concept of the Anthropocene has opened our eyes to a fundamentally altered global environment and the fact that humanity has changed the planet to a degree comparable to geologic forces.

Given the massive impact of human intervention on the planetary environment, the traditional line between nature and culture has become problematic. We are living in an "anthropological nature" resulting from our own interventions.¹⁰ Furthermore, the timescale of human history has become intrinsically meshed with the geologic timescale. Our economic metabolism feeds on fossil energy, consuming within a time span of hundreds of years resources that have been created over hundreds of millions of years. Just as geologic time is turned into historical time, our impact as a geologic force turns human history into a significant part of geologic history.¹¹

Who Is Destroying Our Planet?

The question of whether and when the Anthropocene began is still debated. What is clear is that the transformative power of humanity is based on knowledge, accumulated and implemented over generations and ever more quickly since the Scientific Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the so-called Great Acceleration beginning in the 1950s.¹² What has also accumulated, however, are the unintended consequences of human activity. Nobody seriously intended to destroy the planet, though many have nevertheless taken bold risks to do just that. Some consciously decided not to act against evident dangers and simply continued with their destructive profit-making ventures. Specifically, science and technology have contributed much to bring us into this situation, and were not unaware of the problematic consequences. Global capitalism, industrialization, traffic, and population growth would not be possible without the advances of science and technology.¹³ They have catapulted us from the age of horse-drawn plows and carriages to the age of industrialized agriculture and self-driving cars, and they have blessed us with the unequally distributed benefits of modern medicine. But along with their progress, science and technology have generated unintended consequences such as uncontrolled growth, the ruthless exploitation of natural resources, and a rapid increase of the greenhouse emissions that are changing the global climate.¹⁴ Humans are now able to send missions into interplanetary space, but they have not yet found a way to

protect billions from poverty or starvation, to contain wars, or to cope with all the other challenges of the Anthropocene for humanity as a whole. True, these are political and economic questions, not just questions of knowledge, but they are also questions of knowledge and of science—they are, as I shall say, “epistemic questions.”

Take, for example, the transformation of global energy systems from fossil and nuclear resources to renewable energy. This transformation will be crucial if climate change is to be contained within limits that appear to be manageable today.¹⁵ Its success will depend on a lifestyle change, but also on solutions to many unresolved scientific, infrastructural, and technical questions, such as problems with the storage and transport of renewable energies. New knowledge will also be required to deal with the social, economic, and political processes involved in this transformation. Past experience has shown that technical or economic solutions that have proven applicable to a specific geographic site under specific circumstances may not be easily transferable to another.

All future energy supply solutions should be designed and verified in light of their impact on both local and global geologic, physico-chemical, biological, and societal schemes. This will require competency in natural science, technology, the social sciences, and the humanities, as well as local insights on an unprecedented scale. It is as yet unclear by which political and societal processes an energy infrastructure can be transformed in harmony or in conflict with political and economic interests. This will likely require the active participation of a broad, well-informed public, but also new knowledge about the societal processes associated with such changes. Energy transformation is thus a good example of how we must rethink technical transformations as societal transformations and societal transformations as knowledge transformations. However, what matters in the end is that we stop burning fossil fuels, rapidly enough to perhaps mitigate the most catastrophic consequences of further climate change.

In view of this precarious situation, global inter- and transdisciplinary cooperation in science and education have become more urgent than ever. But the international competitiveness inherent in globalization may also have problematic consequences for the organization of research and education—in particular the fragmentation, mainstreaming, conformity, and commercialization of knowledge. In general, the way science and technology are employed depends on the structure of a society, on the way it makes or does not make use of knowledge, on the relation between power and knowledge therein, and on the question of whether and to what extent unintended consequences are taken into account.

Every society has its own “knowledge economy.” It comprises the ensemble of its social institutions and processes producing and reproducing the knowledge at its disposal, and, in particular, the knowledge on which its reproduction as a society relies. The action potential of a society (for instance, its reaction to external challenges) depends on its knowledge economy and, in particular, on the societal structures that enable and limit its further exploration of knowledge. While knowledge enables individuals to plan their actions and consider the results, a society cannot “think” but can only anticipate the consequences of its actions within its economy of knowledge. The ability of global human society to cope with the challenges of the Anthropocene will therefore critically depend on the future development of its knowledge economy.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the prevailing mechanisms for governing science encourage the production of more and more publications representing ever-smaller units of information. The shattering of scientific knowledge into small contributions has led to a growing fragmentation of science, possibly to the exclusion of insights that could be relevant to addressing the challenges of the Anthropocene—challenges that, by their very nature, cannot be subdivided into disciplinary siloes.

Driven by economic globalization processes, national science policies are increasingly oriented toward international competitiveness, potentially limiting the scope of curiosity-driven research and running the risk of overlooking opportunities that are off the beaten track. No major society today can seemingly permit itself not to foster and regulate its science and education systems according to globalized models. Global competition forces science to cope with economic globalization and its consequences, for example, by feeding into national innovation systems (public and private), but also by conforming to globalized models of the knowledge economy, including both education and research. Incentives are being introduced both on the individual level (i.e., by the management of research according to contractually specified objectives) and on the institutional level (i.e., by implementing quasi-markets through an increasing competition for third-party funding, and through a shift from long-term institutional financial support to short- and mid-term program-oriented financial support).

The dynamics of international competition strengthen globalized models of science and education and the tendency toward a fragmentation of knowledge. The ensuing globalization of science tends to replace reflection with competitiveness and to downplay the role of specific contexts and local knowledge in favor of principles of science organization that are assumed to be of global and even universal validity. Yet it is through this perspective that most societies have come to view their problems, often disregarding the potential inherent in their own particular traditions or in opportunities for adapting those principles—opportunities that sometimes only come with a decoupling from global trends and adapting science policy to local conditions.

The fragmentation of scientific knowledge that is accompanying its globalization becomes particularly problematic when considering the challenges of the Anthropocene. Dealing with these challenges, scientific fields including atmospheric science, Earth system research, oceanography, evolutionary biology, environmental science, epidemiology, and space-based science, as well as sociology, political science, economics, computer science, history, cultural studies, and psychology need to cooperate in forms that transcend not only disciplinary boundaries but perhaps also traditional forms of scientific organization, knowledge production, and education. Given the unpredictability and inevitable serendipity of innovation, it would be shortsighted to bend the practice of science primarily toward the challenges at hand. It would be equally risky, on the other hand, to maintain the self-inflicted fragmentation characteristic of the current knowledge economy, as driven by the competition for real and “symbolic” capital.¹⁶

Humans intervene in the Earth system without realizing how that system’s innate character may influence the consequences of the interventions. In order to understand these consequences, one also has to take into account the entanglement of

human and earth history, as well as the potential, whether creative or destructive, of human thinking. Necessary to addressing the global challenges of the Anthropocene and the inseparability of their natural and cultural components is therefore an integrative perspective on knowledge that includes not only the physical science of the Earth system but also the interpretative and critical disciplines of the humanities.

Unwisely, we have left the astonishingly stable state of the Holocene, which has shaped our culture and our ways of thinking. The Anthropocene may be a contrary state of the Earth system, but it is not necessarily the demise of humanity—we simply do not yet know what it holds in store for us. By popping our “holocenic bubble,” we are not withdrawing from a static system; we are intervening within a system that is itself highly dynamic. We are performing a global experiment on a system that is already changing itself; our interventions therefore introduce second-order changes. As a consequence, we make ourselves ever more dependent on our understanding of this complex dynamic system and our interactions with it. This understanding is itself not static but subject to a dynamical evolution.

Understanding the dynamics of knowledge is therefore crucial for our future in the Anthropocene. Both knowledge and changes in the environment accumulate across generations in long-term processes—and not necessarily in such a way that the survival of human culture in any recognizable sense is guaranteed.

The World as a Problem of Knowledge

But what is knowledge? Individual knowledge is based on encoding experiences, enabling individuals to solve problems as part of their adaptive behavior. It is rooted in the ability to anticipate actions and their results, and can be corrected in response to consequences, since we can think or “reflect” on our experiences. Due to the dependence of knowledge on prior experience, its predictive power is in principle limited. On the other hand, knowledge can be mentally stored in the form of cognitive structures and repurposed for new goals.

Knowledge has not only mental, but also social and material dimensions. It can be stored, shared, and passed on from individual to individual and across generations with the help of “external representations,” such as writing or symbol systems, which are part of the material culture of a society. Material culture not only determines horizons of possible action and forms of social organization, but also a horizon of thinking. The emergence of the concept of energy, for instance, only became possible once actual transformations of motive power (e.g., the replacement of human force by wind or waterpower, and later by the steam engine) emerged historically as material practices. Similarly, twentieth-century cybernetics and control theory were preceded by practical experiences with such feedback mechanisms as James Watt’s centrifugal governor, which regulated his pioneering steam engine.¹⁷

Many scientists would argue that knowledge is philosophically neutral, in that it can be put to good or bad use. This is at least the more traditional position, which shifts the responsibility for the impact of science away from the experts producing new knowledge. By this reckoning, it is not the scientists’ responsibility if, for instance, a new chemical substance they develop is employed against civilians in war.¹⁸

But can we really let scientists (and anybody else who produces knowledge) off the hook so easily, allowing them to shirk all responsibility? Is there even perhaps a perspective from which we may consider the abuse of knowledge to be an expression of ignorance? This point of view certainly requires a broader concept of knowledge than that which is usually employed in academic discourse.

Such a concept of knowledge would also have to contribute to an understanding of what is or is not morally just under particular circumstances, thus informing ethical decisions and political actions. Is it conceivable to arrive at such an encompassing notion of knowledge, a notion that would also facilitate, for instance, the insights that enabled a Martin Luther King Jr. or Nelson Mandela to change the world for the better? This would then constitute a radical answer to the radical neoliberal ideology claiming that when problems cannot be resolved with the help of market forces, the answer is not to limit them but to demand even fewer market constraints. In contrast, I argue here that we should embrace the possibility of rethinking all of our challenges as challenges of knowledge, and that when our knowledge does not suffice, we require more and perhaps different knowledge (e.g., about the functioning of markets).

As a society, we may locally and temporarily establish whatever values and norms we like, and then produce, share, and consume the kind of knowledge that our knowledge economy is capable of generating. Ultimately, however, with growing global connectivity and the planetary impact of our collective actions in the Anthropocene, the totality of our accumulated experiences will determine the fate of the human species, as it does already for many other ones.¹⁹ Some seemingly self-evident or apparently desirable social, economic, and political structures, or even the established norms for social behavior and knowledge production may eventually lead to the demise of human culture as we know it; these would then be unmasked as unsuitable societal structures and imprudent moral and epistemic standards. This perspective suggests that a justification of universal values and knowledge need not involve any form of transcendence, only acceptance of the principle that the highest value is the survival and thriving of the human race, perhaps combined with the sobering but liberating insight that human life is ultimately nothing but a purpose unto itself.

Let us return to our question: According to a tradition going back to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, the real is not given to us, but put to us by way of a riddle.²⁰ What does the world look like if one considers its problems as problems of knowledge, and how does one have to conceive of knowledge in order to make this perspective possible? In our individual lives, we experience our ability to change things. We also learn to anticipate behavior and that we are often wrong. Yet we cannot imagine our lives without setting goals, planning, and thinking about our actions, and the experience and the knowledge this provides. Our thinking and our knowledge are major factors in determining what we do with our lives. Our collective lives, the histories of human societies, are also unimaginable without human drives and thinking, without collective experiences, beliefs, feelings, and knowledge.

Any historical account helpful in addressing the challenges of the Anthropocene should therefore do justice to the evident fact that humans are actors whose actions are not just determined by their natural, social, and cultural environments, by their

economic, political, or religious interests, or by their drives and passions, but also by their thinking, and in particular by what they actually know about the world and themselves, and by how they know and share it, as well as by the way in which they make use of their knowledge. The presupposition of such an account, however, cannot be that humans own this force as a property naturally (or divinely) granted to them; the challenge is rather to understand how their autonomy as actors could and can be gained through knowledge, if at all. In this way, one might also gain a better understanding of what is usually referred to as human freedom, which is in fact inseparable from our incurably limited and precarious human capacity to understand and judge our predicament, and to conceive of actions to change and even improve it—in short, from the human capacity to think and to use knowledge.

There is a long history of attempts to define knowledge. A review of this discussion would merit a book of its own. For a history of knowledge, and for a general history to which knowledge is central, one might begin with the categories used by the historical actors themselves. Actors' categories certainly offer important clues about the role they ascribed to knowledge in their historical contexts, but these categories do not necessarily cover even their own practices. Such categories also make it difficult to compare different actors and periods, and they hardly live up to the standards that we require today from analytical concepts that allow us to understand historical processes and their dynamics.

Definitions of knowledge that have come from nonhistorical studies, on the other hand, such as the understanding of knowledge in philosophy or the cognitive sciences, may lead to anachronisms, since these intellectual pursuits have no empirical basis on which to judge how knowledge may change in history. Investigating knowledge in history can thus be neither a journey on which one embarks without any conceptual equipment, hoping to pick up whatever the historical actors have left behind, nor a voyage undertaken with one-size-fits-all rigging. A history of knowledge, with knowledge itself as an analytical category, will rather be an exploratory venture that promises new insights not only into historical developments but also into the nature of knowledge itself.

