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Evolution and palaeoanthropology in Hans Blumenberg's *Nachlaß*

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Abstract. Hans Blumenberg wrote, in an unpublished manuscript entitled *Ein Betrug?* / *Der böse Dämon* (UNF 532-534), that «the whole world and human intelligence were hidden beneath the earth, where the relics of the precursors of life rest». The German philosopher was not a palaeoanthropologist in the strict sense but dedicated much of his life to *excavating* in the ground, in search of replies to the great questions about the human condition. This paper is the result of a work compiling and classifying a series of unpublished texts about palaeoanthropology to be found dotted throughout his *Nachlaß*. The aim is to show the interest that disciplines such as palaeoanthropology aroused in the German thinker, and that his understanding of the matter, reflected in part in his anthropological-philosophical theses, has not yet been systematised.

Keywords: philosophical anthropology, Blumenberg, evolution, *Nachlaβ*, palaeoan-thropology.

1. INTRODUCTION: HANS BLUMENBERG AS A PALAEOANTHROPOLOGIST (FROM THE *NACHLAß*)

In the unpublished manuscript *Ein Betrug? / Der böse Dämon* (UNF 532-534), the German philosopher Hans Blumenberg (1920-1996) declared that «the whole world and human intelligence were hidden beneath the earth, where the relics of the precursors of life rest». I choose to open the paper with this quotation because it perfectly summarises the topic here discussed, namely this thinker's interest in matters concerning human evolution and his understanding of palaeoanthropology¹.

¹ This paper combines different sections of my doctoral thesis *El aburrimiento como presión selectiva en Hans Blumenberg* (2017, Complutense University of Madrid), directed by Professor José Luis Villacañas Berlanga. All discussed here may be found at length and in detail there. My Doc. Diss. was funded under the FPU-MECD 2012 programme of the Spanish Ministry of Educa-

Blumenberg had no formal training in palaeoanthropology, and never practised the profession. He was nonetheless passionate about this discipline, and such other related fields as ethnology and zoology. He was very familiar with discoveries and advances in such matters, drawing on them in order to offer a response, from an anthropological-philosophical perspective, to the great questions of the human condition: *What is mankind? How has it become what it is? How did such a weak creature achieve such evolutionary success? Is the human being in truth a weak creature?*

Over the course of at least two decades, from 1968 to 1988, Blumenberg became an expert in palaeoanthropology and human evolution, selecting, underlining, annotating and compiling studies by such well-known researchers of the era as the German zoologist and ethnologist Hans Krieg, the Swiss Adolf Portmann and the Austrian Konrad Lorenz, the German palaeontologist Rudolf Bilz, the Austrian sociologist Justin Stagl, the French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss, and the German anthropologists and philosophers Ernst Cassirer and Helmuth Plessner, among many others.

His working routine involved producing indexes of readings, classified on record cards (*Karteikarten*) by thematic discipline, such as *Entwicklung*, *Anthropologie* (Figure 1), *Biologische* or *Ethnologisch*². He then photocopied those excerpts from the texts that most interested him, and studied them before filing them in folders (*Mappen*)³. He entered notes about these texts



Figure 1

on other cards stored in thematic card indexes (*Zettelkasten*) – Zettelkasten 01: Anthropologie, Konvolut Karteikarten zu den Themen: Entwicklung, Anthropologie, Eschatologie or Konvolut Materialsammlung Anthropologie, among others. He would typically note down the relevant quotations from these readings on his cards, accompanying them with comments which he later organised into brief manuscripts (UNF), which would ultimately become the foundations of his works⁴.

Even before his interest arose in academic readings on palaeoanthropology, Blumenberg had

tion, Culture and Sports, and undertaken within the context of the *Biblioteca Saavedra Fajardo de Pensamiento Político Hispánico (IV)* and *Biblioteca Saavedra Fajardo de Pensamiento Político Hispánico (V)* (FFI2012-32611 and FFI2016-75978-R) research projects, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Economy. The study presented here is a beneficiary of the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the *Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement* (No 847635).

² These indexes may in particular be found in the Konvolut Karteikarten zu den Themen: Entwicklung, Anthropologie, Eschatologie.

³ These folders are now located in the case (*Schuber*) Konvolut Materialsammlung Anthropologie I-II. For example, one particular text to be found here is a section of the

work Offene Systeme I. Beiträge zur Zeitstruktur von Information, Entropie und Evolution, by Ernst von Weizsäcker, father of the physicist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, published in 1974.

⁴ This is not a specific working methodology for the topic of palaeoanthropology, but the approach that Blumenberg typically adopted.

already, since 1965, set about clipping, studying, commenting and archiving numerous publications from such newspapers as the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" or "Die Zeit" and from journals of the stature of "Nature" or "Science", concerning our most distant past as a species. He maintained this habit up until at least 1990⁵. He even collected a number of large-format posters, featuring our evolutionary family tree, which these journals issued for their readers (Figure 2).

During the year I spent at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv of Marbach am Neckar (2013-2014), in Stuttgart, where the unpublished texts and manuscripts of Blumenberg reside, I had the opportunity to familiarise myself with his palaeoanthropology-based work. I in fact found that the philosopher was entranced by matters connected with human evolution, and had gradually built up an array of knowledge reflected in anthropologicalphilosophical work of great significance, such as the *Description of Man* (2006).

However, I then realised that the apparent thematic order which may be inferred in the classification of unpublished documents and manuscripts, conducted by means of their arrangement in endless folders and card indexes catalogued by subject (*Entwicklung, Anthropologie...*) was merely superficial. While it is true that work concerning the disciplines can *easily* be located in certain *Mappen* and *Zettelkasten* on the basis of their title, there is no internal consistency among the contents of these groupings of material in accordance with the different sub-topics of a paleoanthropological nature. For example, in one *Zettelkasten* concerning anthropology, one may find a record card with notes about craniometry in hominids, while on the next card we find an entry about the extinction of dinosaurs.

In some cases, Blumenberg marked the record cards and brief manuscripts (UNF) with abbreviations of the topic to which they corresponded: ENTW, ANTHR... But this likewise proves insufficient to establish an internal thematic order within each of these disciplines which were of such great interest to him, about which he learned, and from which he drew inspiration for his anthropological-philosophical theses. The task of classifying his unpublished manuscripts about palaeoanthropology, and methodically systematising them in accordance with different sub-themes, is a challenge which is unquestionably worth the effort, but which no one has yet ventured to take upon themselves.

This would also need to be combined with the exercise of establishing the connection between the sub-thematic syntheses derived from unpublished paleoanthropological texts, and the known theses set out in his published work. The philosopher wrote countless notes which were not subsequently included in published manuscripts, and which prove of great interest not only in order better to understand the paleoanthropological philosopher, but to understand the background to his anthropological-philosophical conclusions. One could analyse at length what Blumenberg in truth drew on to give shape to his anthropological-philosophical postulates, and what he decided to keep to himself, and then venture the reasons prompting him to take these decisions.

This would, in short, involve *excavating* in the subsoil of Blumenbergian philosophy, to find ourselves face-to-face with his veiled relics. Many may see no sense in digging into the depths of the thoughts of a philosopher some of whose most fundamental propositions we are still trying to digest: metaphorology, the theory of myth, or phenomenological anthropology. It strikes me as an unprecedented challenge for studies of Blumenberg, which would specifically result in a mature

⁵ The titles of the news items and journal articles he selected would include, by way of example: *Zeichen der Menschheit* ("Zeit Magazin", unknown authorship); *Frühmenschen in Israel neu datiert* (unknown source, with the initialled byline G. P.); *Wo beginnt der Mensch?* ("FAZ", written by the zoologist Hans-Joachim Wasserburger); *Pliocene footprints in the Laetoli Beds at Laetoli, northern Tanzania* ("Nature", jointly published by the anthropologists Mary Leakey and Richard Hay); *Der älteste Europäer? Ein* 700000 *Jahre alter Frühmenschen-fund in Griechenland* / *Werkzeug und Feuerbrauch* and *Neue Vor- und Frühmenschen-Funde* ("FAZ", both of unknown authorship). These and others are gathered in Konvolut A I-II.