Between the History of Science and the History of Knowledge

One key question is whether and how knowledge evolves in history. Clearly, there is some degree of accumulation through the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next, but there are also immense losses of knowledge, major failures, and profound transformations of knowledge systems, even when they are not “revolutions” in the sense of sudden ruptures. Investigations limited to specific historical case studies and categories of actors suggest a kaleidoscopic picture in which variety is the only recognizable overall pattern. There is, however, one strand in the history of knowledge to which a developmental logic has been traditionally ascribed: the history of science, which has, for a long time, been conceived as being governed by a logic of progress, occasionally interrupted by relapses and errors.²¹ But when considering the history of science within the broader context of a history of knowledge, one wonders whether this notion of its development is an exception or an il-

clusion.²² This question is, in any case, closely related to the questions of whether society at large advances with the progress of science and whether science depends on cultural contexts.

The self-image of science as a paradigm of progress has accompanied modern science since its inception. For Francis Bacon, only the progress of the sciences, the *progressus scientiarum*, is temporally unlimited, while political improvements are locally and historically confined, and mostly involve violence and chaos. Inventions, on the other hand, bring happiness without inflicting injustice or suffering.²³ During the Enlightenment, the mathematician Marquis de Condorcet linked scientific progress programmatically with social emancipation, aiming at the elimination of inequality through knowledge dissemination and education.²⁴ But even Condorcet's ideas threatened to end up in a comprehensive rationalization of all of life and thence in a technocratically engineered society. Alexander von Humboldt and his fellow scientists were also convinced that technological innovation, promoted by the sciences, improved the common good.²⁵ But in the age of the Industrial Revolution, it became ever more evident that the advancements of science and technology do not automatically lead to the progress of society as a whole, as the fruits of technological advances were clearly being distributed unevenly in the emerging capitalist societies, while machinery was used to extract ever greater labor value from workers.

Yet the hope that a link between scientific, technological, and societal progress could nevertheless be established was not abandoned. In the wake of the triumph of Darwin's theory of evolution, some thinkers even declared progress to be a natural law governing both biological and societal evolution.²⁶ Such hopes were challenged, however, by the catastrophes of the twentieth century.

Whatever relation they perceive between scientific and societal progress, most scientists distinguish their activity from all other cultural expressions of our species primarily by one property—the “cumulative” character of science. Almost all scientists are personally convinced that they can see farther than their predecessors because they can build on their achievements. Scientific progress is similarly taken for granted in traditional studies of the history of science. The underlying image is a kind of relay race of titans, passing the baton of ingenious ideas one to the next—a very undeveloped idea of an economy of knowledge indeed. The history of science thus becomes a chronicle of success, a who, what, when, and where of progress.

In actuality, these questions are better suited to investigating professional sports than science. They do not take into account the fact that the various “sports” of science (i.e., the fields of investigation) have themselves always been subject to redefinition. The history of science is traditionally written from the present backward. Thus, whatever is required to tell a success story of how the present came into being belongs to the history of science; cases that are seen as embarrassing, such as astrology or alchemy, belong to the “prehistory” of science.

Current studies in the history of science tend to question the scientific claim to progress, because such a stance seems incompatible with the extent to which science shares the fallibility of other human endeavors. As a result, science no longer appears distinguishable from other cultural practices. It has ceased to be a paradigm of universal rationality and is presented instead as one more object of study for cultural

history or social anthropology. Even the most fundamental aspects of the classical image of science—proof, experimentation, data, objectivity, rationality—have proven to be deeply historical in their nature.²⁷ On the one hand, this insight has turned out to be liberating, at least for the historiography of science, which now more than ever has begun to take into account the cultural contexts of the scientific enterprise. On the other hand, science no longer offers, as a consequence of this view, a model of rationality that could be applied to other domains of human life.²⁸

These more recent studies have opened up a new perspective on the study of the history of science, which is increasingly turning into a history of culture that includes science among other forms of knowledge. These other forms of knowledge include not only academic practices, but also the production and reproduction of knowledge far away from traditional academic settings—in artisanal and artistic practices, for instance, or even in the household and the family.

In traditional terms, the Scientific Revolution of the early modern period was seen as giving rise to modern science not only through specific discoveries but also by establishing a general scientific method, consisting in the formulation of hypotheses that are then tested by experimentation or observation. Modern science and the scientific method were allegedly developed in Europe, first in astronomy and physics, and from there conquered the world of knowledge, as well as the geographical world. Even the traditional account, however, concedes that some of this expansion was achieved only by force, by trying to impose the laws of mechanics on all science, for instance, or by the colonial expansion of Western science, often accompanied by the violent suppression of other forms of thinking.

The traditional argument was that scientific knowledge, wherever it came from, had a quality unique from all previous forms of knowledge. Today, however, some historians of science do not acknowledge a distinction between the validity of scientific knowledge and its historical origins. They no longer see the Scientific Revolution, for example, as a historical breakthrough that has fundamentally changed the practice of knowledge generation and led to the establishment, once and for all, of a scientific method.

Much of the knowledge that became relevant during the Scientific Revolution was the practical knowledge of artisans, engineers, physicians, and alchemists. It was by studying and transforming this kind of knowledge (which dealt, for instance, with the motion of projectiles in ballistics or with the transformation of materials in metallurgy) that contemporary scientists such as Galileo made their great discoveries.²⁹

Thus, Galileo opens his final major publication, the *Discorsi* of 1638,³⁰ which lays the foundations for classical mechanics, with a eulogy to the artisans of the Venetian Arsenal, one of the greatest dockyards of his time.³¹ The book is written in dialogue form and begins with a statement by the author's spokesman, Salviati, praising the expertise of the master builders:

SALVIATI: Frequent experience of your famous arsenal, my Venetian friends, seems to me to open a large field to speculative minds for philosophizing, and particularly in that area which is called mechanics, inasmuch as every sort of instrument and machine is continually put in operation

there. And among its great number of artisans there must be some who, through observations handed down by their predecessors as well as those which they attentively and continually make for themselves, are truly expert and whose reasoning is of the finest.

To which the other, like-minded interlocutor Sagredo responds, pointing out how much he himself has learned from these experts:

SAGREDO: You are quite right. And since I am by nature curious, I frequent the place for my own diversion and to watch the activity of those whom we call “key men” [*Proti*] by reason of a certain preëminence that they have over the rest of the workmen. Talking with them has helped me many times in the investigation of the reason for effects that are not only remarkable, but also abstruse, and almost unthinkable.³²

In short, other forms of knowledge, such as the practical knowledge of these artisans, have served as an important but traditionally neglected basis for scientific knowledge, so much so that one cannot truly appreciate the dynamics of the Scientific Revolution without taking them into account. Scientific knowledge is quite obviously connected with other fields of knowledge, and not only with the knowledge housed in theoretical traditions such as philosophy, but also with the practical knowledge of craftsmen and the intuitive knowledge that each of us must acquire in his or her individual development in order to cope with the material nature of the world.

Perhaps even more important, when broadening the vista to include other forms of knowledge, non-Western ways of dealing with knowledge come into view without being immediately gauged against the standards of established Western science. “On their own terms” is the slogan under which Chinese, Indian, and Islamic science are now being analyzed.³³ Similarly, the worldwide circulation of knowledge is now considered not just as a one-sided colonial or postcolonial diffusion process from a center to the periphery, but as an exchange of knowledge in which every side is active and in which knowledge is as much shaped by dissemination as by an active appropriation on the side of the “receivers.”

In summary, such an inclusive perspective on knowledge has opened the door to a new understanding of the worldwide dynamics and history of scientific knowledge. It may even seem as though scientific knowledge has lost its place of privilege among other forms of knowledge. But this conclusion is premature. Clearly, there is knowledge outside the sciences. It is equally clear that scientific knowledge is not independent from the knowledge of other areas (nor from other factors, such as technology). It is indeed hardly possible to distinguish scientific knowledge from other forms of knowledge by epistemological criteria alone, or even with the help of a theory of science.

Nevertheless, from a historical perspective, it is generally possible to recognize science in various cultures and periods as a special form of knowledge whose character may, however, change with the historical context. Scientific knowledge involves not only theories but cultural practices consciously directed at the coinage of knowledge that can be transmitted from generation to generation. Scientific knowledge

is accumulated and transmitted by “epistemic communities” dealing—often within dedicated educational institutions—with the preservation, improvement, and production of knowledge. Such knowledge is typically encoded using specific external representations, such as texts and instruments.

Scientific practice comprises forms of initiation, education, exploration, discourse, and transmission that are subject to historical change. Historically variable argumentative standards, control structures, and practices for the validation of knowledge all shape its accumulation and corrigibility, thus extending the learning and self-correcting aspects of individual knowledge to a societal institution. A lasting merit of the philosopher Karl Popper is having placed corrigibility at the center of a conception of science as an ever-incomplete quest for knowledge.³⁴ The specific form that scientific knowledge takes depends on the role a society assigns to knowledge, its “image of knowledge.”³⁵

Scientific knowledge first emerged in complex societies that created social spaces for exploring knowledge independently from immediate practical purposes. We may therefore speak of “science” whenever the potential inherent in the material or symbolic culture of a society is being explored for the primary sake of knowledge generation.³⁶ Nobody could have anticipated that human societies would eventually become dependent on such knowledge, a challenge made even greater by the intrinsically uncertain nature of scientific knowledge.

Science as a Golem

A cultural history of science that primarily focuses on specific case studies, while being unable to account for its long-term development, inevitably creates a highly fragmented picture. In this view, science dissolves into a plethora of localized and contextualized activities that are no longer distinguishable from other cultural practices.³⁷

This picture can hardly do justice to the overwhelming societal, economic, and cultural significance of science in a globalized world. It has become a mark of political correctness to “provincialize” European or Western science as representing just one among many, equally justified points of view within global culture.³⁸ But well-meaning political correctness on the part of historians and philosophers can hardly compensate for the destruction of indigenous cultures, for the crimes and the genocides—in short, for the immense damage and abuses that have been committed in world history with the help of science or in the name of Western rationality.

Science may be compared to the golem of Jewish folklore, a being created from inanimate matter, then magically activated to perform useful services, albeit with the risk of becoming independent from, and even hostile to, its creator. As Harry Collins and Trevor Pinch put it, “Science is a golem. A golem is a creature of Jewish mythology. It is a humanoid made by man from clay and water, with incantations and spells. It is powerful. It grows a little more powerful every day. It will follow orders, do your work, and protect you from the ever threatening enemy. But it is clumsy and dangerous. Without control, a golem may destroy its masters with its flailing vigour.”³⁹ The golem of science cannot, in any case, be tamed by underes-



1.2. Rabbi Loew brings the golem to life. Drawing by Laurent Taudin.

timating it, let alone by overestimating our own influence as its creators, witnesses, or critics. There cannot be any doubt: since the nineteenth century, science has dramatically changed the human condition in terms of energy provision and food production, through the introduction of new materials and new forms of transportation and communication, and with new pharmaceuticals and advances in medical care. Now the very survival of our culture in the Anthropocene may depend on the production of the appropriate scientific and technological knowledge.

Considered in this light, any doubts about the cumulative, self-accelerating character of the development of science may seem to be merely a matter of esoteric academic debate. Both believers in scientific progress and skeptics ultimately tend to be united on one point: scientific development is like a mighty, forward-striding golem whose pace establishes, for good or evil, the rhythm of modern industrial and postindustrial societies. Denying the substantial effects of science and technology on modern society amounts to reopening the debate on whether the earth is flat. It is, however, another matter to reconcile the striking impact of science with the complex and often difficult relationship between science and society. Equally challenging is the fact that scientific progress is hardly an automatism or necessity but merely a serendipity of human history.

How Does Knowledge Evolve?

How can radical change in scientific thought be reconciled with the retention and gradual expansion of the knowledge that has preceded it? And how are we to assess the evident existence *and* limits of scientific rationality—as well as its failure to serve as a model for societal progress at large? In this book, I shall show that none of this can be understood without taking into account that science never works in isolation but always as part of larger systems of knowledge, that these systems may profoundly change their structure in the course of history, and that such systems are part of the encompassing knowledge economy of any given society.

One example of a system of knowledge is the curriculum of the medieval university, with its faculties of theology, medicine, and jurisprudence, prepared for by prior study of the seven liberal arts. Another example is the modern ensemble of scientific disciplines. But systems of knowledge do not have to be rigidly organized conceptual systems or intellectual practices; in fact, they do not have to be very systematic at all. The knowledge needed to build a house or to tend a garden may also be conceived as a system of knowledge, composed of many different elements. These elements are not held together by a strict organizational principle, but rather constitute a heterogeneous “package of knowledge.” The relations among the components of a system of knowledge may be semantic, as in a scientific theory; they may be institutional, as in a curriculum; or they may be practical, as in the example of a building project.

How can a history of knowledge systems be written that goes beyond a merely descriptive account and yet avoids the pitfalls of forcing this history into a logic of inevitable progress or reducing it to a mere chain of chance events without explanatory value? Here a comparison with natural history may be useful, not in the sense of striving for a narrative of Big History (with a capital *B*) but in the hope of learning from explanatory approaches developed in other fields.

Evolutionary explanations thrived in the nineteenth century, when scientists and philosophers such as Charles Darwin, Ernst Haeckel, Karl Marx, Ernst Mach, Ludwig Boltzmann, Pierre Duhem, Wilhelm Wundt, and many others did not hesitate to seek for connections linking the evolution of life with the evolution of human culture and thinking. In Marx’s *Capital*, for instance, we read: “Darwin has interested us in the history of Nature’s Technology, *i.e.*, in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organization, deserve equal attention?”⁴⁰ In his *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*, Dolf Sternberger characterized “evolution” as the magic word of the nineteenth century.⁴¹ The Darwinian synthesis of biology and the modern synthesis of evolutionary biology remain evident in and central to today’s scientific concerns. This is not the case for the history of science, in which discussions about the evolutionary character of science, knowledge, and culture scarcely play a role.⁴²

My point is not to reduce history to biology or to identify a survival of the fittest in the history of knowledge. I rather suggest that we learn from the capacity of evolutionary theory to explain both the historical continuity and the unceasing innova-

tion of life forms, which it does by integrating numerous subdisciplines of biology (from genetics and physiology to paleontology and ecology) within a single historical theory of development, while transforming these subdisciplines in the process. Can a similarly overarching, integrative, and explanatory framework be found for the history of knowledge as an integral part of cultural evolution?

Such an attempt cannot succeed by simply mimicking the biological scheme. Just as the biological theory of evolution was founded on the basis of specific insights into the mechanisms of biological change, an evolutionary account of knowledge has to start from a detailed analysis of the mechanisms of historical change in knowledge and their relation to culture and society. A historical theory of knowledge must similarly rely on a broad array of disciplines to be integrated under a novel perspective and thus to become vulnerable to profound reinterpretations themselves.

Since cultural evolution is ultimately grounded in biology, its greatest selective force is human survival. This ultimate selective force is, of course, mediated through—and buffered by—many layers of culture and society that themselves impose diverse proximate forces of selection on knowledge systems and cultural evolution. Such layers can hardly be anticipated from biological considerations alone. But cultural or social evolution has also been considered an evolutionary process in its own right. This idea goes back to the nineteenth century, to the time right after the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*,⁴³ with thinkers such as William James and Ernst Mach. It has been revived since the 1980s, when authors such as Richard Dawkins, Luigi Cavalli-Sforza, Robert Boyd, and Peter Richerson began to exploit the mature formal apparatus that evolutionary theory had meanwhile developed (including sophisticated population genetics) to explain cultural phenomena in analogy to biological developments.⁴⁴

In general, these attempts do not reduce culture to biology but rather emphasize parallels—such as the analogy between biological and cultural inheritance through learning processes—and then adopt methods and models from evolutionary theory, as well as from statistics and game theory, to explain cultural change or phylogenetic lineages (e.g., in the evolution of languages). Cultural selectionists thus assume two parallel inheritance systems, one genetic and one cultural. One way in which they are intertwined is “niche construction,” which essentially provides a third inheritance system that may be characterized as ecological inheritance. Living beings change their environments, either through phenotypical or through cultural traits, while a changed environment in turn reshapes selective pressures. All three inheritance systems are coupled by feedback loops.⁴⁵

The Heuristic Role of Evolution

It may be tempting to generalize this approach to an evolutionary account of knowledge by identifying different mechanisms of transmission and variability and then seeing how far biological analogies and tools can reach in providing insights into the “population dynamics” of knowledge. This is, however, not the approach followed here. I take biological evolution neither as an overarching process that includes and governs culture and its dynamics, nor as delivering, by analogy with biology, a theo-

retical framework for the analysis of cultural history that may claim a similarly integrative function for the humanities and social sciences as that which Darwin's theory claims for the life sciences. The former would disregard the autonomy of culture; the latter, the autonomy of cultural studies—both amounting to some form of reductionism.

Rather, I consider the evolutionary theory of biology as a standard of comparison for any historical theory coping with the long-term development of complex adaptive systems like human culture—beginning, however, with its own genuine insights gained through centuries of research within numerous disciplinary traditions. In other words, instead of matching concepts from the realm of cultural analysis (e.g., institution and power, memory and repression, learning and reflection) to an evolutionary framework that is by-and-large borrowed from biology, I take a bottom-up approach. Such an approach begins with concepts, theories, and in-depth investigations from the humanities and social sciences and tries to build an explanatory framework that captures the riches harbored by these investigations, nevertheless keeping in mind that an explanatory framework for human history should comply with some basic lessons learned from evolutionary theory in the life sciences.⁴⁶

Among these lessons is the temporal directedness of the overall process and the asynchrony of particular developments, that is, the lack of a global uniformity of evolution. Evolutionary accounts do not imply “progress” in any traditional sense, and, typically, their outcomes are neither determined by their initial conditions nor by some final goal to be eventually reached—one might say they are neither deterministic nor teleological. In fact, modern biology has long renounced any idea of evolution as the triumphant progress toward the most “highly” developed forms of life, with humans as the crown of creation. Evolutionary theory insists, instead, on the global connectivity of the entire process in which life has unfolded on Earth, often hidden beneath the dazzling variety of local forms. In the history of culture and knowledge we are still far from such a global account.

Another lesson is that evolutionary processes not only allow for chance events to occur but allow them to have long-term effects. Evolutionary processes are path dependent in the sense that current developments depend on past events, even though past circumstances may no longer be relevant. Nevertheless, the unpredictability of future developments, the dependency of later developments on earlier ones, and the role of contingency in such processes in no way force us to resign ourselves to a merely descriptive or taxonomic account, nor to one that is simply a collection of local narratives. Evolutionary accounts do have explanatory potential, beginning with a realization of the sheer complexity that mechanisms for ensuring continuity may give rise to when combined with possibilities for variation and selection.

Evolutionary processes do not just react to external conditions but may also shape their own environments, thus becoming self-referential—this feature is addressed under the label of “niche construction” in evolutionary biology (e.g., beavers constructing their dams). This is obviously also characteristic of cultural evolution. Another striking feature of evolutionary theory that invites a comparison with the history of knowledge is the insight that forms of life that emerge later in evolution

do not necessarily eliminate earlier forms of life. To the contrary, simple life forms such as bacteria are by far the most successful models that evolution has ever generated. In a sense, the same holds for the history of knowledge; complex forms of knowledge such as higher forms of mathematics hardly ever completely replace earlier forms such as simple counting techniques.

Evolutionary processes may give rise to convergence (as when eyes developed independently in multiple species)—a phenomenon familiar, for instance, from parallel discoveries in science. Biological evolution generally works with modular components, which are reshaped into building materials for new life forms, as when certain organs are repurposed for adaptation to a new environment. The repurposing of the material environment is a similarly important aspect of cultural evolution. The “horizon of possibilities” shaped by historically bestowed material conditions is always broader than the possibility actually realized at any given moment.⁴⁷

Biological evolution involves genes and their expression in phenotypes, the latter being a subject of developmental biology. Without implying that one can simply transfer this structure by analogy to the realm of culture, it still seems that cultural evolution without a concept of knowledge and a theory of knowledge development would be rather like biological evolution without genes and developmental biology. Indeed, some even define culture in terms of knowledge acquired and socially transmitted in the context of a constructed niche.⁴⁸ The transmission of human culture in any case goes beyond the ecological inheritance system associated with niche construction mentioned above, and it involves social learning and the transmission of material artifacts and signs that are detached from their immediate contexts of usage and organized within holistic systems of knowledge.

An Alternative to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*

In the following, I sketch such a theory based on detailed historical studies pursued with some of these questions in mind. These studies also cover, in particular, some of the major so-called scientific revolutions: the emergence of classical mechanics in the early modern period, the so-called chemical revolution of the eighteenth century, and the relativity and quantum revolutions of the twentieth century. The basic mechanisms of knowledge evolution that have been identified cannot be reduced to analogies of mutation and selection in biological evolution. They are in fact much more context-dependent and are themselves subject to change in the course of history. There is no general scheme according to which a scientific transformation takes place, for example, according to the sequence of normal science, crisis, and paradigm shift hypothesized by Thomas S. Kuhn in his epochal book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.⁴⁹ Still, Kuhn’s scheme may serve as a useful foil for identifying the features of an evolutionary account of the history of knowledge by contrasting them with what has meanwhile become a widely popularized—and misleading—idea of the radical breaks associated with scientific transformations.

In short, I argue that major changes in systems of knowledge happen, but that these changes are typically long-term, protracted processes. They cannot be adequately understood without taking into account that knowledge has a layered struc-

ture involving the different types of knowledge that are shared within the knowledge economy of a society. It is because of this layered structure of scientific knowledge (which also comprises intuitive, practical, and technical knowledge) that untranslatability or “incommensurability” between scientific worldviews or “paradigms” is a less serious problem in the actual workings of science than is assumed in philosophical discussions. In fact, the notion of incommensurability belongs to the sense of theoretical concepts,⁵⁰ whereas the reference of individual concepts (instruments, phenomena, etc.) may remain unaltered irrespective of theoretical changes, thus enabling communication on the basis of other, more pragmatically oriented layers of knowledge.

External representations and embodiments of knowledge such as texts, instruments, or infrastructures serve as the backbone of the transmission of systems of knowledge, ensuring their long-term continuity. Systems of knowledge and their external embodiments are applied and explored by practitioners of knowledge such as the members of a scientific community, either within institutions dedicated to the generation of knowledge or in practical contexts. This exploration leads to the enrichment, extension, and gradual change of systems of knowledge. Furthermore, shared knowledge is always carried by individuals and is thus intrinsically variable. A body of knowledge is never uniquely defined and therefore requires interpretation; different individuals or groups may view it in different ways at times. These variations may become a source of controversy, which is itself a means to conceptual development.

The exploration of the inherent potential of the historically specific means for gaining knowledge thus gives rise to a variety of alternatives within a knowledge system, becoming a source of novelty. In an advanced state of the development of a knowledge system, these variations typically lead to internal tensions and contradictions, which may become the starting point for the reorganization of a system of knowledge or the branching off of a new one. Some of the most crucial steps in the growth of knowledge were indeed not based on the acquisition of new knowledge but rather on developing new ways of using what was already known.⁵¹

A Global Learning Process?

On this basis, I claim, one can build a history of science as part of a global history of knowledge—without forcing it into a logic of progress and without abandoning the attempt to account for the long-term accumulation of earth-changing knowledge, the accompanying losses and deficiencies, and the dependence of scientific rationality on chance constellations. But how could such a history contribute to answering the questions that we have begun with, in particular the question of what knowledge is required to address the challenges of the Anthropocene? For starters, it would demonstrate in what sense science is just one aspect of a highly fragmented but nevertheless inexorable global learning process in which humanity as a whole, over time, assembles knowledge with the potential for shaping the world. It would also illustrate the ways in which this potential is actually used and would finally demonstrate that science derives its power from being one late result of this global learning process.

When I speak of a global learning process, I again have the comparison to biological evolution in mind. The process as a whole displays the features of individual learning, like the functional adaptation of life forms to their environment—without, however, presupposing an intelligent subject, and without any assurance that such adaptations may not eventually lead to the demise of a species. (Indeed, there are many examples of runaway selection in evolutionary biology, leaving species dependent on a particular ecological niche that may then disappear.) Similarly, human history is evidently not guided by some form of global, collective subjectivity but rather by processes that operate primarily within local settings, albeit with ever more global entanglements and consequences.

Faced with the global challenges resulting from these consequences—such as the changes in the Earth system, of which climate change is perhaps the most visible—we might wish for such a collective subjectivity to emerge and facilitate rational solutions to global problems. Indeed, some advocates of sustainability policies argue in this way, favoring, for instance, measures of geoengineering managed by international expert communities or authorities standing in for an always rationally acting world government. While geoengineering may even become unavoidable as a last resort, the latter hope will likely remain as illusory as the hope for an explanation of the history of life by “intelligent design.” Investigating the evolution of knowledge could help us, on the other hand, to conceive of more realistic options for addressing these challenges; it might teach us how new solutions can emerge bottom-up rather than top-down, from the global machinery of knowledge production.⁵²

Index

Page numbers in italics refer to figures; numbers in bold to tables.

- absolute state, 167, 168, 219–21
- abstract concepts: concept and definition of, 27, 28–29, 221, 417, 426, 430; early modern philosophy and, 40–42; early texts on mechanics and, 288; emergence of arithmetic and, 88–96; epistemic evolution and, 329; Greek philosophy and, 38–40, 206–7; Hegel on, 62–63; psychology and, 42–47, 45, 49–50; role of material culture and, 50–57; social practices and, 47–48; systems of knowledge and, 69. *See also* cultural abstraction
- abstraction: concept and definition of, 37, 417; Hegel on, 62–63; orders of external representations and, 57–60. *See also* abstract concepts; cultural abstraction; iterative abstraction; reflective abstraction
- Abstraction and Representation* (Damerow), ix–x
- academic capitalism, 242–43, 254, 432
- academies, 215
- Academy of Sciences, 229
- Accademia del Disegno, Florence, 215
- acceleration-implies-force model, 109–10, 114–15, 431
- accommodation, 46, 65, 77, 153, 418
- Achaemenid Empire, 261
- Achsenzeit* (“Axial Age”), 201–3
- action plateaus: concept and definition of, 420; epistemic evolution and, 327; knowledge economy and, 165–66; knowledge economy of building and, 170–71, 175–77, 176–77
- actualism, 72
- adaptation, 20, 22, 66, 77, 153, 420
- administrations: concept and definition of, 163, 432; concept of space and, 336; knowledge economy of building and, 173–74, 181–82, 208–10
- The Age of Surveillance Capitalism* (Zuboff), 402–3
- Agee, James, 165
- agency, xv, 378, 379, 381
- Agricultural Chemistry* (von Liebig), 366–67
- agricultural technologies, 259–60, 276–77. *See also* fertilizers
- Airborne Antarctic Ozone Experiment, 372
- Airy model, 238
- Akkadian language, 195, 197–98, 259, 261
- Albert, Réka, 303
- Alberti, Leon Battista, 182
- d’Alembert, Jean le Rond, 116
- Alexander of Aphrodisias, 121
- Alexander the Great, 262
- Alexandria. *See* Library of Alexandria
- Al-Khwarizmi, 267
- allelopoiesis, 444n19
- alphabetic writing, 88, 197, 261
- ambient findability, 404, 424
- American Geophysical Union, 378
- American Sign Language (ASL), 346
- ammonia, 230, 366–371, 367, 369–70
- Anaximander, 307
- Anaximenes, 307
- ancient Egypt: concept of space in, 336; concept of time in, 339–40; knowledge economy of building in, 171, 174; Library of Alexandria in, 207, 307–9; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 93–94, 196, 199, 260–61; weighing technologies and money in, 331, 331
- ancient Greece: “Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*) and, 202; concept of space in, 336; concept of time in, 339–40; early texts on mechanics and, 285–86, 288–91; epistemic networks and, 307–9; globalization of knowledge and, 250–51, 267–73; knowledge economy of building in, 171, 174–75; law of the lever in, 69, 103–4; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 261–62; philosophy and, 38–40, 94–96, 205–7, 281; weighing technologies and money in, 331, 333–35. *See also* Aristotle; Euclid
- androids, 325. *See also* artificial intelligence
- Ansell, Christopher, 302
- Anthropocene: antibiotic resistance and, 373–74; beginning of, 6, 349, 358–65, 359; challenges of humanity and, xv–xvi, 8–9,