Figure 2

understanding of those other more popular philosophical expressions.

I have not been so bold as to succumb to such an invitation⁶. However, as part of my doctoral thesis – *El aburrimiento como presión selectiva en Hans Blumenberg* (2017) – I conducted a brief exercise of the thematic synthesis regarding some of the paleoanthropological *nodes* which attracted Blumenberg's attention, on the basis of the unpublished manuscripts that I had the chance to consult at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. As for the rest, I will set out a brief presentation of the keynotes comprising those which strike me as the most important and appealing, in all cases in my humble and *non-exhaustive* approach to the paleoanthropological material of the *Nachlaß*.

My aim with this brief introduction is simply to offer an outline sketch and arouse the curiosity of the reader as to this Blumenberg who remains, in part, buried beneath tonnes of unexplored paper.

2. SAMPLE OF PALEOANTHROPOLOGICAL THEMES IN THE BLUMENBERG *NACHLAß*

Palaeoanthropology or human palaeontology is a branch of physical anthropology and palaeobiology which studies human evolution and its fossil record, in other words deals with the hominids of the past. It is a discipline intrinsically linked to palaeontology, geology, palaeoecology, biology, genetics, archaeology and primatology, which aims to explain the emergence and evolu-

⁶ It is now quite some time since I diverted my attention towards the Studies of Boredom, and have since then returned to Blumenberg only to retrieve his original (and equally unknown) ideas as to this incommodious state which affects all beings with the slightest cognitive development (see Ros Velasco [2017, 2019, 2022]), with the exception of this paper.



Figure 3

tion of mankind through an empirical approach. This being the case, palaeoanthropology focuses on bone records, the marks and prints of hands and feet, tools and instruments, clothing, organic waste... in short, all remains which allow us to deduce what our ancestors were like.

Between 1965 and at least 1990, Blumenberg's gaze also focused on the relics of our species, and it would be fair to say that he thereby became a real expert in palaeoanthropology. For more than two decades he read, took notes and wrote about skulls, hips and jaw bones; burins, arrowheads and lithic flakes; pendants of shells, animal skins and shiny stones; huts, shelters and caves; coals, flutes and statuettes; biotypes, phenotypes and genotypes. Palaeoanthropology aroused much more than mere intellectual curiosity in the philosopher.

Among the countless cards and manuscripts dotted throughout the indexes and folders to which I was able to devote more time, I noted a number of common themes concerning palaeoanthropology which were repeated, and allowed a quick and non-exhaustive process of synthesis. In this section, I will present ten of them, selected in accordance with their appeal, in all cases from my personal perspective, with the sole aim of whetting the reader's appetite: 1) the evolutionary tree, 2) the species Australopithecus, 3) bipedalism, 4) tools, 5) the first migrations, 6) caves, 7) fire, 8) cannibalism, 9) Neanderthals and 10) prehistoric art.

2.1. The evolutionary tree

Blumenberg was perfectly well aware that the history of our species is commonly dated back to the Phanerozoic aeon (544 million years ago [mya] – present), in the era known as the Cenozoic (65 mya – present), in the Tertiary period (65 mya – 1.8 mya), in the Miocene epoch (23 mya – 5.3 mya), at which point there was a divergence between the genera Homo and Pan, belonging to the Hominini tribe, which, together with the Goril*lini* tribe, to which gorillas belong, form the subfamily Homininae, within the Hominidae family, together with the subfamily of the *Ponginae*. We know this from the diagrams that the philosopher drew up in an attempt to ascertain the location occupied by the genus Homo in the superfamily Hominoidea (Figure 3).

He was thus aware that 35 mya, when the Earth's climate cooled, the primates had divided

into two large families: the monkeys of the Old World (represented today by the colobi, the langurs, the bonobos and macaques) and the simians, and that the latter began to dominate the Old World during the subsequent period of 20-25 mya. Blumenberg assumed, following a diagram cut out of "Der Spiegel" (Figure 4), that the species Ramapithecus7 had been the first ancestors of mankind some 15 mya. From this moment up until approximately 4 mya, the date established for the emergence of the species Australopithecus, the "Tier-Mensch Ubergangs Phase" apparently occurred, in other words the transition from animal to human.

Neither Blumenberg nor his contemporaries (all of whom were mistaken, in accordance with the database available to them at the time) could have imagined that in fact the first shared ancestor would prove to be Sahelanthropus tchadensis (Toumaï), discovered in 2001, five years after the philosopher's death, in the Djurab Desert. The remains are estimated to be aged between 6 mya and 7 mya.

One may imagine that his information as to the course of the evolutionary tree beyond Australopithecus was more complete (although not more correct) thanks to his work on the poster that "Zeit Magazin" offered its readers at some point in the 1970s (Figure 2). Here, Australopithecus (afarensis, africanus, robustus, bosei) dominates the landscape between 3.8 mya and 1 mya, up until the leap to Homo habilis (2.2 mya - 1.6 mya). This is subsequently followed by Homo erectus, early Homo sapiens and Neanderthals, coexisting with one another for a time prior to each extinction, before arriving at Homo sapiens bonsai some 100,000 years ago.

Whichever tree one follows – the version from "Der Spiegel" or from "Zeit Magazin" - neither of them shows how the step occurs from the last of the Australopithecus species to the first Homo FORSCHUNG Zottiger Adam

URMENSCH

ANTHR

IRRWEGE DER EVOLUTION 124 Figure 4

habilis. In fact, the version in "Der Spiegel" even marks an unknown period, from between 2.7 mya and 2.4 mya, when the "Mystery Man" lived, man's famous missing link from the early and middle of the last century, who actually turned out to be a woman (see 2.2).

On the basis of these rudimentary and obsolete chronologies, Blumenberg ultimately learned in detail not only the supposed dating of the specimens that predated us in the evolutionary tree, but also the particular examples that had been discovered, the form and size of their skulls and bodies, as well as where and how they lived.

2.2. The Australopithecus species

The Australopithecus species attracted Blumenberg's interest in particular because of how dif-

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⁷ Ramapithecus is no longer recognised as a likely precursor of humans, but of the modern orangutan. The specimens that were once associated with this genus are now considered to belong to one or more species of Sivapithecus - an extinct genus of hominid primates of the Miocene, whose fossils were found in the Siwalik Hills.

ficult it was at the time to establish the age of the specimens as the discoveries were made. He wrote about this in *Umdatierungen von Australopithecus Africanus und Afarensis*, as a result of an article in the "FAZ" on 5 January 1983 (023884). The *Australopithecus* phenomenon was surrounded by mysteries, including the *missing link* and the dating of the specimens, until explorations began to focus on the hominids that lived in Hadar, Ethiopia, including in particular the famed Lucy (Figure 5), who provided the *female link*, and those from Laetoli, Tanzania.

The notes written by the philosopher concerning this moment of uncertainty reveal more than a merely superficial interest in the matter:

The reconstruction of the family tree of our ancestors not only depends on the variety of fossils available, but also the accurate dating of these finds. Information as to the age of certain specimens of Australopithecus afarensis and Australopithecus africanus still fluctuates considerably. According to a recent analysis, it was not clear whether the hominids from Hadar in Ethiopia, such as "Lucy", lived shortly after the hominids from Laetoli, in northern Tanzania, or much later. A more recent dating of the specimens from Hadar and comparison of the fossil fauna with that from Lake Turkana (formerly Lake Rudolf) in the north of Kenya, has now confirmed that "Lucy" is much younger than her relatives from Laetoli (Nature, vol. 300, p. 633). According to biostratigraphic studies, the fossil remains of Australopithecus afarensis from Hadar have an age of between 2.9 and 3.2 million years. The Laetoli hominids, meanwhile, have been dated to between 3.5 and 3.75 million years ago. It is stated that a hominid fossil found this summer in the valley of the River Awash in Ethiopia is even 4 million years old (see the FAZ of 30 June 1982). This would thus result in a gap of a few hundred thousand years. [...] But if the Hadar fossils are not the oldest, then these hominids from East Africa could have existed at the same time as Australopithecus africanus, because just as the Hadar finds are now again being post-dated, efforts are also being made to establish an earlier age for the Australopithecus africanus from Makapansgat in South Africa. This is also suggested by the biostratigraphic comparisons. We must nonetheless await further evidence of all this. (023884)

Wissenschaft und Technik

Anthropologie: Haben amerikanische Forscher den ältesten Ahnen des Menschen entdech

Urdame "Lucy" ging aufrecht

Von Gerhard Taube

Die Männer sprangen wie ausgelas sene Kinder unher, umartnen sich schwitzend und atemios, tanter begeister zu der heichen steinigen Bo den und startten immer wieder ungläu big auf ihren Fund: kleine braune Knochenstücke, völlig unscheinbar. Zeit und orn des aufgeregten Gebauers, das abet an fündag gewordene Goldgrüber denker Flusses Avasch in der Region Badar im Afa-Dreiteck von Athiopien. Die tanzendem Manner: US-Palisanthropologe Donald Johanson und eine Gruppe von Wissenschaftern, die nach versteinerten Überresten ausgestorbener Vorfahren des Menschen suchten.

Glanzpunkt ihrer Expedition: Die Entdeckung jenet 35 Millionen Jahre alten Knochen, eines zu 40 Prozent erhalten lichen Wetens, das offenbar schon aufnecht ging, aber nur 1,07 Meter groß war und dessen Gehimm nur Aftengröße besaß. Das Extklusive an "Lucy", wie die Forscher im Vorzeit-Midschen turken, ist, daß es das ätteste, volltständigste, am bescher im Vorzeit-Midschen turkenste das das ätteste, volltständigste, am behenden menschlichen Vorähneren därstellt, das je gefunden wurde. Ihr Entletekeet Johanson: Ihre Knochen

Inf Entoicecker Johanison: Jihre Knochen weich nicht albergang oder zweplitter, weich nicht albergang oder zweplitter, Löwe oder ein Sübeltahntiger sie geräsen hätte. Auch waren Kofu und Glieder nicht im verschiedene Richtungen fortgetragem worden, was gescheinen wäre, hatte sich ganz einfach an der Pundstelbenen Sees oder Flusses, hingelegt und war oft gestorben. Nach meiner Schätzung dort gestorben. Nach meiner Schätzung Lauy, allmählich von Sand und Schlamu sugedeckt. Jahrmillionen lang gelegen, his der Regen bei Hadar sie wieder ans Licht brachte.

Wer war Lucy? Wie ist sie einzondnen in den Stammbum der Menschletageschichte? Als Johanson im Januar 1979 mit der "Offiziellen" Bekanntäge seiner senationellen Entdeckung an die Öffentlichkeit trat, sah sich der junge, noch relativ unbekannte Wissenschaftler konblerten Pachweit gegenüber. Die Diakussionen nahmen mit der Herausgabe seiblerten Pachweit gegenüber. Die Diakussionen nahmen mit der Herausgabe seines Buches "Lucy – Die Anfänge der Menschheit" im Jahre 1981 noch zu. (Die deutsche Ausgabe erschnei 1983 im Pigeologischen Schichtunteratungen allenfälls 3 Millionen Jahre alt sein. Weitere Belage müssen aber Jahrwartet verden.

Figure 5

verkehrsmittel würden die Insassen stwahrscheinlich aufspringen und in die äußerste Ecke des Wagens n. dem Homo habilis wiederum exi-

sueroh riominikan, autwent gehenole, Australopiecus afateraris beschrieben worden sind. Est der Typus, den Lacy menschen. Sis als der Typus, den Lacy menschen. Sis gund viellets der Vorlasden von denen elliche ausstarben. Andere albregibten nachfolgenete Hommiden, von denen elliche ausstarben. Andesprossen auf der Leiter zum Homo sapiens dar. Lacys wahrscheinliches Aussehen nach-

wissenschaftlicher Rekonstruktion Ein weitgelend behartics Gesicht mit vorstehendem breiten Mund (Wulstlippen) und fleischige Ohren, starke Halmuskulatur, dunkle Haut und mäläge Körperbehastung Führe iss Straßenbahn, würden die Leute vermutlich an einen entsprungenen Zoo-Bevolmen denken.

nen Zoo-Bewohner denken. Die Autoren belassen es nicht bei Lucy, so einzigartig sie auch wegen ihres hohen Alters von 35 Millionen Jahren sein mag. Ohne Beziehung zu den in den letzten Jahren angewechte ein homingen Fosstgründen "Ihre Entdeckung wird bedeutunglos, wenn sie sich nicht in die Evolution der Hominiden und die wissenschaftliche Logik einfligen läußt, in ein System, das Hunderte von Experten aus von mehr als hundert Jahren in mühwohler Arbeit entwickeit haben." Und so lassen Johanson und Eder die

Und so lasen Johanson und Edey die Leser teilhaben an Expeditionen, Diskussionen, an Ihren Zweifeln und Bedenken Stammesgeschichte des Menschen, die strut ganze Bibliotheken zu diesem Thema in Makulatur zu verwandeln drohenseit Darvin, Hnehr, daß der Messch zur Ordnung der Primaten gehört und ein Strutpunkt mehr, daß der Messch zur Ordnung der Primaten gehört und ein Prolukt der spezifischen Primatenevoluklären, an welcher Stelle das Übergangstadium zwischen Menschemztigen und Affenartigen anzusetzen ist, welche Hominden vor ver bis drei Müllionen Jahren die Basis bildeten für die so vielfättigen Menschengungen Gasach. Vor allem aber die Zeit vor acht bis vier Müllionen Anfangesrechteneten.

Die Anerkennung des hominoiden und noch tierischen Ramapithezus au der Zeit vor 18 bis acht Millionen Jahren als Sumsbaums des Menschen ebenfalls ims Wahken geraten. So meinen Molekunitwichen geraten. So meinen Molekunitwichen geraten. So meinen Moleku-Bischlung und Gorilla so ähnlich seidad diese drei Arten sich ert vor vier bis sechs Millionen Jahren getrennt haben missen. Fossibien aus der Zeit davor dürfer man nicht länger als hominid einordnen, egal, wie aussihen. der Rampithecus, der lange al., Stam, vater "der Honnieden galt, nicht me der Star aus den Anfingene der Mense heinentwicklung it. 50 seit es auch m indentwicklung it. 50 seit es auch m indentwicklung it. 50 seit es auch m die state state auf der state state state zwischenglied zwischen Mensch uu angesicht der printitiver Erscheitung angesicht der printitiver Erscheitung angesicht der printitiver Erscheitung auf, "von Menschenaffen und Mense als Möglichkeit" erscheit werden mul De Aussagen zweier Autoritäten ken zeichen augenfällig den derzeitigen Die Lichtig Becker; "Man könnte Luals einen späten Ramapithecus ansehen C. Loring Breiz- Zu glauben, Lucy s ein für glichtetten Lucy) ist augenscheit lich einer der allerfrüherten Hominide Aber was wird aller älten Bub öder einen stehen Millonen Jahra äten Becken sa bedrängen, und ist werdenen, dan muc seglicht nut, sie weiter der aller stehen Stehen Millonen Jahra dien Becken sa bedrängen, und ist werden ein. but wie seglicht nuter.