- Anthropocene (*continued*)
408–16; concept and definition of, ix, 5–6, 31, 326, 422; consequences of human activity and, 3–9, 5, 33, 166, 279; digitization and, 397–403; ergosphere and, 31, 382–85; geoanthropology and, 375–76; knowledge as a common good and, 395–97; nitrogen story and, 365–71, 369–70; nuclear energy and, 373; ozone hole and, 371–73; place of humanity in, 377–82; technosphere and, 31, 324, 381–82, 383–84; Web of Knowledge and, 404–7
- Anthropocene Working Group, 6
- anthropological gamut, 148–50, 432
- anthropology, 191–92
- anthroposphere, 379–80, 466n6
- antibiotic resistance, 374
- antiseptics, 223
- Antwerp, 313
- Anuchin, Dmitry, 380
- appropriation, 428
- Arabic world: Arabic-Latin translation process, 263, 271, 272, 273–74; astronomical writings, 121; Greek-Arabic translation process, 274; knowledge transmission, 211, 250, 262, 263, 267, 269, 285; Indo-Arabic numeral system, 266, 267; Middle Ages, 104, 121, 288; script, 88. *See also* Islamic world
- arch model, 106, 107, 431
- Archimedes, 69, 103–4, 206, 207, 213, 237
- architecture. *See* knowledge economy of building
- architecture of knowledge, 26–27, 66–69. *See also* systems of knowledge
- Aristophanes, 333, 334–35
- Aristotelianism: knowledge economy and, 206–7, 214; as shared knowledge, 110–11
- Aristotle: abstract concepts and, 38, 40; epistemic networks and, 313; knowledge economy and, 206–7; origins of mechanics and physics and, 103–5, 108–10, 285–86, 288–91
- arithmetic: emergence of, 88–96, 90–91, 93–95, 196, 201; even and odd numbers and, 97; Greek philosophy and, 205. *See also* mathematics and mathematical concepts
- Arnolfo di Cambio, 182
- ARPA (Advanced Research Projects Agency), 233
- ARPANET, 233
- Arsenal of the Venetian Republic, 13–14, 188–89, 210
- artificial evolution, 420
- artificial intelligence, 233, 234, 324, 376, 398–400, 403, 418
- Ashton, Kevin, 401
- Aśoka, King, 204
- assimilation, 46, 65, 77, 418
- Assmann, Jan, 202
- astronomy, 50, 216–17, 318. *See also* calendar astronomy; Copernican Revolution
- Athens, 307–8
- Atomic Age (nuclear age), 231, 240, 359–60, 361, 363, 398
- automatization, 235, 347, 376, 400
- automobile, 225, 226
- autopoietic structure, 381, 420
- average shortest path, 423
- Averroes (Ibn Rushd), 121–22
- “Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*), 201–3
- Babylonia: concept of space in, 336; epistemic networks and, 308; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 93, 96–97, 195–96, 197–201, 198, 268, 308. *See also* Mesopotamia
- Bacon, Francis, 12
- Baichun, Zhang, xiii
- bakelite, 223
- Baktaman group, 191–92
- balance, 333–35, 332–34
- balance-lever model, 285–86, 431
- Barabási, Albert-László, 303
- Barbaro, Daniele, 170
- Barth, Fredrik, 191–92
- Bartram, Isabelle, 391–92
- Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik (BASF), 369
- Battista d’Antonio, 185, 188
- Battle of the Books (*querelle des anciens et des modernes*), 116–17
- Bayer, Herbert, 24–25, 25
- Bayh-Dole Act (1980), 242
- Beeckman, Isaac, 100
- belief systems, 432
- Bell, Alexander Graham, 226–27
- Bell Laboratories, 232–33
- Benjamin, Walter, 26, 355
- Bernal, J. D., 53
- Bernstein, Aaron, 414–15
- Berzelius, Jacob, 98–99
- Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, xiii
- Big Data, 156–57, 319, 399, 402–3
- Big Science, 230–31
- biochemistry, 235
- biogeochemical cycles, 366, 374, 380, 422
- biological evolution, 420. *See also* evolutionary theories

- biology, 235
biomedical complex, 231, 373–74
biosphere, 31, 324, 358, 371, 374, 379–82, 422.
 See also ergosphere; ozone hole;
 technosphere
biotechnology, 235
bismar, 332–33, 334–35. *See also* weighing
 technologies
black holes, 78, 135, 315, 318
Blum, Alexander, xii, 316
boats, 260
Bödeker, Katja, xiv, 332
Bodin, Jean, 219
Bohr, Niels, 84, 140, 141
Bologna Process, 254
Boltz, William, xiii, 286
Boltzmann, Ludwig, 17
Bonneuil, Christophe, 415
Bonpland, Aimé, 279
bootstrapping, 343, 420
borderline problems: biology and, 235; classical physics and, 126–27, 127; concept and definition of, 81, 427; Darwinian revolution and, 125–26; ergosphere and, 33; geology and, 237–40; planetary boundaries and, 364; practice as, 146–48; rise of new disciplines and, 235. *See also* challenging objects
Borkenau, Franz, 54
Born, Max, 140
Bosch, Carl, 366, 369. *See also* Haber-Bosch process
Botero, Giovanni, 218
Bougainville, Louis Antoine, 278
bounded rationality, 160
Boxer Rebellion, 299
Boyd, Robert, 18
Braarvig, Jens, 270
Brentjes, Sonja, xiii, 269
Bretton Woods Conference (1944), 256, 390
bricks, 175–76, 176–77, 182, 184, 186, 352
British Antarctic Survey, 372
British Association for the Advancement of Science, 368
bromofluorocarbons, 373
Bronze Age, 90, 361
Brudzewo, Albert de, 122
Brunelleschi, Filippo, 182, 183, 184–89, 187, 210
Bruner, Jerome, 422
Bruno, Giordano, 122, 217
Buchwald, Jed Z., 373
Buckminster Fuller, Richard, 355
Bud, Robert, 374
Buddhism, 203–4, 207, 270–71
Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de, 5, 237
building. *See* knowledge economy of building
Bukharin, Nikolai, 53, 54
bullae, 92, 93
Bullard, Edward, 240
Burden, Chris, 380
Büttner, Jochen, xi, xiv
Byzantine Empire, 262, 273
calculus of fluxions (infinitesimal calculus), 117
calendar astronomy: in China, 293–94, 297–98;
 concept of time and, 338–39; Gregorian
 calendar reform and, 292–93; Maya calendar
 and, 200, 199; in the Middle Ages, 310
Cambridge Analytica, 399
cannon, 80, 111, 112, 276, 294
canonical buildings, 177–79, 178
Capital (Marx), 17
capitalism, 402. *See also* academic capitalism,
 data capitalism, digital capitalism
capitalocene, 382
carbon dioxide, 4, 358, 362, 363, 381
Carlowitz, Hans Carl von, 387
Carnegie Institution, 238, 239
Carnot cycle, 225
Carson, Rachel, 240–41
Casas, Bartolomé de las, 265
Cassirer, Ernst, 3, 49–50, 51, 147
Castagnetti, Giuseppe, xii
Catholic Church, 309–11
Caus, Salomon de, 213
Cavalli-Sforza, Luigi, 18
Cavellat, Guillaume, 314
center-of-gravity model, 107, 431
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,
 229
CERN (Conseil Européen pour la Recherche
 Nucléaire), 251–52, 252
Chain, Ernst, 374
challenging objects: challenges of humanity
 and, 408–9; concept and definition of, 24,
 80–81, 427; globalization of knowledge and,
 249; Industrial Revolution and, 221; knowl-
 edge economy of building and, 188; pendu-
 lum as, 80, 83, 111–12, 215–16; projectile mo-
 tion as, 80–81, 83, 100–101, 111–16, 114–15,
 215–16. *See also* borderline problems
Charles I, King of Spain, 265
Charniak, Eugene, 74
chemical formulas, 98–99
chemical revolution, 118, 122–24, 123–24
chemistry: emergence of chemical formulas
 and, xii, 98–99; Industrial Revolution and,
 221, 223; nitrogen story and, 365–71; rise of
 new disciplines and, 235

- Chile saltpeter, 366, 368
- China: Astronomical Bureau in, 293, 294, 297;
“Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*) and, 201; calendar
in, 293–94, 297–98; concept of space in,
336; concept of time in, 339–40; early texts
on mechanics in, 103–4, 286–91; Jesuit
mission to, 263–64, 278, 292–99, 295–96;
knowledge economy of building in, 171;
longitudinal studies of science in, xiii;
Needham Problem and, 291–92, 298; origins
of writing and arithmetic in, 93–94, 260–61;
papermaking in, 266; printing in, 211–12;
weighing technologies and money in, 331;
Western science in nineteenth and twentieth
centuries in, 299–300
- Chinese Academy of Natural Sciences, xiii
- chlorine monoxide, 372
- chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), 363, 371–73
- Christianity: challenges of humanity and, 411;
Jesuit mission to China and, 263; knowl-
edge economy and, 216–17; sovereignty
and, 218–19; as state religion, 203–4
- chunking, 69–70, 418
- Cigoli, Lodovico, 180
- Ciliwung River, 165
- circulation, 428
- civic engagement, 415–16
- classical genetics, 125
- classical mechanics: inertial motion and, 28;
reorganization of knowledge and, 86; *vis
viva* controversy and, 81–82. *See also*
Galilei, Galileo
- classical physics: borderline problems and,
126–27, 127; concepts of space and time in,
4, 61, 221; graphical representations of
change and, 99–102, 100; reorganization of
knowledge and, 112–16
- Clavius, Christopher, 292–93, 294
- climate change, 166, 252–53, 394–95, 398
- clocks, 163–64
- Club of Rome, 364
- codification, 428
- coevolution: concept and definition of, 28,
31–32, 146, 420; Einstein’s “relativity revo-
lutions,” 135; epistemic networks and, 301,
319; globalization of knowledge and, 30;
knowledge economy and, 190–91; Nicara-
guan Sign Language and, 348
- cognitive psychology, 66, 234, 417, 418, 419,
427. *See also* Piaget, Jean
- cognitive science, 66, 69–78, 234, 418
- cognitive structures: abstract concepts and,
42–47, 45; concept and definition of, 418;
orders of external representations and,
57–60, 59; overview of, 24–28; social cog-
nition and, 60–61. *See also* mental models
- Coimbra, 313–14
- Cold War, 229–30, 231, 240, 317
- collaborative scalability, 424
- Collapse* (Diamond), 260, 387, 396
- collective action potential, 432
- collective intentionality, 341, 418, 419
- Collins, Harry, 15
- colonization of the Americas, 251, 265,
274–75, 276–79, 362, 386
- Columbus, Christopher, 274–75
- Comenius, Jan Amos, 3, 413–14, 468n4
- commodities, 47–48
- complex regulatory networks, 71–72, 327,
420. *See also* extended evolution
- complex systems, 420
- computer networks, 233–34, 251–53. *See also*
World Wide Web
- computer science, 235
- computers, 233–34, 234, 398
- concepts, 418. *See also* cognitive structures
- Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de
Caritat, Marquis de, 12
- Confucius and Confucian ideology, 286–87,
298–99
- connectivity, 155, 428
- constructivist structuralism, 43, 418. *See also*
Piaget, Jean
- Contact* (Sagan), 38
- Contarini, Giacomo, 189
- continental drift theory, 235–36, 237, 238,
239
- control procedures, 78, 428
- control theory, 9
- Conway, Erik, 392
- Cook, James, 278
- Copernican Revolution, 118, 120–22, 216–17,
298, 312–14
- Copernicus, Nicolaus, 120–22, 121, 216–17
- Coppola, Marie, 347
- coproduction, 146
- corbel technology, 106, 107
- Corpus Aristotelicum*, 285
- Corry, Leo, xii
- cosmology, 309–14. *See also* calendar astron-
omy; Copernican Revolution
- Cosmos* (Humboldt), 414
- Counter-Reformation, 292
- creole languages, 345
- crisis, 425
- Crookes, William, 368
- Crosby, Alfred, 247
- Crutzen, Paul, 5–6, 23, 362, 372, 373