Was die Paläanthropologen und Gecie gen nicht allein mit alten Schichten, Ge beinen und Wertzeugen belegen könne der auch gen röht wollen, nämlich für antwortung der Prägen nach den Uras vermittelter Evolutionsaptringe, nach Kreativität, Sprache, Gemeinschaftforung das belautette Hermann Schreibe ung das belautette Hermann Schreibe fühlen Menschen*, erschienen im List Verlag.

Was so fragt Schwiber, muß ein füher menschenälniches Lebeveen ar Schöpfertum vorweisen können, darni ihm Wissenschafter die Silbe, Menschzubillgen? Ist es der aufrechte Gangf Das Gehirnvolumen? Das Berutzen natürlicher oder die Herstellung künstliches Wertzeuge? Das Umgehen mit Feur herzten der Mensch tut in diesen früher Phasen seiner Existent, das muß er tun, das wird ihm abverlangt. Es ist nicht die Prucht süßer Muße, sondern die Antwort auf Angel, Not, Hunger und Überlebentreb.

Es vergehen viele, viele Jahrtausende, ehe ein Stein auch nach eigenem Willen zu einer zweckdienlichen Form wird. Das Fleuer erwies eich als ein zentrales Element des Aufstiegs. Anfangs konnte der "Mensch" es nicht selber erzeugen. Aber er sah es vom Himmel zucken, nutate die kostbare Gabe zum Warmen, Verbessern der Nahrung und als Schutz vor wilden Tieren.

Blumenberg also thought, having read and annotating an article from the "FAZ" of 23 January 1935, untitled and of unknown authorship, that some specimens of *Australopithecus africanus*, with an estimated age of between 2.2 mya and 1.2 mya, could even have coexisted with the earliest *Homo habilis*, descended from the young *Australopithecus afarensis* such as Lucy.

Among these last specimens we see a phenomenon, Blumenberg clarifies, which means that it makes sense to establish a link between *Australopithecus* and *Homo habilis*: the lengthening of early childhood and the increase in neuronal plasticity in the early years of life. In *Australopithecus*, the completely bipedal posture forced mothers to give birth to highly immature offspring who required considerable attention, and were born into the world with a brain that was a veritable *sponge*.

Although the small brain of the specimens «remained the only characteristic linking them to the ancestral monkeys» (untitled card with Blumenberg's notes on the "FAZ" article from 23 January 1935), premature birth and the extension of early childhood led to an increase in cognitive capabilities, by forcing mothers to provide more extended care, while their offspring had a longer learning period (019519: *Es kann zwei Gründe dafür geben* [...]; 8678-8679: *Der Möglichkeiten der Anthropogenese*).

As a curious detail in this regard, Blumenberg subscribed to the idea set out by the anthropologists Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox in *The Imperial Animal* (1971) that the learning and cognitive development times in *Australopithecus* varied by gender: the males would take longer to mature than the females, because their brain systems were «more complex and demanding, whereas those of the females were spatially more limited» (019591: *Säugetiere sind Lerntiere, der Mensch ist dazu noch ein Lehrtier*). We now know that in this case, size does not matter.

2.3. Bipedalism

Taking his lead from the biologist and zoologist James D. Watson, Blumenberg stated that «a biological theory is sound to the extent that it makes reproductive behaviour the criterion for the success of the processes it explains» (023868: *Biotopwechsel, aufrechter Gang, generatives Verhalten*). He argues that «the proximity to the reproductive function determines the functional significance of any ability» (UNF 1088-1090: *Sprachlosigkeit*)⁸. This is why theories such as the traditional reasoning that bipedalism was the result of a change of habitat runs into difficulties, since it does not fulfil this requirement, as it has no connection whatsoever with reproductive behaviour (023868).

The theme of bipedalism was one of those which most dazzled Blumenberg. This may clearly be seen in Description of Man (2006), among other works, but he still had plenty more to say about the matter. Regarding the last shared link between animal and man, which for Blumenberg was Ramapithecus, the Lübeck-born philosopher believed that «it was specialised in brachiation [and] could swing over a distance of between nine and twelve metres» (Der Umweg über das Baumleben als bdgg d neuen Bodenlebensform [sic]). This excessive specialisation gave it «full competence in the forearms, leading to a relative shortening of the legs» (Ibidem). He then goes on to point out that the upper limbs remained so long, even in those hominids that would walk in a fully vertical position sometime later.

The degree of bipedestation of this first relative and those which followed was known, as Blumenberg himself indicates, through the observation of the «opening of the occipital hole»:

In an organic system that walks in a vertical position, the base of the skull must necessarily point forward, in other words towards the lower part of the face, as this is crucial for the skull to maintain its balance above the spine in a vertical position. The degree to which the upright posture is maintained depends on this, which explains the almost arbitrary increase in the weight of the skull. (020139: *Die Wanderung des Foramen magnum*)

However, Blumenberg was also aware that bipedestation was dependent on the anatomy of the foot. The philosopher had read, cut out and underlined the article by Mary Leakey in volume 278 of the journal "Nature" (1979), about certain footprints that had been found in Laetoli, in northern Tanzania, of a specimen of *Australopithecus*, in which the curvature of the sole and position of the toes indicated that, around 3.6 mya to 3.7 mya, beings with a completely bipedal gait had passed through the region. He annotated some of these matters on card 020912: *Aufrechter gang vor Fortenwicklung des Gehirns?*, in which he placed on

⁸ A version of this brief manuscript appears in *Vor allem Fontane* (2002).

record his conviction that the practice of bipedalism had begun, for whatever reason (probably connected with reproduction) with *Australopithecus*. We today know almost for certain that Toumaï was already fully bipedal before *Australopithecus*.

Blumenberg also indicated in his notes that the adoption of bipedalism had brought with it a significant change in sensory functions compared with life in the trees. As he explains, primates that lived in the trees had perfected their sense of smell to search for food and detect danger. However, once their way of life moved onto the steppe, forced by climate change, it was the sense of sight that became dominant (*Der Umweg über das Baumleben als bdgg d neuen Bodenlebensform* [*sic*]). This process triggered changes in both brain and anatomy, giving rise to «the transition to colour vision [and] stereoscopic vision» (*Ibidem*).

Following which, bipedal walking also facilitated the loss of body hair and the emergence of sweating: «life on the savannah was more intense than in the jungle, and functions of heat regulation were not maintained through the hair» (019230: *Zweimaliger Biotopwechsel*). This meant that the build-up of heat became excessive, with the sweat glands fulfilling the function of dissipating heat, as Blumenberg the palaeoanthropologist clarifies.

2.4. Tools

At around 3.9 mya, *Australopithecus* already had sufficient mental capacity and coordination to produce lithic flakes, in what would become a pre-Oldowan industry. This was already presumed in the era of Blumenberg (Figure 4). He underlined in his notes that they would have been capable of distinguishing between what he called «essential and secondary useful components» (17803: *Kerngeräte [Core Tools] & Abschlaggeräte [Flake Tools] Als anthr differenz [sic]*).

Blumenberg paid attention to paleoanthropological discoveries connected with the lithic industry in prehistory, as they allowed him to infer a degree of capacity for symbolic thinking in our ancestors. He above all focused on findings to determine which of our relatives were capable of simply *using* a flint as a tool to dig up an edible root and fulfil a need, and which could «produce utensils with the desired properties from a particular natural element» (*Ibidem*). The latter was a sign of intelligence, of cognitive development: «It is an entirely different process, because if the piece is to be given the desired shape, this requires a series of acts to eliminate certain parts so as to ultimately obtain the desired form, incorporating the functions and the requirements to be fulfilled from the outset, entailing a process comparable with the act of sculpture» (*Ibidem*).