- Cuba, 389
cultural abstraction: concept and definition of, 28–29, 33, 164, 417; knowledge economy and, 163–64. *See also* time
cultural evolution: concept and definition of, 31–33, 126, 323–27, 420; digitization and, 398; diseases and, 393–94; extended evolution and, 327–30, 329; technology and, 331–35. *See also* epistemic evolution
cultural memory, 418. *See also* external memory; institutional memory
cultural refraction, 30, 250–51, 267–73, 428
cultural representations, 164–69. *See also* niche construction
Cushman, Gregory, 368
Cuvier, Georges, 237
cybernetics, 9, 235
- Daimler, 226
Dalton, John, 98
Damerow, Peter, ix–x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, 88, 437n36, 439–40n47
Dana, James Dwight, 237
dance steps, 71
dark knowledge, 242, 391–95, 430
Darwin, Charles: borderline problems and, 125–26; evolutionary theory and, xii, xv, 12, 17, 19, 71–72, 86, 124–26, 168, 237, 281–82, 323; Humboldt and, 279; Iberian globalization and, 278; integration of knowledge and, 414; Marx on, 17
Daston, Lorraine, 425
data, 402, 426. *See also* Big Data
data capitalism, 156–57, 402, 432
Davies, Jeremy, 356
Dawkins, Richard, 18
De pictura (Alberti), 182
De revolutionibus orbium coelestium (Copernicus), 120
default settings (default assumptions): concept and definition of, 24–26, 75–76, 77, 418, 426, 437; Einstein’s “relativity revolutions” and, 133; geological revolution and, 238–38; intuitive knowledge and, 27
Del Monte, Guidobaldo, 112, 294
Deng Xiaoping, 389
Descartes, René: Copernican Revolution and, 122; on eternal motion, 217; graphical representations of change and, 100; on knowledge, 414; mechanistic worldview and, 104; Newton and, 116–17; *vis viva* controversy and, 82
descriptors, 70, 418
developmental aid projects, 257, 390
Dewey, John, 37, 51, 57, 146–47
diagrams, 99–102, 100–101, 214
“Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems” (Galilei), 217
Diamond, Jared, 260, 387, 396
diffusion (spread), 429
digital capitalism, 407
digital technology, 233–34
digitization, 397–403
Dijkgraaf, Robbert, 243
Diogenes Laertius, 281
Diogenes of Sinope, 281
directness, 154
Discorsi (Galilei), 13–14, 115, 188–89
diseases, 393–94
disinfectants, 223
disintegration, 427
dissemination, 428
domestication of animals, 259–60
Donatello, 187
du Toit, Alexander Logie, 239
Duhem, Pierre, 17
durability, 155, 196, 201, 428
Durkheim, Émile, 147
- Early Anthropocene Hypothesis, 349, 360–61
earth sciences, 235–41
Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), 253
Earth system: concept and definition of, 423; ergosphere and, 31, 33, 382–85; geoanthropology and, 375–76; global contextualism and, 33, 391; variability of, 355–58. *See also* Anthropocene; environment; epistemic evolution
Easter Island, 149
Ecomodernist Manifesto, 378
economic globalization, 254–55
Edgerton, David, 264
edges, 303–4
Edison, Thomas Alva, 227
Edo (later Tokyo), 387
education and educational institutions: in ancient civilizations, 262–63; Aristotelianism as shared knowledge and, 110–11; in China, 299; colonization of the Americas and, 278; epistemic networks and, 309, 311; globalization of knowledge and, 251–54, 256–57; Industrial Revolution and, 224; Jesuit order and, 292; knowledge economy and, 152, 214–15; origins of writing and, 96, 201; practical knowledge and, 68–69; Second Industrial Revolution and, 228. *See also* universities
Edwards, Paul N., 403

- Einstein, Albert: Bernstein and, 414–15; concepts of space and time and, 4; on default assumptions, 25; epistemic islands and, 129–30; general theory of relativity and, 78–79, 86, 118, 135–39, 236, 314–18; gravitation as trigger of change and, 134–35; Grossmann and, 84, 137, 138–39; heat radiation and, 81; horizon of possibilities and, 127–29; magnet-conductor thought experiment and, 127–28, 128; photograph of, 415; principle of equivalence and, 135–36; special theory of relativity and, 118, 130–34, 131, 133, 141; theories of relativity and, xii; Vienna Circle and, 55; Wertheimer and, 42–43
- Eipo people, 47, 67–68, 192, 194–95
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 231
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel, 202, 203, 386
- Eisenstaedt, Jean, xii, 139, 315
- electricity, 225–27
- electromagnetism, 77, 127, 225–26
- electron theory, 84
- electron tube, 232
- electronics, 232–34, 234
- Elements* (Euclid): concept of space in, 336; epistemic networks and, 307; on even and odd numbers and, 97; globalization of knowledge and, 294, 299; knowledge economy and, 207
- Elkana, Yehuda, ix, 202, 391, 439n29
- Elman, Benjamin, 293
- emancipatory reversal, 69, 96, 153, 428
- embodied cognition, 383, 418, 430
- emergence, definition of, 420
- enactive representations, 424
- enactivism, 418
- endaptation, 328, 349, 420
- Ender, Eduard, 279
- energy, concept of, 9, 56
- energy systems, 7, 32, 394–95. *See also* fossil fuels
- Engels, Friedrich, 103, 377
- engineer-scientists, 80, 210, 213, 409, 432
- England, 251, 362
- Engler, Olaf, xii
- Enlightenment, 278
- entrapment of mutual limitation, 28, 159–61, 186, 432
- environment: consequences of human activity and, 165–66, 165; geological revolution and, 240–41; transformation of, 327–30
- epistemic community, 78, 152, 306, 372, 404, 428
- epistemic evolution: concept and definition of, 31–33, 324–27, 421; concept of space and, 335–37; concept of time and, 337–340; diseases and, 393–94; emergence of human language and, 340–48, 341, 343; extended evolution and, 327–30, 329; Neolithic Revolution and, 348–54, 350; technology and, 330–35
- epistemic islands, 83–84, 112, 118–19, 129–30, 132, 427
- epistemic networks: concept and definition of, 30, 302–5, 303–4, 423; dimensions of, 305–7, 319; general theory of relativity and, 314–18, 315; globalization of knowledge and, 273–74; Greek science and, 307–9; history of knowledge and, 319; in the Middle Ages, 309–14; social interactions and, 150; social network analysis and, 301–2; Web of Knowledge and, 407
- epistemic spillover, 383, 428
- epistemic things, xv, 425
- epistemic vacuum, 27, 265, 426
- epistemic virtues, xv, 425
- Epistemic Web (Web of Knowledge), 33, 404–7, 424
- equilibration, 158, 161, 418
- equilibrium model, 106, 285–86, 431
- ergosphere, 31, 33, 382–85, 413, 423
- “An Essay on Man” (Cassirer), 49–50
- ether, 77, 109, 127
- Euclid: on concept of space, 336; epistemic networks and, 307; on even and odd numbers and, 97; globalization of knowledge and, 294, 299; knowledge economy and, 207, 214; origins of mechanics and, 103–4
- eugenics movement, 409, 410
- Euler, Leonhard, 86, 104, 116–17
- evolution, 421. *See also* cultural evolution; epistemic evolution
- evolutionary theories: abstract concepts and, 221; Darwin and, xii, xv, 12, 17, 19, 71–72, 86, 124–26, 168, 237, 281–82; global learning process and, 21–22; globalization of knowledge and, 280–85; knowledge and, xiv, 17–21; rise of, 17
- e-waste, 399, 399
- exaptation, 328, 421
- experiments, 216
- exploration: concept and definition of, 66, 78–83, 85–86, 89, 427; graphical representations of change and, 99–102; origins of writing and arithmetic and, 90
- Exploring the Limits of Preclassical Mechanics* (Damerow et al.), xi
- extended evolution, 328–30, 329, 421
- extensive expansion, 418

- external memory, 340, 418. *See also* cultural memory; institutional memory
- external representations: concept and definition of, 9, 21, 27, 87, 424; dimensions of, 155–56; in early literate societies, 195–201, 198–200; emergence of arithmetic and, 88–96, 90–91, 93–95; emergence of chemical formulas and, 98–99; emergence of writing and, 88–89, 88, 96–97; generative ambiguity of, 25, 56, 62, 101, 165; graphical representations of change and, 99–102, 100–101, 214; knowledge economy and, 28–29, 154–57; mental models and, 78; in nonliterate societies, 192–95; orders of, 57–60, 59; practical knowledge and, 68–69; role of, 50–57; social cognition and, 60–61. *See also* horizon of possibilities
- external representations (material embodiments) of institutions: concept and definition of, 219–21, 432as consequence of human activity, 164–69. *See also* niche construction; knowledge economy and, 161–69, 165; knowledge economy of building and, 170, 172–73, 177–79, 178
- externalization, 329–30, 337, 398, 421
- extrinsic dynamics of knowledge globalization, 249–50, 252–53, 257, 278–79, 429
- Ezrahi, Yaron, 253
- Facebook, 399–400
- famines, 388
- Farkas, Ladislaus, 369
- federating documents, 405, 424
- feedback mechanisms: Anthropocene and, 31; concept and definition of, 9, 18, 421; consequences of human activity and, 166; epistemic evolution and, 327, 340, 353–54; fossil fuels and, 362; globalization of knowledge and, 258; Industrial Revolution and, 222–23; nitrogen story and, 370
- Feldhay, Rivka, xii
- fellow traveling, 30, 262–63, 278, 299, 429
- Fertile Crescent, 349–54
- fertilizers, 223, 229, 365–71, 367, 369–70
- Feynman, Richard, 142
- field theory model, 431
- fire, 349, 360
- First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), 299
- first-order representations, 58–60, 59, 89–92, 98, 329
- fitness landscape, 328, 421
- Fleck, Ludwik, 55, 65, 78, 119, 190
- Fleming, Alexander, 374
- Flexner, Abraham, 65, 243
- Florence: educational institutions in, 215; Santa Maria del Fiore in, 180, 181, 182–89, 183, 187, 210
- Florey, Howard, 374
- flywheel, 80
- Ford administration, 372
- formalism, 55–56, 117, 129, 132, 137–42
- Forster, Georg, 278
- fossil fuels, 7, 32–33, 359–60, 362–63, 366, 394. *See also* nitrogen
- Foucault, Michel, 87
- fractalization, 433
- frame, 74–75, 418
- France, 229, 251
- Freie Universität Berlin, xii, xiii
- Fressoz, Jean-Baptiste, 415
- Freud, Sigmund, xv, 164–65, 408
- Freudenthal, Gideon, ix, xi, 55, 81, 439–40n47
- Friederici, Angela D., 462n30
- Friedman, Thomas L., 247
- Fuller, Dorian, 351
- Fuller, Richard Buckminster, 379
- Furth, Peter, 439–40n47
- Gaia hypothesis, 379
- Galen, 308, 309
- Galilei, Galileo: Arsenal of the Venetian Republic and, 13–14, 188–89; challenging objects and, 80, 83; Copernican Revolution and, 217; default assumptions and, 25–26, 26; Einstein and, 135; external representations and, 50, 52; globalization of knowledge and, 294; graphical representations of change and, 100, 100; on motion, 58; practical knowledge and, 13–14; preclassical mechanics and, 104; projectile motion and, 111–16, 112, 115, 132
- Galison, Peter, 425
- Galluzzi, Paolo, xi
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 377
- gasoline, 225
- Gauss, Carl Friedrich, 38
- Gavroglu, Kostas, xiii, 439n29
- general theory of relativity, xii, 118, 135–39, 236
- generative ambiguity, 25, 56, 62, 101, 165, 424
- genetic epistemology, 37, 43–47, 49, 60, 419
- geoanthropology, 375–76, 423
- geoengineering, 22, 377, 381, 423
- geography, 309–10
- Geography* (Ptolemy), 313–14
- geological revolution, 118, 235–241
- geology, 235–41, 240

- geometry, 214. *See also* Euclid
- Gerard of Cremona, 263
- German-Israeli Fund, xii
- Germany, 230, 251, 369–70, 370. *See also* Nazi Germany
- gestalt psychology, 42–43, 119, 419
- Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 185, 188
- Ghini, Giovanni di Lapo, 448n45
- Ginzburg, Carlo, 23
- global contextualism, 33, 391
- global learning process, 21–22
- globalization: concept and definition of, 433; contradictory aspects of, 254–56; role of knowledge in, 256–58
- globalization of knowledge: “Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*) and, 201; Buddhism and, 270–71; challenges of Anthropocene and, 8; colonialization and, 299–300; colonization of the Americas and, 251, 274–75, 276–79, 277, 362, 386; concept and definition of, 429; dynamics of transmission processes and, 262–65; early modern science and, 266–67; early texts on mechanics in ancient Greece and China and, 285–91; educational and scientific institutions and, 251–54; evolutionary perspective on, 280–85; geological revolution and, 240; Greek science and, 267–73; intrinsic and extrinsic dynamics of, 249–50, 252–53, 257, 278–79; longitudinal studies of, xiii; overview of, 29–30; Pax Mongolica and, 275–76; process of, 247–51; role of local knowledge in, 385–91; sediment of ancient civilizations and, 258–62; translation and, 251, 259, 269–74, 270, 285, 299. *See also* epistemic networks
- “glocal” knowledge, 258
- glottographic writing, 196–97
- glottography, 431
- Goa, India, 293
- golem, 15–16, 16
- Gondwanaland, 237, 238
- Goody, Jack, 116
- Goudarouli, Yorgos, 439n29
- Gould, Stephen Jay, 323, 421
- Graham, Angus, 287
- Granovetter, Mark, 302, 304–5
- Graßhoff, Gerd, xiii
- gravitation, 134–35
- Great Acceleration, 6, 31, 359–60, 363–64, 397–98, 423
- Great Divergence, 280–81
- Great Famine of Tempo (1833–39), 388
- greenhouse gases, 253, 361, 364, 395
- Gregorian calendar reform, 292–93
- Gregory XIII, Pope, 292
- Grossmann, Henryk, 49, 54–55
- Grossmann, Marcel, 84, 137, 138–39
- Groves, Leslie R., 361
- guano, 368
- Guarani, 192, 193
- Gudea, Prince of Lagash, 174
- gunpowder, 276
- Gutas, Dimitri, 269
- Gutfreund, Hanoch, xii
- Haber, Fritz, 230, 366, 368–69, 369. *See also* Haber-Bosch process
- Haber-Bosch process, 229, 363, 366, 368–71
- Haeckel, Ernst, 17, 283
- Haff, Peter, xiv, 381, 383–84
- Hale, George E., 231
- halocarbons, 363
- Han dynasty, 266, 287
- Han Imperial Library, 287
- Hardin, Garrett, 395
- Harriot, Thomas, 100
- Haus der Kulturen der Welt, xiv
- Hawking, Stephen, 315
- heat radiation, 81, 126–27, 127, 129
- Heatley, Norman, 373–74
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 51, 57, 62–63, 414
- Heinrich, Klaus, ix
- Heisenberg, Werner, 140, 141
- Hellenistic period, 262, 308
- Helmholtz, Hermann von, 226, 414
- Heraclitus, 60
- Hero of Alexandria, 103–4, 207, 213, 214, 309
- Herrschaftswissen*, 199
- Hertz, Heinrich, 226
- Hessen, Boris, 49, 53–55, 54
- high-energy physics, 251–52
- higher-order knowledge, 27, 30, 77, 108, 155, 207
- historical epistemology, 37, 57–60, 425
- historiogenesis, 50, 427
- Hittites, 262
- HIV/AIDS, 257, 393
- Hobbes, Thomas, 219, 220
- Hölderlin, Friedrich, 399, 414
- Holmes, Arthur, 239
- Holocaust, 230
- Holocene, 5, 9, 355–58, 359–60, 423. *See also* Anthropocene
- Holzkamp, Klaus, 439–40n47
- homo* (genus), 282–84
- Homo erectus*, 259
- Homo habilis*, 342

- homo oeconomicus*, 156, 160
Homo sapiens, 259, 284, 326, 349
homogenization, 254–55, 433
horizon of possibilities: concept and definition of, 20, 32, 57, 65, 424; Einstein’s “relativity revolutions” and, 127–29; electronics and, 232; epistemic evolution and, 326, 349; knowledge economy and, 169
hubs: in ancient Greece, 307–9; concept and definition of, 303–4; educational and scientific institutions as, 251–54; general theory of relativity and, 316, 317; globalization of knowledge and, 273–74; in the Middle Ages, 309–14
Human Genome Project, 233
Humboldt, Alexander von, 12, 278, 279, 279, 368, 409, 414
Humboldt University, xii
Hume, David, 40–41, 107–8, 130
Husserl, Edmund, 57
Hutton, James, 72
Huxley, Julian, 125
hybrid experts, 433
hybridization, 429
hydraulic civilizations, 448n31
Hyman, Malcolm, xiii, 405, 406
- Iberian globalization: colonization of the Americas and, 251, 265, 274–75, 276–79, 277, 362, 386; Jesuit mission to China and, 263–64, 278, 292–99, 295–96
Ibn Rushd (Averroes), 121–22
iconic representation, 424
images of knowledge: challenges to the authority of science and, 241–42; concept and definition of, 425; dark knowledge and, 392; geological revolution and, 238, 239; globalization of knowledge and, 253, 273; knowledge economy and, 79–80, 152, 169; local knowledge and, 391; in nonliterate societies, 192–95; as quasi-religion, 412–13; religions and, 204, 217
immunization, 429
“impact” factor, 235
impetus model, 431
implicit knowledge, 68, 72, 430
incommensurability, 21, 425
India: “Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*) and, 201; concept of space in, 336; knowledge economy of building in, 171; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 93–94, 196–97; religion in, 204, 207; weighing technologies and money in, 331, 333
individual meaning (subjective meaning), 424
industrial capitalism, 222–25
Industrial Internet, 400, 403
Industrial Revolution: beginning of Anthropocene and, 6, 359–60, 362–63; epistemic evolution and, 325–26; knowledge economy and, 216, 221–24; progress of science and society and, 12. *See also* Second Industrial Revolution
industrial rubber, 223
Industry 4.0 (Industrial Internet), 400, 403
inertial motion, 28, 109. *See also* projectile motion
infectious diseases, 229
Infeld, Leopold, 317
infinitesimal calculus, 99, 102, 117
information, 426
information theory, 235
innovation, 116–17, 118, 148, 160–61, 190, 224–25, 227–30, 233, 243, 248, 264
Institute for Advanced Study (IAS), 316
Institute of Theoretical Physics (University of Warsaw), 317
institutional memory, 162, 179, 181, 418.
See also cultural memory; external memory
institutional persona, 433
institutions: concept and definition of, 150–53, 433; entrapment of mutual limitation and, 159–61; epistemic networks and, 306; globalization of knowledge and, 251–54; material embodiments of, 161–69, 165; normative knowledge and, 158; practical knowledge and, 68–69. *See also* education and educational institutions; knowledge economy
integrated circuits, 233
Integrated History and Future of People on Earth (IHOPE), 375
integration, 247, 414, 427
intentionality, 154
interactivity, 155, 429
interagent, 424
Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 253
internal challenges, 427
internal knowledge representation, 418, 419, 431
internalization, 33, 329–30, 398, 421
International Commission on Stratigraphy, 6
International Committee of General Relativity and Gravitation, 318
International Geophysical Year (1957–58), 240
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 256, 390
international monetary management, 389–90
International Union of Geological Sciences, 6
Internet, 33, 233–34

- Internet of Things, 400–402, 403, 424
intrinsic dynamics of knowledge globalization, 249–50, 252–53, 278–79, 429
intuitive knowledge, xiii–xiv, 27, 66, 67, 430
intuitive physics, 105, 108, 110
Iron Age, 361
Islamic world: Islamic calendar, 293, 297;
Islamic Empire, 262, 266, 267, 273; Islamic
knowledge transmission, 263, 266, 267, 269,
276; Islamic law, 262; Islamic science, xiii, as
state religion, 203–4. *See also* Arabic world
Italy, 179–89, 229. *See also* Florence; Venice
iterative abstraction, 60, 61, 67, 195, 353, 399,
417, 425, 427, 429

Jacob, Margaret, 222
Jacopo di Sandro, 186
James, William, 18, 146–47
Janssen, Michel, xii, 142
Japan: forms of alternative modernity in, 384,
386–88; knowledge economy of building
in, 171; Meiji Restoration in, 249, 250;
research universities in, 251
Jasanoff, Sheila, 146
Jaspers, Karl, 201–3
Jefferson, Thomas, 238
Jeschke, Jonathan, 391–92
Jesuit mission to China, 263–64, 278, 292–99,
295–96
Jeavons, William, 398
Johnson, Benjamin, xiv
Johnston, Harold, 372
joint attention, 340–41, 342, 418, 419
Jordan, Pascal, 140
Jordanus de Nemore, 272–73
Judaism, 203–4, 207

Kaiser-Wilhelm Society, 224
Kant, Immanuel, 10, 40–42, 41, 62, 218
Das Kapital (Marx), 17, 47–48, 156–57
Kassite Dynasty (ca. 1600–1300 BCE), 198
Kelvin, William Thomson, 1st Baron, 237, 238
Kepler, Johannes, 115, 122, 218
Klein, Ursula, xii, 98, 122, 439–40n47
Klingan, Katrin, xiv
knowledge: as a common good, 395–97; con-
cept and definition of, 9–11, 426–27; di-
mensions of, 63–64; evolutionary perspec-
tive on, xiv, 17–21; historical evolution of,
xiv–xvi, 16–20; history of science and, 11–
15; longitudinal studies of, xii–xiii; political
dimension of, xv, 409–10; types of, 66, 67.
See also intuitive knowledge; practical
knowledge; theoretical knowledge
knowledge economy: academic capitalism
and, 242–43; Big Science and, 230–31; chal-
lenges to the authority of science and,
241–42; concept and definition of, 7, 28, 145,
146, 151–53, 429; in early literate societies,
195–201, 198–200; in early modern period,
214–21; electronics and, 232–34, 234; entrap-
ment of mutual limitation and, 159–61;
ergosphere and, 383; external representa-
tions and, 154–57; Greek philosophy and,
205–7; Industrial Revolution and, 221–24;
knowledge transmission processes and,
153–54; large-scale engineering projects
and, 208–10; Marx’s value theory and,
156–57; material embodiments of societal
institutions and, 161–69, 165; in nonliterate
societies, 191–95, 194; overview of, 190–91;
printing revolution and, 210–13, 211; prob-
lem of measuring scientific productivity
and, 234–35; in religious frameworks, 201–4;
rise of new disciplines and, 235–41; Second
Industrial Revolution and, 224–28; war as
catalyst of, 229–32, 230, 240, 317, 369–70,
373–74. *See also* triggers of change
knowledge economy of building: administra-
tions and, 173; buildings as collective
experiments and, 179–82; canonical build-
ings and, 177–79, 178; cupola of Santa
Maria del Fiore and, 182–89, 210; emer-
gence of architecture as a profession and,
174–75, 210; epistemic evolution and, 352;
external representations and, 170, 172–73,
177–79, 178; formation of plateaus and,
175–77, 176–77; large-scale engineering
projects and, 208–10, 209; overview of,
xii–xiii, 170–72, 172
knowledge economy of science, 429
knowledge in society: anthropological gamut
and, 148–50; overview of, 28–29, 145–46;
practice and, 146–48; social institutions
and, 150–53. *See also* knowledge economy
knowledge representation technologies:
concept and definition of, 28, 51, 153,
425; dimensions of, 155–56; knowledge
economy and, 155–57, 169. *See also* external
representations; printing; World Wide
Web
knowledge systems. *See* systems of
knowledge
Korean War, 231
Koyré, Alexandre, 120
Kroeber, Alfred Louis, 153–54
Kuhn, Thomas S., 20, 118, 119, 120, 132, 314
Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, xiii

- labor value theory, 156–57
Lagrange, Joseph-Louis, 86, 104, 116–17
Lalli, Roberto, xii, xiii, 302, 316
Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste, 218; theories of, 125, 218
Landecker, Hannah, 374
Lang, Fritz, 325
language(s): emergence of, 340–48, 341, 343; as external representation, 61; mechanical knowledge and, 106–7; transmission of knowledge and, 259; writing and, 196–97. *See also* translation
latency, 424
Latour, Bruno, 377–78
Laubichler, Manfred, xiv, 126, 142, 302, 340, 422
Laue, Max von, 370
Lavoisier, Antoine-Laurent, 122–24, 124
law of the lever, 69, 103–4, 105
Lawrence, Ernest O., 231
laws of chemical proportion, 98
Le Roy, Édouard, 5, 380
Lefèvre, Wolfgang, ix, xii, 124, 125, 437n36, 439–40n47
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 56, 82, 117, 218
Leonardo da Vinci, 104, 211
Leontiev, Aleksei, 49
lever model, 106, 285–86, 431
Leviathan (Hobbes), 219, 220
Levinson, Stephen, 342, 462n24
Lewontin, Richard, 323
lexicalization, 306, 431
Library of Alexandria, 207, 307–9
Liebig, Justus von, 366–68
life sciences, 231
lingua franca, 198, 255, 259, 431
lingua sacra, 431
linguistic borrowing, 259
Linnaeus, Carl, 278
linotype machine, 224
Lisbon Strategy, 254
local knowledge, 258, 385–91, 430
local universalism, 391, 425
logic, 205
logical empiricism, 42
Lokatis, Sophie, 391–92
London Mission Press, 299
Lorentz, Hendrik Antoon, 84, 128–30, 132, 138
Louis XIV, King of France, 167
Lovelock, James, 379
Luhmann, Niklas, 420
Luria, Alexander, 49
Lydia, 331
Lyell, Charles, 72, 237
Mach, Ernst, 17, 18, 42, 130, 414
machine learning, 234, 398–400, 403
magnetism, 239
major transitions: concept and definition of, 421; emergence of human language as, 340–48, 341, 343; Neolithic Revolution as, 348–54, 350
malaria, 393–94
Malm, Andreas, 378
Malthus, Thomas Robert, 366
Manhattan Project, 231, 361, 373. *See also* Atomic Age (nuclear age)
manufacturing, 228
Manutius, Aldus, 285
Marconi, Guglielmo, 226–27, 227
Margulis, Lynn, 379
Mariano di Jacopo detto il Taccola, 183
maritime travel, 260
Mars (planet), 355
Marx, Karl: abstract concepts and, 47–48, 49, 50; economy of knowledge, 145, 190; evolutionary theories and, xv, 17, 330, 348, 382; external representations and, 51; on labor, 55, 170, 323; on material culture, 326–37; on natural science, 408; on value, 156–57
mass media, 232
Massacre of the Innocents (Rubens), 148
material culture: epistemic evolution and, 326; role of, 50–57; transcendence and, 166–68, 168. *See also* external representations; weighing technologies
material means, 51, 57–59, 433
mathematics and mathematical concepts: abstract concepts and, 38, 40–41; practical roots of, 94–96, 268. *See also* arithmetic matrix, 428
Max Planck Institute for Human Development, 439–40n47
Max Planck Institute for Legal History, xiii
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, xiii
Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, ix–xvi, 439–40n47
Max Planck Society, xiii
Maxwell, James Clerk, 128, 132, 133, 225
Maya calendar, 199, 200
Maynard Smith, John, 341–42, 421
McLaughlin, Peter, ix, xi, 55
McNeill, John, 362
Mead, George Herbert, 146–47
mechanae model, 106, 285–86, 431
Mechanical Problems (Aristotle), 285–86, 288–91