Drawing on the theses of the German zoologist, anthropologist and geneticist Gerhardt Heberer, in *Der Ursprung des Menschen: Unser* gegenwärtiger Wissensstand (1975), Blumenberg establishes that Australopithecus was perfectly capable of developing a conceptual idea to direct the expected results, and each step taken to achieve this (17803). In the eyes of the philosopher, they were ultimately not so far removed from Homo habilis.

2.5. The first migrations

Blumenberg likewise compiled information and wrote notes about the first move away from the African continent by *Homo habilis*. Some 1.9 million years ago, some specimens left signs of their journey through two key points: Dmanisi (Georgia) and Ubeidiya (Israel). Some of the groups settled at the start of the Calabrian Pleistocene, 1.8 mya, coinciding with the end of the Tertiary Period and the start of the Quaternary, in various parts of Asia, giving rise to what would evolve into the species *Homo erectus*⁹.

At the time when Blumenberg was addressing these issues, it was not at all clear where they had

⁹ Blumenberg stored a great amount of information from newspapers regarding those specimens, to which he attributed great importance in the process of evolution. He knew that they had lived in bands of 50 individuals, and mainly obtained their sustenance from hunting, that they used caves, and had probably, sometime later, managed to make use of fire.

emerged from: whether from the African continent to Asia, or *vice versa*, as may be seen in one of the cuttings he took of an article published on 11 October 1978 in the newspaper "FAZ", written by the German anthropologist Hans Meyer (020917, Figure 6). The footprints in themselves did not allow one to infer the direction of travel in the migration in question.

However, we now know that it is fairly certain that they left Africa for Asia, and that over time some of those who embarked on this expedition returned and occupied north Africa, together with those who never left the continent. The latter, less adventurous group, are probably those who made up the population from which our mitochondrial DNA is derived.

Blumenberg knew that they embarked on a second migration from the African continent, from the south towards central Europe, after they had already evolved into what may be seen as the *first modern humans*, around 100,000 years ago. He read this in an article published on 17 May 1989, with the byline G. P. in an unknown publication entitled *Frühmenschen in Israel neu datiert* (Figure 7).

2.6. Caves

For Blumenberg, the point at which caves were first regularly frequented to sleep is as important as the emergence from the steppe (18162: *Der bleierne Tiefschlaf ist ein Zivilisationsverhalten* [...]). This means that our ancestors began to rest at ease, without the need to worry about predators, «delegating tasks of surveillance and protection» (022198: Übersprungeinschlafen), which facilitated the «culture of sleep» (Kulturschlaf) (Ibidem)¹⁰.

Blumenberg spoke of the cave as the quintessential place where our ancestors developed their lives, as he asserts in a number of his best-known

¹⁰ He owes this idea to Rudolf Bilz, who presented it in the chapter *Schlaflosigkeit und Traum* of his work of several volumes *Paläoanthropologie: der neue Mensch in der Sicht der Verhaltensforschung* (1971), from which the philosopher took both notes (Figure 8).



Hans Meyer, Begann die Evolution des Menschen in Afrika? Die bisher: gen Fossilfunde reichen noch nicht für die Klärung der Herkunft der Hominiden aus. In: FAZ 11.0ktober 1978: Keineswegs reicht die derzeitige hominide Fossildoku- mentation Afrikas für die Behauptung aus, allein von hier sei die Evolution des Menschen primär erfolgt: Man denke nur an den umstrittenen miozänenkenyapithecus ("Ramapithecus"). Zwar sind bis heute weder Australopi- thecinen noch progressive Homo-("habilis")Formen - wie wir sie aus dem plio-pleistozänen Grenzabschnitt Afrika kennen - in Asien zweifelsfrei nachgewiesen worden. Je- doch läßt das nicht den Schuß zu, daß diese Formen in bestimmten Regionen nicht existent waren, was natürlich für heide Kontinente gilt				
			Findet sich beispielsweise in Afrika eine eindrucksvol le Bereicherung der Fundsituation bei den Australopi-	
			thecinen, s zänen Ramap und den ple	so präsentiert Asien eine solche mit dem plio- pithecus aus dem indisch-pakistanischen Raum- sistozänen bis zu 1,9 Millionen Jahre zurück- Homo-erectus-Formen aus Java und China, So
neichenden	erectus-Formen sind übrigens in Afrika bis			
reichenden alte Homo-e	entdeckt worden.			
reichenden alte Homo-e heute nicht Es ist nach Afrika die könnte eber	t entdeckt worden. 1 wie vor ungeklärt, ob aus Asien oder aus menschliche Evolution primär erfolgte; sie 1sogut unabhängig voneinander in beiden Konti-			
reichenden alte Homo-e heute nicht Es ist nach Afrika die könnte eben nenten erfo chen Bezieh	t entdeckt worden. h wie vor ungeklärt, ob aus Asien oder aus menschliche Evolution primär erfolgte; sie nsogut unabhängig voneinander in beiden Konti- blgt sein. Auch über die stammesgeschichtli- nungen der Hominiden aus Asien und Afrika ist			
reichenden alte Homo-e heute nicht Es ist nach Afrika die könnte eber nenten erfo chen Bezief noch keine Durch die v Iominiden, vorfen sein	t entdeckt worden. h wie vor ungeklärt, ob aus Asien oder aus menschliche Evolution primär erfolgte; sie nsogut unabhängig voneinander in beiden Konti- blgt sein. Auch über die stammesgeschlichtli- nungen der Hominiden aus Asien und Afrika ist gesicherte Aussage möglich. rielen Neufunde stehen zum Stammbaumschema dei das in Einzelheiten immer Veränderungen untei) wird und deshalb nur ein Jeweilsbild vermit-			

Figure 6

Frühmenschen in Israel neu datiert (#5,89

Gemeinsame Existenz mit Neandertalern / Sprachliche Verständigung?

spesificopen Primaten - Evolution ist, wird devou nigt beauget.

Die Höhlen im Gebiet des heutigen Israef sind nur die Erforschung des Frühmenschen und seiner Umwelt weit bedeutsamer, als man noch bis vor kurzem hätte ahnen können. Anfang vergangenen Jahres fanden französische und israelische Forscher heraus, daß Überreste des frühen modernen Menschen ("Proto-Cro-Magnon") aus der Höhle Gafzeh bei Nazareth etwa <u>92</u>000 Jahre alt sind. Sie hatten dafür gebrannten Feuerstein aus derselben Erdschicht mit dem sogenannten Thermolumineszenz-Verfahren analysiert. Das Ergebnis war überraschend, weil die frühesten Spuren des modernen Menschen, die aus Südafrika stammen, auch nicht älter als etwa 100 000 Jahre sind. In Europa tauchte der Homo säptens erst vor rund 40 000 Jahren auf.

Daß die Höhlen in Israel tatsächlich schon so früh von modernen Menschen aufgesucht wurden, bestätigt jetzt eine neue Datierung. In der Höhle von Skhul am Mount Carmel waren vor etwa 50 Jahren fossile Knochen entdeckt worden, die denjenigen aus der Höhle Gafzeh gleichen. In der Nähe dieser Menschenknochen hat man auch zwei Rinderzähne gefunden. Eine Datierung mit dem Elektronenspin-Resonanzverfahren hat nun gezeigt, daß die Rinderzähne etwa 90 000 Jahre alt sind ("Nature", Bd. 338, S. 756). Dieses neue Ergebnis bestätigt, daß der moderne Mensch in der Region etwa 60 000 Jahre vor dem Verschwinden des Neandertalers aufgetaucht ist. Einige Wissenschaftler hatten daran trotz der Funde von Gafzeh gezweifelt. Nach der neuen Datierung stellt sich die Frage, ob der Neandertaler und der moderne Mensch im Gebiet der Höhlen längere Zeit gemeinsam gelebt haben oder ob der moderne Mensch nur durch die Region hindurchgezogen ist. Das würde erklären, warum die fossilen Knochen aus den Höhlen von Gafzeh und Skhul praktisch aus ein und derselben Zeit stammen.