- mechanics and mechanical knowledge: evolution of machinery in early modern societies and, 49; globalization of knowledge and, 285–91; periodization and evolution of, x–xii, 103–5, 108–17; types of, 105–8. *See also* knowledge economy of building
- Mechanique analytique* (Lagrange), 117
- mediation, 153–54
- Medusa's Head* (Burden), 380
- Meiji Restoration, 249, 250, 386, 388
- Mendelssohn, Moses, 56
- Mengele, Josef, 410
- mental models: children's stories and, 73–75; concept and definition of, 73, 431; mechanical knowledge and, 103–17; scientific thinking and, 77–78. *See also specific models*
- Mersenne, Marin, 311
- Merton, Robert K., 425
- Meso-American civilizations: concept of time in, 339–40; knowledge economy of building in, 171; Maya calendar and, 200, 201; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 93–94. *See also* colonization of the Americas
- Mesopotamia: concept of time in, 339–40; emergence of abstract categories in, 48; knowledge economy of building in, 171, 174; Neolithic Revolution in, 349–54; origins of money in, 48, 331; origins of writing and arithmetic in, 69, 87–96, 93–95, 96–97, 195–96, 198, 260–61, 261; weighing technologies in, 331. *See also* Babylonia
- Metaphysics* (Aristotle), 40
- metric tensor, 136–38
- Metropolis* (film), 325
- Michelson-Morley experiment, 129, 130
- Middle Ages: educational institutions in, 214–15; epistemic networks and, 309–14; knowledge economy of building in, 171, 173, 179–81, 208–10
- Miletus, 307–308
- Milgram, Stanley, 301, 305
- military-industrial-scientific complex, 231–32, 240
- mimeograph, 224
- Minero, Gloria, 348
- Ming dynasty, 293, 294, 297
- mining, 279
- Minkowski, Hermann, 137–38, 141
- Minsky, Marvin, 23, 74, 103, 418
- missing knowledge, 384–85, 430
- Mitchell, Timothy, 394
- Mittasch, Alwin, 369
- model of isostasy, 237–38, 239, 432
- modern physics, xii, 104. *See also* theories of relativity
- modernities, 116, 386–88
- modes of integration, 429
- Mohist Canon*, 103–104, 286–91
- Mokyr, Joel, 222–23
- molecular biology, 231, 235
- Molina, Mario, 372, 373
- money: as external representation of exchange value, 47–48, 156–57, 162, 163, 164, 402; weighing technologies and, 331
- Mongol Empire, 262, 275
- Montreal Protocol (1987), 371, 372
- Morozov, Evgeny, 403
- motion: graphical representations of change and, 99–102, 100. *See also* inertial motion; projectile motion
- motion-implies-force model, 73, 75, 105, 108–9, 114–15, 432
- Mozarabs, 274
- Mozi, 280, 286
- multilingualism, 258, 259, 271, 431
- Museo Galileo, Florence, xi
- Nanjing incident (1616), 298
- Nanni di Banco, 187
- NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), 372
- National Academy of Sciences, 372
- nation-states, 218–21, 222, 278
- A Natural History of Human Thinking* (Tomassello), 340–42
- natural science: in ancient Greece, xi, 206–7, 214, 285–86, 288–91; early texts on mechanics in China and, 286–91; evolutionary perspective on, 280–85, 323–27. *See also* epistemic evolution; Jesuit mission to China and, 263–64, 278, 292–99, 295–96; Needham Problem and, 291–92. *See also* mechanics and mechanical knowledge
- Nature Climate Change* (journal), 392–93
- Naturwissenschaftliche Volksbücher* (Bernstein), 414–15
- Naveh, Zev, 381
- Nazi Germany, 230, 409–40, 410, 412
- Needham, Joseph, 247, 291–92
- Needham Problem, 291–92, 298
- Nelson, Sara, xiv
- Nelson, Ted, 404
- neoliberalism, 242, 256, 389–90, 392
- Neolithic, 175–76, 176
- Neolithic Revolution, 32, 259–60, 348–54, 350, 360–61, 393
- Nernst, Walter, 369

- network analysis, 302–3, 307, 313, 314, 364–65;
epistemic, 311; historical, 319; quantitative,
307; social, xiii, 301–5
- networks. *See* computer networks; epistemic
networks; semantic networks; semiotic
networks; social networks
- Neumann, John von, 141
- New Public Management, 242
- New Spain, 265
- Newton, Isaac, 104, 114–17, 135, 218
- Nicaraguan Sign Language, 345–48, 346
- niche construction: concept and definition
of, 18, 19–20, 31, 71–72, 327–30, 329, 421;
concept of space and, 335–37; emergence
of human language and, 340–48, 341, 343;
Neolithic Revolution and, 348–54, 350;
weighing technologies and, 331–35
- The Nine Chapters on the Mathematical
Art*, 94
- nitrogen, 229, 365–71, 369–70
- Nixon, Richard, 389
- nodes, 303–4, 313, 316, 317
- nonliterate societies, 191–95, 194
- non-monotonic logic, 419, 441
- noosphere, 5, 380
- normal science, 20, 118, 119, 425
- normative knowledge, 158, 430
- normative systems, 158, 433
- normative thinking, 207
- North, Douglass, 429, 447n16
- Norton, John, xii
- noun-status, 70, 419
- nuclear age (Atomic Age), 231, 240, 359–60,
361, 363, 398
- nuclear energy, 6–7, 241, 373
- nuclear physics, 231
- Nunes, Pedro, 313–14
- Nyerere, Julius, 389
- object permanence, 44–45, 419
- objective interests, 433
- Old Akkadian period, 197
- Old Assyrian period, 197–98
- Old Babylonian period, 197–98
- oligopolization of knowledge and power,
393
- Omodeo, Pietro, xii
- ontogenesis, 43–47, 45, 428
- ontogenetic development, 46, 50, 160, 345
- open access, 252, 405, 424
- open source, 404, 424
- Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth*
(R. B. Fuller), 379
- operational thinking, 45, 46, 419
- operations, 45, 419
- operative functions, 233, 234, 425
- Opium Wars (1840–42; 1856–60), 299
- Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 361
- optics, 77, 127
- orders of external representations, 57–60, 59,
425
- Ordine, Nuccio, 243
- O'Reilly, Tim, 403
- Oreskes, Naomi, 239, 378, 392
- Oresme, Nicolas, 99, 110–11
- organic chemistry, 98, 223
- orientation knowledge, 385, 430
- The Origin of Continents and Oceans* (Wegener),
237
- The Origin of Species* (Darwin), 18, 125
- Osterhammel, Jürgen, 251
- Osthues, Wilhelm, xiii
- Ostrom, Elinor, 395–97
- Ostwald, Wilhelm, 369
- Ottoman Empire, 189, 275–76
- Our Plundered Planet* (Osborn), 364
- Our Wandering Continents* (du Toit), 239
- overcritical theories, 433
- ownership, 155, 429
- Oxford, 273
- Özdoğan, Mehmet, 259–60
- ozone hole, 5, 371–73
- Pacey, Arnold, 258
- packages of knowledge, 17, 66, 67, 427
- Padgett, John, 302
- Paleolithic, 340–45
- paleomagnetism, 369
- paleontology, 237
- Palermo, 273
- Palo Alto Research Center (PARC), 401
- Paṇini, 196–97
- Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*
(Sternberger), 17
- paper, 211–12, 266–67. *See also* printing
- paper tools: chemical formulas as, 12, 98;
concept and definition of, 27, 51, 155, 425;
graphical representations of change as,
99–102
- Pappus of Alexandria, 207
- papyrus, 196, 206, 261, 266
- Papyrus of Hunefer, 331
- paradigm shift, 20, 28, 120, 235, 385, 426
- paradigms, 314, 318, 426
- Paris, 273, 310, 311–12, 313
- The Paris Sketchbook* (Thackeray), 168
- Parsons, Talcott, 147
- patents, 227, 228, 242

- path-dependency: concept and definition of, 19, 32, 97, 421; cultural abstraction and, 29; dark knowledge and, 393; epistemic evolution and, 327, 335, 349; evolution of knowledge systems and, 82–83; geological revolution and, 238, 239; globalization of knowledge and, 30, 273; iterative abstraction and, 61; knowledge economy and, 169; local knowledge and, 386; Second Industrial Revolution and, 226
- Pax Mongolica, 275–76
- Peace* (Aristophanes), 333, 334–35
- Peirce, Charles Sanders, 51, 101, 146–47
- pendulum, 80, 83, 111–12, 215–16
- penicillin, 374
- Penrose, Roger, 315
- Persian Empire, 261, 262
- perspective, 428
- Peuerbach, Georg von, 122
- pharmaceutical research and industry, 374, 392–94
- Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (Newton), 114–17
- philosophy: abstract concepts and, 38–42; knowledge economy and, 205–7; on man, 281; practical roots of knowledge and, 94–96. *See also specific philosophers*
- phlogiston, 79, 123
- photocopy technologies, 224
- phylogenesis, 50, 428
- physics: origins of, 103–4; rise of new disciplines and, 235, 237. *See also classical physics; modern physics; nuclear physics; quantum theory; theories of relativity*
- Physics* (Aristotle), 108–9
- Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt, 224, 228
- Piaget, Jean: on abstraction in child development, 37, 43–47, 49–50, 60, 62; on symbolic function, 51
- Pinch, Trevor, 15
- Planck, Max, 81, 126–27, 127, 129, 140, 412
- planetary boundaries, 364, 384, 423
- plastic, 223, 360
- plate tectonics, 236, 239–40, 240
- platforms, 422
- Plato, 38–40, 41, 94–96, 281
- Pleistocene, 5, 359–60, 365
- Poincaré, Henri, 128, 243, 414
- polar stratospheric clouds (PSCs), 373
- polis*, 174–75
- politics, xv, 409–10
- Polo, Marco, 275
- Popper, Karl, 15, 26
- portability, 155, 196, 212, 429
- Potts, Daniel, xiii
- power, 159, 166–67, 168, 218–21, 433
- practical knowledge: concept and definition of, xiii–xiv, 66, 67–69, 430; Einstein’s “relativity revolutions” and, 131–32; mechanics and, 67–68, 105–7; Scientific Revolution and, 13–14. *See also knowledge economy of building*
- practices: anthropological gamut and, 148–50; concept of, 146–48
- pragmatism, 146–47
- Pratt model, 238, 239
- preclassical mechanics, xi–xii, 84, 104–5, 218
- prehistory, 248, 259–60
- preoperational thinking, 45, 46, 419
- Price, Derek J. de Solla, 303–4
- Principles of Physical Geology* (Holmes), 239
- printing, 153, 154, 211–13, 212, 223–24
- printing revolution, 179, 211–13, 269, 313
- problemata* tradition, 285
- problem-solving knowledge, 69–71
- procedures and procedural knowledge, 69–72, 131, 177, 419
- Productive Thinking* (Wertheimer), 42–43
- professionalism, 174–75, 210
- progressus scientiarum* (progress of the sciences), 12
- projectile motion: as challenging object, 80–81, 83, 100–101, 111–16, 112, 114, 215–16; Galileo and, 111–16, 112, 115, 132; graphical representations of change and, 100–101; theoretical knowledge and, 109–10
- prosumers, 33, 406, 424
- Protestant missionaries, 299
- Proust, Joseph-Louis, 98
- psychoanalysis, xv
- psychology, 42–47, 45, 49–50
- Ptolemy, 309, 310, 313–14
- Ptolemy I, 308
- Ptolemy III, 308
- publishing houses, 211, 299. *See also printing*
- Pygmalion, 25
- Pythagoreans, 97
- Qin dynasty, 287, 289
- Qing dynasty, 294, 297, 299–300
- Qing Empire, 299
- quantum revolution, 118, 127, 140
- quantum theory: decline of mechanistic worldview and, 104; heat radiation and, 81, 126–27, 228; reorganization of knowledge and, 84; as revolution, xii, 140–42

- Quaternary, 5
querelle des anciens et des modernes (Battle of the Books), 116–17
- radar, 232
radio transmission, 228, 229, 232
radioactivity, 238
Les raisons des forces mouvantes (Caus), 213
Ramelli, Agostino, 212, 296
Rapa Nui people, 149
Rapp, Friedrich, 381
ratio studiorum, 292
rational choice theory, 147
reactive nitrogen. *See* Haber-Bosch process
real-time synthesis, 70, 419
re-centering, 85, 428
recipe knowledge, 69–71, 71, 201, 430
recontextualization, 428
recursive blindness, 61, 417
recursiveness, 155, 429
relativity. *See* coevolution; Einstein, Albert; epistemic networks; general theory of relativity; physics; special theory of relativity; theories of relativity
reflection: concept and definition of, 417; external representations and, 27, 59–60, 167; globalization of knowledge and, 247; knowledge and, 64; religions and, 158. *See also* abstract concepts; abstraction
reflective abstraction: concept and definition of, 27, 46, 60, 61, 65, 417; experiments and, 216; reorganization of knowledge and, 84; special theory of relativity and, 130
reflective expansion, 417
reflexivity, 62, 67
Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller), 122
regulative (or regulatory) structures, 32, 328–29, 340, 342, 421, 422
regulatory niche, 328, 330, 335, 348
relativity revolution, 118, 127, 134, 315
religions: knowledge economy and, 201–5, 298; normative knowledge and, 158; role of, 33, 410–11. *See also* Buddhism; Christianity; Islam
Renaissance, 116, 171, 173, 179–89
renewable energy, 7, 394–95
Renfrew, Colin, 284
reproducibility, 155, 196, 211
Republic (Plato), 94–96
resonance effects, 422
resource couple, 423
retardation, 433
retrieval, 70, 419
reverse engineering, 51, 68, 153
revolution. *See* chemical revolution; Copernican revolution; Darwinian revolution; geological revolution; Industrial Revolution; Neolithic Revolution; printing revolution; relativity revolution; Second Industrial Revolution; Scientific Revolution; quantum revolution
Rheinberger, Hans-Jörg, 439–40n47
Ricci, Matteo, 293–94, 299
rich data, 319
Richerson, Peter, 18
rivalry, 155, 429
Rockström, Johan, 364
Roman balance, 334, 334
Rome and Roman Empire: concept of time in, 339–40; globalization of knowledge and, 262; knowledge economy of building in, 171; religion in, 204
Rosol, Christoph, xiv
rotary press, 224
Rowland, Sherwood, 372, 373
Royal Society, 311
Rubens, Peter Paul, 148
Ruddiman, William, 349, 360
Rynasiewicz, Robert, xii