Sollten die <u>beiden</u> Hominiden parallel existiert haben, wäre es inferessant herauszufinden, wie sie sich gegeneinander verhielten. Eine sprachliche Verständigung zumindest hatten die Wissenschaftler bis vor kurzem ausgeschlossen. Einige Knochenfunde ließen nämlich vermuten, daß der Neandertaler sich gar nicht wie der moderne Mensch artikulieren konnte. Dies ist möglicherweise ein vorziliger Schluß gewesen. In der Höhle von Kebara am Mount Carmel haben die Forscher einen bestimmten Halsknochen des Neandertalers entdeckt, der erst jetzt gründlich analysiert worden ist ("Nature", Bd. 338, S. 758). An diesem Knochen hängt gewöhnlich die Muskulatur, über die Zunge, Kiefer und Kehlkopf bewegt werden. Das fossils Etick gleicht dem entsprechenden Knochen beim Menschen von Form und Größe her so sehr, daß der Neandertaler vielleicht doch Laute erzeugen konnte, wie man sie für die Sprache braucht. G.P. ANTHR SCHLAF: TIEFSCHLAF DES ZIVILISATORISCH GEBORGENEN (HÖHLE)

- Der bleierne Tiefschlaf ist ein Zivilisationsverhalten, das Wildtier "umweltbezogen".wie noch heute die Afrikaner in Savanne & schläft
- Jureld (Bilz,Peläonthr.253). Also muß der Übergang, der nach dem Verlassen des Waldes darin be-stand,wenigstens nachts die freie Steppe zu verlassen & Höhlen auf-

- zusuchen,das Schlafverhalten entscheidend umgeprägt haben. Wenig-stens im Schlaf verlieren sich "Umwelt- und feindbezogenheit". Der Mensch ist,wie andere Affen,ein Dämmerungseinschläfer (aaD 267)
- Nicht nur & erst das Hinaustraten auf die freie Wildbahn ist f d menschl Entw entscheidend,sondern auch die dazu komplementäre Fä-
- higkeit, sich aus der freien Szene zurückzuziehen, sich auf sich selb zu beziehen & daran im Negativ die Visibilität zu "erfahren".
- Die Griechen aahen den Menschen aus der Erde hervorterten, aus der alles Lebende kam;sie konnten nicht wissen,daß er aus dem Walde

18162'=

Figure 8

kam.

works, as well as other unpublished texts from the *Nachla* β . From his perspective, at some point from the earliest Homines onwards, «the cave became a vital alternative to the jungle» (020141: Vorhersage möglicher Fossilfundstätten [...]), although it would always remain necessary to continue governing the planet from the outside. He saw caves as homes which guaranteed «the inestimable advantage of untroubled reproduction» (Ibidem).

Blumenberg probably used the term cave as a mere generalisation of dwelling, which would include other shelters, such as rudimentary cabins and huts. He knew that caves were not used as homes per se, and that no Homo had continuously occupied caves prior to the arrival of Homo sapiens. He had read and annotated the work by German zoologist and ethnologist Paul Leyhausen Vom Ursprung des 'handelnden Wesen' (1974), in which he warned that «we cannot presume that the ancient human inhabitants of the caves settled there, adopting them as the permanent home for the same group» (16634: Übergang vom Nomaden*tum* [...] [*sic*]).

Leyhausen had compared hunter-gatherer societies and earlier forms of social organisation to the current bands in Pavia, extrapolating the habits of the former to the first of these. He thus understood that our ancestors, in the same way as those bands, would have made prudent use of the caves found in cliffs by means of occasional incursions, using a different one each day simply to spend the night (*Ibidem*).

Given this clear understanding, we may assert that Blumenberg spoke of caves in reference to any shelter. In short, the fact that our ancestors did not live in the caves to which Blumenberg commonly refers in his writings does not in any way affect the development of his hypotheses, since, for the philosopher, the importance of caves lay in the peace of mind they provided, which would have been achieved through some other type of shelter, such as that provided by different forms of base camp in which Homo ergaster spent much of their lives.

2.7. Fire

By the time of Homo ergaster, says Blumenberg, fire came to alleviate the great tragedy that night meant for our relatives, since «its length exceeded the organic need for sleep» (UNF 963: Künstliche Beleuchtung). Blumenberg was enthusiastic about the matter of fire. He even noted where exhibitions focusing on the matter would be held, probably with the intention of attending¹¹.

As in the case of tools, Blumenberg was interested in the origin of the *use* of fire, its properties and functions, but was above all attracted by the question as to when fire was first controlled and produced. As now, however, this stage of our relationship with fire is impossible to reconstruct. Prehistoric humanity had tamed fire, but we do not know exactly how or when this event occurred for the first time (020396: Das Feuer als Kennzeichen der menschlichen Entwicklung problematisch). All we know for certain is that the production of fire «was not genuinely in our culture» (020573: *Regression als evolutionsbeleg?* [*sic*]).

One of the first signs of deliberate fire in this period may be found in the Swartkrans cave, located in the province of Gauteng in South Afri-

¹¹ One example may be seen on card 023874, where he wrote that the "FAZ" had announced that on 30 December 1981 a gathering would be held at the Museum of Mankind in Paris, presenting a display about the earliest human inhabitants of Europe and the development of their skills, emphasising mastery of fire by Homo erectus 400,000 years ago in southern France.

ca, as published in an article on 28 August 1990 in "Deutschland", which Blumenberg added to his collection (Steinert [1990], Figure 9). Experts made out what appeared to be a circular hearth bounded by basalt rocks, where bones had been deliberately placed after the meat had been eaten, not for the purpose of cooking them.

Up until then, fire was only used for eating: «it would not for them [our ancestors] have had any value other than the heat it gave off. There was no known cooking of food, and we can scarcely imagine that they would have been tempted to experiment with this» (020396). Blumenberg agrees that «anyone might place bones in the fire after the meat had been removed, or if it was charred and no longer edible» (Steinert [1990]).

The value of fire had lain mainly in its capacity to provide lighting, allowing its users to leave behind «the lack of light in which humanity had spent most of its history» (UNF 2271: *Kindeswohl und Lichtbedürfnis*; see footnote 9). From that point onwards, nights would be longer, but would be spent telling stories as a pastime to alleviate boredom (Ros Velasco [2017]).

2.8. Cannibalism

Cases of cannibalism among our closest relatives have been known for some decades now. When fire was not yet being produced, it may be that the cold in certain regions of Europe and the shortage of food could have driven our ancestors to eat their fellow beings. Or perhaps they performed such practices as a way of venerating the organ from which all their peculiarity as a species derived.

Whatever the case, Blumenberg left us a record of his knowledge of such practices through certain news articles on which he worked. Thanks to this compilation, we know that some of the most important signs of cannibalism were found in the Fontbrégoua Cave in France, where the bodies of certain forefathers had had their skulls removed. And the skulls themselves showed signs of scratches caused by stone knives (*Hinweise auf Kannibalismus in der Steinzeit*).

Seite 8 / Dienstag, 28. August 1990, Nr. 199	Deutschland
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Wann entzündete der Mensch zum erstenmal absichtlich ein Feuer? Entdeckungen in der "Knochenhöhle" von Swartkrans / Waffe im Konkurrenzkampf? / Von Harald Steinert

KIEL. 27. August. Die ersten Feuer, die Menschen entründet haben, flackternt vor rund einer Million Jahren in Südafrika in der Höhle von Swartkrans, einem berühmten Fundplatz von Umenschenüberresten. In dem Gebiet lebten zugleich affenähnliche Urmenschen der Gattung "Australopiticzuse" und Frühmenschen. – "Honto erectus" – aus der Verwandsschaft des Jawaneschen. Diese Frühmenschen wanderten später nach Europa Von hene stammen die allesten Meschensparen auf unserem Komitment. Es sind die werne Muser bei Heindbere.

Die Nutzung des Feuers ist die wichtigste Errindung des Menschen. Seit Jahrzehnten suchen Archälologen, Anthropoliolikeuter aus der Archälologen, Anthropoliolikeuter aus der Archälologen, Anthropoliolikeuter aus Europa, wo est in der Höhle vom Versterzens in Ungarn vom Höhle vom Versterzens ein der Höhle vom Versterzens ein der Höhle vom Versterzens ein die Höhle vom Versterzens ein die Auflichten die Versterzens ein die Höhle vom Versterzens ein die Auflichten auflichten verbrannt wurden. In Sädostafrika hat weiterfärmige Anothrung vom Baußbrockessprungen sind. Doch ob es sich bei diesem Fund, der rund eine Müllen Jahre alt ist, wirklich um das Werk vom diesen Fund, der rund eine Müllen Jahre alt ist, wirklich um das Werk vom ter To mit Tierer stammen, wie es sie immer vieder in den afrikanischen Step Verster

wichtige Rolle in der Historie der Feutr-Endeckung gespiel haben. Irgendwann werden Urmenschen erkannt haben, daß das Fleisch im Buschfauer verbrannter There gegant Mente war, sondern eine Geschmacksvariante bot und zudem bequem verzehrt werden konnte. Dafür, daß das Buschfeuer auf dem Fundplatz in Ostafrika absichtlich eintzündet worden ist, gibt sei gloch keinreifä Beweise Vor kurzem haben zwei südaffikanische wied Produkter abb Reinio. – ein vom

und Professor Bob Brain – ein vom Menschen absichtlich unterhaltenes Feuer eindeutig identifizieren können. Es brannte vor mindestens einer Million Jahren in der seit vielen Jahrzehnten berühnnten "Knochenhölle" von Swartkrans. In dieser Höhle sind immer wieder Knochenreste in großer Zahl aus der Frihr-Eiszelt – mit einerm Aller zwischen vielleicht 18 bis immer Million bekene nerfünden worden

Figure 9

sind Reste einer urtümlichen Steppenna, die wahrscheinlich zum Teil Beute dort jagenden Urmenschen, des "Afmenschen" und des "Heidelbergmenen", wurde, Bei Grabungen wurden d 270 Knochenbruchstücke entdeckt, teilweise rußgeschwärzt und teilweise Asche verbrannt waren.

Die Wissenschaftler untersuchten diese geschwärzen Knechen mit dem Misroskop, um nicht einem blamablen Irrtum zum Opfen zu füge Ahrenheite zuvor geschwärzte Tierknochen ähnlich hohen Ahren der Täufsich eines feuerenfindenden Ahren der Täufsich eines feuerenfindenden Ahrenschen zuschrieb. Später erst erdie bei Gesteinsverwitterung entlehen. Minerallensammler kennen diese Mangunwenn sie allz aufer schwärzt water, "Dendriten" – auf einer Gesteinsoberfläche bühen.

Doch die verbrannten Knochen von Swartkrans waren allem Tesis gewachsen. Um zu erproben, bei welchen Temperaturen sie ins Feuer gerieten, legten die beiden Forscher Knochen eines Hartobeests (einer südafrikanischen Antilope) in ein

Lastwagenstauungen nach Sperre der italienischen Grenze

INNSBRUCK, 27. August (AP), Stauungen am Grenzbergung Thörl-Maglern waren am Montag die ersten Folgen der Sperrung der italienischen Grenzen für den Schwerrechen im Alpentranist. Nach Angaben der österreichischen Zollbehörden durfta am Ubergung Thörl-Maglern kein Lastwagen nach läußen einreisen. Am Grenzübergang Beenner standen in den Vormittagsstunden zwungt Schweite Egner statuten sich in Thörl-Maglern in den Vormittagsstunden eitwa 60 bis 70. Sperres dittalen sich in Thörl-Maglern in den Vormittagsstunden eitwa 60 bis 70.

Der österreichsiche Zohl matte tim Parturatorschneiden Zohl matte tim Parturatorschneiden Schmidten zu verzichten. Taljen hatte die Sperre für der berg-Schneilzriche am Freitage bekanntgezeben, auchdem Österreich auch die Artberg-Schneilzriche für Latswagen über 1,5 Tonnen geopernt hatte. Der "Tränslitzie Junati Autobähnbricke in Kutsien ausgebrochen und führte inzwischen zu eine Blockade fast die gesamten Abpertransits. Experimentierfeuer. Es erwies sich, daß bibed etwa 250 Grad verzuften, bei 400 bibod etwa 250 Grad verzuften, bei 400 biton 250 Grad verzuften, bei 400 biton 250 Grad verzuften, bei 400 bireuer verzurant und dann in die Höhle geraten sein konnte. In dem Buchfauern verzugenamm, wie sie auf die fossiler verzugenamm, wie sie auf die fossiler bernstöft, etwa den Knochen selbst, genährten künstlichen Feuer geherricht haben. Diese Knochen sim die Alshehn in der Swartkrans-Höhle entzindeten. Worz gebrasten haben – beweibar ist das seits die dies Feuer nutzten, darüber kann man nur Vermutungen anstellen. Sicherlich worden haben – beweibar ist das seits gelagt, nachdem das Fleisch entfernt worden war, oder es war verkohlt un ungenießber.

Die Nichte im Transvaal – dem Teil Stüdafrika, in dem Swartkraus liegt – sind vor allem im Winter sehr kalt. Jedes Feuer wird den Minnehen Jener Zeicht nach anderen Indizien die gefährlichsten Feinde des Menschen der fühletszeilichen nach anderen Indizien die gefährlichsten Feinde des Menschen der fühletszeilichen suber zu halten, sondern von Lingelbeute nicht nur im Feuer, um ihre Umwelt suber zu halten, sondern von Lingelbeute nicht nur im Feuer, um ihre Umwelt ber Vutzung die Feuer wende licht im der Höhle niederließen. Nur die jungsten Lauren die Gesteut wende licht im der Höhle niederließen. Nur die jungsten um van bedentet, nur die jungsten um van bedentet, nur die jungsten der Erfndung die Feuer wendenben fühlert hat – enthalten die verkohlten und der Erfndung die Feuer wendenben fühlert hat – so genau, wie ein ande die erfundung die Feuers offenben fühlert hat – son die Feuers offenben fühlert het – Komer auf der Erder ausge besite hinder Beinder nicht (Jahler under beite menschenarten es war, die zuerst ablichthet – Affenben ereicht aufer dassellt erfundung verbrannte Kohlen und nicht der "Affenmensch". Velindber eherweise, so spekultern die "Urteworforsche", ward seis Feuer Merkenhen lichten eherweise, so spekultern die "Urteworforwafter zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der Waffer zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der her verbeiten im die Lehenden ister die Beiten waffen zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der Waffer zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der Waffer zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der waffen zugleich im Kohkurrenzkungt der her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten der her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten den her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten der her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten der her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten der her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten den her verbeiten der Lichten den Lichten de

He thus wrote his own reflections following on from this, explaining that cannibalism would represent «the fatal stigma of the peculiarity of human civilisation» (UNF 2507: [KANNIBALIS-MUS]). From his perspective, this fossil evidence of cannibalism in palaeolithic caves could be doubtful, and might instead involve funeral rites in which the flesh was stripped from the skull to be offered to demons and idols, since the delicacy of the marks did not seem to be that of an act of cannibalism (*Ibidem*).

Given the doubt, one may only venture the position of consideration for the fact that the relatively civilised world «has always emphasised the practice of not eating animals that look too much like us [and] learns to experience a sense of disgust towards this practice in relation to food» (*Ibidem*).