Saalman, Howard, 188
Sacrobosco, Johannes de, 294, 311–14, 312
Sagan, Carl, 38
Il Saggiatore (*The Assayer*) (Galilei), 52
Sahlins, Marshall, 390–91
sailing, 260
Sanskrit language, 196–97
Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, 180, 181, 182–89, 183, 187, 210
Sauer, Tilman, xii
Saussure, Ferdinand de, 51
scaffolding, 422
scale-free networks, 303–4
Schall von Bell, Adam, 294, 295
Schelling, Friedrich, 414
Schemmel, Matthias, xi, xii–xiii, xiv, 286, 296, 335
Scherer, Bernd, xiv
Schiefsky, Mark, xiii
Schievenhövel, Wulf, xiv
Schlick, Moritz, 55
Schlimme, Hermann, xiii
Schlögl, Robert, xiv
Schreck, Johannes, 280, 294–96
Schrödinger, Erwin, 141
Schumpeter, Joseph, 190
Science and Civilization in China (Needham), 292

- science and scientific knowledge: challenges of humanity and, 408–16; concept and definition of, 430; fragmentation of, 7–8, 33; as golem, 15–16; history of, 11–15; mental models and, 77–78. *See also* natural science
- Science as a Vocation* (Weber), 379
- scientific community, 426
- scientific journals, 212, 215, 306
- scientific management, 228
- scientific productivity, 234–35
- Scientific Revolution, 6, 13–14, 104–5. *See also* Galilei, Galileo
- scientific revolutions: borderline problems of classical physics and, 126–27, 127; chemical revolution, 118, 122–24, 123–24; concept and definition of, 27–28, 118–19, 132, 426; Copernican Revolution, 118, 120–22, 216–17, 298, 312–14; Darwinian revolution, 118, 124–26; Einstein’s “relativity revolutions,” 118, 127–39, 128, 141; geological revolution, 235–41, 240; Quantum Revolution, 140–42; socio-epistemic dynamics of, 31
- scientific standards, 235
- Scott, James, 349, 352–53
- Second Industrial Revolution, 224–28, 226
- Second International Congress on the History of Science and Technology (London, 1931), 53–54, 54
- second-order institutions, 162–63, 433
- second-order knowledge, 152, 430
- second-order representations, 58–60, 59, 92–93, 329
- second-order thinking, 202, 203
- sediment and sedimentation of prior actions: concept and definition of, 422; epistemic evolution and, 327, 353–54; globalization of knowledge and, 29, 30, 258–62, 262–65; knowledge economy and, 165–66, 165, 169, 203; knowledge economy of building and, 170–71, 175–77, 176–77
- self-reinforcing dynamics, 429
- self-reinforcing mechanisms, 422
- semantic networks: in ancient Greece, 309; concept and definition of, 305, 306, 423; general theory of relativity and, 316–17
- semiconductor devices, 232–33
- semiosis, 51–52
- semiotic function (symbolic function), 51
- semiotic networks, 305–6, 316, 423
- semiotics, 51–52
- Semmelweis* (Thom), 409
- Semmelweis, Ignaz Philipp, 409
- Senghas, Ann, 347
- sensorimotor intelligence, 44–45, 46, 62, 335, 419
- seriation, 45–46
- Shannon, Claude E., 52, 157, 426
- shared knowledge: Aristotelianism as, 110–11; concept and definition of, 60–61, 78, 157, 430; knowledge economy of building in, 171. *See also* systems of knowledge
- sharing economy, 401–2
- Shepard-Kegl, Judy, 346
- “A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies” (de las Casas), 265
- Sidereus nuncius* (Galilei), 26
- sign languages, 345–48, 346
- Silent Spring* (Carson), 240–41
- Silk Road, 262, 266
- silver, 279
- Simmel, Georg, 51
- Singer, Charles, 53
- situative action coordination, 342–44, 419
- Six Degrees* (Watts), 302, 302
- slots, 69, 73–75
- small world, 301, 304, 305, 423
- smallpox, 393
- Smith, Bruce, 360
- Smith, Cyril Stanley, 153–54
- Smith, George E., 373
- social accessibility of knowledge, 429
- social cognition, 60–61
- social cohesion, 29, 158, 353, 386, 397, 433
- social construction, xv, 345
- social fragmentation, 397, 433
- social interactions, 150. *See also* institutions; social networks
- social meaning, 60–61, 425
- social network analysis. *See* network analysis
- social networks, 305, 316, 318, 423
- social technologies, 161–64, 433
- socialism, 388–89
- socialization, 433
- societal reflexivity, 162, 164, 433
- society. *See* knowledge in society
- socio-epistemic complexes, 433–34
- Sommerfeld, Arnold, 84
- Sophists, 290
- sovereignty, 218–21, 222
- Soviet Union, 229, 389
- space and spatial knowledge: brief history of, 335–37; classical physics on, 4, 61; in non-literate societies, 194–95; overview of, xii–xiii; social practices and, 47. *See also* theories of relativity
- special theory of relativity, xii, 118, 130–34, 131, 133, 137, 141, 318

- Sphere* (Sacrobosco), 294, 311–14, 312
spread (diffusion), 429
Springer Verlag, 55
Sputnik shock, 231
stability and instability, 422
stability model, 105, 432
Stachel, John, xii
Stanford University, 233
state: emergence of, 218–21, 222. *See also* absolute state; nation-states
steam power, 225
steelyard, 271, 272, 334. *See also* weighing technologies
Steffen, Will, xiv, 362, 364
Steininger, Benjamin, xiv
Sterling, Bruce, 402
Sternberger, Dolf, 17
Stevin, Simon, 294
stimulus diffusion, 153–54, 173
stimulus transfer, 153–54
Stoermer, Eugene F., 5, 362
“The Strength of Weak Ties” (Granovetter), 302, 304–5
strong ties, 304–5, 423
The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Kuhn), 20
Subcommission on Quaternary Stratigraphy, 6
subjective interests, 434
subjective meaning (individual meaning), 424
Suess, Eduard, 237, 238
Sui dynasty, 287
Summa theologiae (Thomas Aquinas), 69
sundials, 339, 339
sustainability, 387–88
symbolic evolution, 422
symbolic function (semiotic function), 51
symbolic system, 50, 55–57
symptomatic meaning, 425
system knowledge, 385, 430
systems of knowledge: architecture of, 66–69; cognitive science and, 69–78; concept and definition of, 65–69, 427; evolution of, 66, 78–83; reorganization of, 66, 83–86, 89, 112–16
Szathmáry, Eörs, 341–42, 421
Szöllösi-Janze, Margit, 370

tacit knowledge, 68, 441n4
Tanzania, 257, 389, 390
Taoist Patrology, 287
technosphere, 31, 324, 381–82, 383–84, 423
Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre, 5, 380
telegraphy, 226, 228
telephone, 226
television, 232
Ten Books on Architecture (Vitruvius), 173, 178
Thabit Ibn Qrra, 271–72
Thackeray, William Makepeace, 168
Thales of Miletus, 38–39, 307
Theodosius I, 204
theoretical knowledge: concept and definition of, 66, 67, 69, 430; Einstein’s “relativity revolutions” and, 131–32; mechanics and, 107–10
Theorica novae planetarum (von Peurbach), 122
theories of relativity: concepts of space and time and, 4; decline of mechanistic worldview and, 104; general theory of relativity, xii, 78–79, 86, 135–39, 236, 314–18, 315; special theory of relativity, xii, 130–34, 141
thermodynamic machines, 225
Thick Anthropocene, 349
Thin Anthropocene, 349
thinking machine, 41–42, 41
Thom, Robert, 409
Thomas, Julia Adeney, 387
Thomas Aquinas, 69
Thomson, William, Lord Kelvin, 237, 238
Thorne, Kip, 315
thought collective, 55, 78, 119, 311, 426, 428
thought style, 55, 119, 426
Tian Miao, xiii
time, 4, 61, 163–64, 337–40. *See also* calendar astronomy; theories of relativity
tipping point, 422
Tockner, Klement, 391–92
Tokugawa period, 384, 386–88
Toledo, 274
Tomasello, Michael, 340–42, 418, 419
Tomlinson, Gary, 51–52, 344
TOPOI Excellence Cluster, xii–xiii, xiv
Toynbee, Arnold J., 116
Tractatus de sphaera (Sacrobosco), 294, 311–14, 312
trading zone, 296, 426
tragedy of the commons, 395–97
transaction costs, 155, 429
transcendence, 39–40, 166–68, 168, 201–3, 425
transfer of knowledge. *See* transmission (transfer) of knowledge
transformation knowledge, 385, 430
transistor, 232–33
The Transition from the Feudal to the Bourgeois World Picture (Borkenau), 54

- translation: concept and definition of, 431;
globalization of knowledge and, 251, 259,
269–74, 270, 285, 299
- transmission (transfer) of knowledge: con-
cept and definition of, 429; dynamics of,
262–65; knowledge economy and, 153–54;
language and, 259; longitudinal studies of,
xiii. *See also* globalization of knowledge
- transportation, 225–26, 226, 260, 264, 265,
362–64
- Trigault, Nicholas, 294
- triggers of change: concept and definition of,
66, 79–83, 86, 89, 139, 428; gravitation as,
134–35; scientific revolutions and, 118–19,
125–26. *See also* borderline problems;
challenging objects
- triggers of institutional change, 434
- Trobrind Islands, 332
- tuberculosis, 393–94
- Turnbull, Thomas, xiv
- Two Treatises of Government* (Hobbes), 219
- typewriter, 223
- ubiquitous computing, 400–402, 424
- undercritical theories, 434
- unequal-arm balance, 332–35
- uniformitarianism, 237
- United Nations Environment Programme
(UNEP), 253
- United Nations Framework Convention on
Climate Change, 253
- United States: academic capitalism in, 242–43;
geological revolution and, 238–39, 240;
research universities in, 251; Second
Industrial Revolution and, 228; war as
catalyst in, 229
- universal contextualism, 426
- universalization, 254–55
- universities: academic capitalism and, 242–43,
254, 432; Aristotelianism as shared knowl-
edge and, 110–11; epistemic networks and,
309, 311; globalization of knowledge and,
251–53; Industrial Revolution and, 224;
knowledge economy and, 214–15, 233; in
the Middle Ages, 17, 214, 216; Second In-
dustrial Revolution and, 228
- University of Paris, 310, 311–12
- Upper Paleolithic, 259
- Ur III period, 48, 96, 197
- US Coast and Geodetic Survey, 238
- US Navy, 238
- “The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge”
(Flexner), 243
- useless knowledge, 243
- Valleriani, Matteo, xii, xiii, 302, 309, 311
- vehicles, 429
- Venice: Arsenal of the Venetian Republic in,
13–14, 188–89, 210; as hub, 313
- Venus (planet), 355
- Vernadsky, Vladimir, 5, 380
- Verschuer, Otmar von, 410
- Vienna Circle, 42, 55
- Viète, François, 116–17
- Villard de Honnecourt, 173
- Vinet, Elié, 313–14
- vis viva* controversy, 81–82
- Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio), 173, 178, 181
- Vrba, Elisabeth, 421
- Vygotsky, Lev S., 49, 342–43, 348
- Wang Zheng, 294–96
- war as catalyst: Cold War, 229–30, 231, 240,
317; World War I, 229, 230, 230, 232, 369–70;
World War II, 229–30, 317, 373–74
- Warring States period, 290, 291
- waste, 399, 399
- Watt, James, 9, 362
- Watts, Duncan J., 301, 304, 305
- Wazeck, Milena, xii
- weak ties, 304–5, 313–14, 317–18, 424
- Web of Knowledge (Epistemic Web), 33,
404–7, 424
- Weber, Max, 379
- Wegener, Alfred, 235–36, 236, 237, 238, 239
- weighing technologies, 286, 331–35, 332–34
- Weinig, Paul, xiii
- Weiser, Mark, 401
- Wendt, Helge, xiii, xiv
- Werner, Abraham, 237
- Wertheimer, Max, 42–43, 419
- Western Union Telegraph Company, 226
- Wheeler, John, 315
- Whewell, William, 299
- Wien, Wilhelm, 129
- Will, Clifford, 139, 315
- William of Rubruck, 275
- Wintergrün, Dirk, xiii, 302
- wireless communication, 226–27, 228
- Wittenberg, 313
- Wittfogel, Karl August, 448n31
- World Bank, 256, 390
- World Health Organization (WHO), 374
- World Meteorological Organization (WMO),
253
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 256
- World War I, 229, 230, 230, 232, 369–70
- World War II, 229–30, 317, 373–74
- World Wide Web, 33, 233–34, 251–52, 404–7

- Wrigley, Edward Anthony, 362–63
writing: language and, 196–97; origins of, 88–89, 88, 96–97, 195–201, 260–61, 261, 350; transmission of, 262–63. *See also* paper
- Wundt, Wilhelm, 17
- Xenophanes, 204
- Xu Guangqi, 297, 299
- XXL transitions: concept and definition of, 422; emergence of human language as, 340–48, 341, 343; Neolithic Revolution as, 348–54, 350
- Yuan dynasty, 293
Yuanxi qiqi tushuo (Diagrams and explanations of the wonderful machines of the Far West) (Schreck and Wang Zheng), 294–96, 296
- Zalasiewicz, Jan, xiv, 360
- Zeder, Melinda, 352, 360
- Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (journal), 54
zone of proximal development, 342–43, 348, 420
- Zuboff, Shoshana, 402–3