2.9. Neanderthals

Blumenberg was fascinated by the Neanderthals as he was by *Australopithecus*, undoubtedly because they represented the species that had until now most resembled the *other human race*¹², with less fortune than our own, driven to extinction by immediate but slow decline courtesy of *Homo sapiens*.

Paleoanthropological signs indicate that the number of Neanderthal settlements declined as the demographic density of *sapiens*, which at the time had a life expectancy of around 45 years, increased to around one million individuals (019005: *Tiger-Fox, Herrentier, 41*). This population growth not only led to the extinction of the Neanderthals, but also brought problems for «a being intended to live in bands of some 50 individuals» (*Ibidem*).

Blumenberg made efforts to learn all about these siblings of ours. According to his belief, following the research by one G. Haaf for the article published on 19 January 1979 in "Die Zeit", Neanderthals manufactured tools, used caves and made huts from animal skins, where they set up hearths and to cook and to prepare leather.

Given these skills, the philosopher often wondered what could have prompted the extinction of beings of such cultural and cerebral development. Following on from the article *Frühmenschen in Israel neu datiert* ([1989], Figure 7), he concluded that the impossibility of developing symbolic language and the paucity of communication and understanding with *Homo sapiens* would have been the main cause of the disappearance of this human race (020137-020138: *Entwicklung und Sprache*).

For Blumenberg, there could not have been more than minimal linguistic comprehension between Neanderthals and modern humans, despite the fact that they undoubtedly coexisted for a lengthy period of time, and simultaneously visited a number of caves, such as those in Gafzeh and Skuhl. Although the brain size of the Neanderthals was even greater than our own (it should here be recalled that size does not truly matter, although Blumenberg did not know this), the former species ultimately became extinct after «successfully surviving the last glaciation of Europe» (019687) because of «their inability to articulate language, caused by the unfavourable anatomy of their oral cavity» (*Ibidem*; 17609: *Die Evolution d Menschen geht nicht über die Spitzenformen* [*sic*]). This, the philosopher argues, must have significantly undermined the opportunities for exchange between the two species.

2.10. Prehistoric art

The artistic expression attributed to the first *Homo sapiens* is for Blumenberg the best example of the superior conceptual capacity of our species, since ancient times. On the basis of the records found over the course of the last century, the philosopher notes that prehistoric art has often been associated with ritual aspects. Although most efforts made by groups focused on the fundamental activity for the survival of the species – hunting – those who did not have the capacity to assist in this physical activity would have made attempts to achieve a successful hunt by performing mainly pictorial rites (020972: *In den Höhlen des Jungaläolithikums tritt eine Spezialisierung* [...]).

However, Blumenberg argues, in agreement with the Australian archaeologist Gordon Childe¹³, that many of the animals found represented in the paintings of the caves differ from those that were actually caught: «Although reindeer bones predominate, the bison was the animal most commonly represented» (*Ibidem*). The representation of those animals could therefore be attributed to rea-

¹² The discovery of the third human race, *Homo deniso-viensis*, as extinct today as the Neanderthals, took place in the year 2010, when Blumenberg had already been dead for over a decade.

¹³ On card 020972, Blumenberg refers to a work by Childe which he names *Evolution*. Childe did not write any text with that exact title, and Blumenberg is therefore presumably referring in abbreviated form to *The Forest Cultures of Northern Europe: A Study in Evolution and Diffusion* (1931) or otherwise to *Social Evolution* (1951).

sons other than supporting the hunt. They might correspond to totemic activities, because the totem represents those animals that it was forbidden for members of the group to kill, explains Blumenberg:

If remnants of reindeer are found in the cave, but the representations prioritise the bison, it is thus possible, with regard to the specialisation of hunting, that the representations magically denote the negation of this, in other words the prohibition against killing a certain animal, perhaps because of an agreement established among the different cavedwelling populations as to the division of the woodland population. The origin of totemism could thus be explained by the ban on hunting as a requirement of the accords among alliances. (*Ibidem*)

Meanwhile, the oldest artistic figure as an example of representative art and symbolism could date from 233,000 years ago, although the articles that Blumenberg compiled as to the discovery of the earliest figurative paintings indicate a date of around 40,000 years ago ("FAZ", *Zeichen der Menschheit*). Blumenberg refers to this moment as «the first Cultural Revolution» (Rademacher [1986]).

3. RECAPITULATION AND RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Over the course of this paper, I have aimed to present and exemplify the reasons why I believe that the German philosopher Hans Blumenberg had a particular interest over more than two decades in the discipline of palaeoanthropology and other related fields such as zoology and ethnology. His dedication to the study of the sciences led him to systematically compile information from academic studies and journalistic articles, in order to subsequently write his own notes on the subject. Much of this knowledge is reflected in his anthropological and philosophical works, such as the famous *Beschreibung des Menschen* (2006).

However, no systematic work to catalogue and summarise the materials that Blumenberg drew on in the field of palaeontology has yet been performed, nor have the existing links been established between these and other notes, and the theses of an anthropological and philosophical nature proposed in his published works. This is a venture that I would like to take up at some point as the guideline of a pre-doctoral or post-doctoral project, which I would encourage young academics studying Blumenberg's philosophy to pursue, following on from the sample provided over the course of these pages.

In embarking on a task of this scale, one must nonetheless take into account some limitations. It is not even possible at first glance to fully trace the texts contained in the *Nachlaβ* which address palaeoanthropology. Much of his unpublished work in this field is to be found among the Handschriften of the Katalog Kallías of the DLA by entering in the search engine text field such terms as *Anthropologie, Paläontologie, Ethnologie, Entwicklung, Vorgeschichte...* These are what I have chosen to refer to as *visible unpublished texts.* However, there are also those I have considered to be *hidden unpublished texts*, documents eagerly concealed beneath titles that offer no hint of the subject in question.

This makes it impossible for anyone to broach the Blumenberg *Nachlaβ* with the aim of tracing all references to palaeoanthropology that an absolute search could generate, since there are likely to be texts hidden under misleading titles that would be inaccessible unless one were to explore the *Nachlaβ* in its entirety (Ros Velasco [2016]: 55-56).

The same often applies to Blumenberg's published works. His erudition is such that we may find a definitive sentence about metaphors amidst an anthropological text, just as one may come across a decisive note about the evolution of *Australopithecus*, in a card index about boredom in the *Nachlaß*.

Despite all of this, I believe that it is still worthwhile to make the effort. This is a topic that has received little attention from Blumenberg scholars, and which could on the surface enrich our understanding of the thinker's philosophical corpus. Those who have discovered in the *Description of Man* (2006) the pleasure of learning about Blumenberg's love of Darwinism, self-conservation and human evolution, cannot forsake the opportunity to visit the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach in Stuttgart, in order to continue what I began in my doctoral thesis *El aburrimiento como presión selectiva en Hans Blumenberg* (2017), and which is presented in summary in this text.

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- 019591: Säugetiere sind Lerntiere, der Mensch ist dazu noch ein Lehrtier.
- 020396: Das Feuer als Kennzeichen der menschlichen Entwicklung problematisch.
- 020972: In den Höhlen des Jungpaläolithikums tritt eine Spezialisierung in bezug auf die nachgewiesenen Jagdtiere ein.
- 022198: Übersprungeinschlafen (Bilz, Paläoanthr. 22) Resignationsschlaf. Selbstäusserlichkeit: extremsituationen & schlafbereitschaft.
- 16634: Übergang vom Nomadentum zu Aclerbau als faktor der Revierfixierung & der Hierachisierung.
- 17803: Kerngeräte (Core Tools) & Abschlaggeräte (Flake Tools) Als anthr differenz.
- 18162: Der bleierne Tiefschlaf ist ein Zivilisationsverhalten, das Wildtier schläft 'umweltbezogen', wie noch heute die Afrikaner in Savanne und Urwald.
- 8678-8679: Der Möglichkeiten der Anthropogenese.

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