The History of Knowledge and the History of Education

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this article is to introduce the themed section of *History of Education Review* on "The History of Knowledge and the History of Education", comprising four empirical articles that together seek to bring the history of education into fuller dialogue with the approaches and methods of the nascent field of the history of knowledge.

Design/methodology/approach – This introductory article provides a broad overview of the history of knowledge for the benefit of historians of education, introduces the four themed section articles that follow, and draws out some of their overarching themes and concepts.

Findings – The history of knowledge concept of "arenas of knowledge" emerges as generative across the themed section. Authors also engage with problems of the legitimacy of knowledges, and with pedagogy as practice. In addition, focusing on colonial and postcolonial contexts raises reflexive questions about history of knowledge approaches that have so far largely been developed in European and North American scholarship.

Originality – The history of education has not previously been strongly represented among the fields that have gone into the formation of the history of knowledge as a synthetic, interdisciplinary approach to historical studies. Nor have historians of education much engaged with its distinguishing concepts and methodologies. The themed section also extends the history of knowledge itself through its strong focus on colonial and postcolonial histories.

Keywords

history of knowledge, history of education, history of science, circulation of knowledge, arenas of knowledge, legitimacy, pedagogy, colonial and postcolonial histories

In recent years, the "history of knowledge" has become an increasingly well-recognised approach to historical studies, and an emergent subfield of the discipline. The term develops from, and brings together, various bodies of scholarship, including the history of science, cultural history, the history of the book, diverse forms of intellectual history and the history of ideas, and the similarly nascent field of the history of the humanities. Although the history of knowledge has a longer lineage within German-language scholarship, it has developed as a significant field in Anglophone literature only since the mid-2010s. Following a series of programmatic and agenda-setting declarations, more in-depth empirical studies have recently begun to appear, together with the dedicated journals, book series, research centres, teaching programs and other scholarly infrastructures that seek to institutionalise a new field of study. Until recently, the history of education has not generally been well represented among the fields that have fed into the formation of the history of knowledge, though this is beginning to change as scholars draw educational subjects and approaches into history of knowledge frames. Neither have historians of education, with a few exceptions, significantly engaged with the new field. This themed section brings the history of education into conversation with the new history of knowledge. It provides an overview of the history of knowledge for the benefit of historians of education, suggests possible connections, and-bringing together four empirical articles-showcases some of the ways histories of education might be enlivened and challenged by the history of knowledge. Together, this historiographical and methodological introduction and the articles that follow demonstrate the generative theoretical and methodological possibilities for historians of education that come from engagement with the history of knowledge. In particular, they draw attention to questions of the circulation and transformation of knowledges, and of power and relations between different knowledge systems—especially in colonial and postcolonial settings.

Attending to the history of knowledge also raises questions about institutions, their legitimacy and their social warrants. Whereas the history of education has traditionally taken institutions—schools, technical colleges, universities and libraries—as its central locus of concern, a strong thread within the history of knowledge has been a focus on extra-institutional, vernacular or historically devalued knowledges circulating beyond formal educational institutions. For some scholars, history of knowledge frameworks serve to bring into focus historical knowledges that are not well captured by the usual parameters of the history of education, the history of science or the history of ideas. At the same time, the history of knowledge's developing suite of conceptual tools can provide means of thinking about educational institutions as ones whose relationships to knowledge and knowledge practices are embedded within wider structures of power, governance

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scholarly approaches that together make up the field of the history of knowledge.

Histories of knowledge: the development of a subfield

As a subfield of scholarship with a distinct identity, the history of knowledge emerged in Switzerland and Germany in the mid-2000s, where the labels Wissensgeschichte and Geschichte des Wissens (history of knowledge) were used in deliberate contrast to Wissenschaftsgeschichte (history of science). In Zurich, a major institutional base was the Zentrum Geschichte des Wissens (ZGW), founded as a joint venture of the University of Zurich and Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich. Although the centre has recently closed, between 2005 and early 2022 it did much to develop the field's core concepts and approaches, and published the annual journal Nach Feierabend: Zürcher Jahrbuch für Wissensgeschichte (2005–20). In Berlin, the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science under the directorship of Lorraine Daston has been another crucial incubator.

Since the mid-2010s, the history of knowledge has increasingly expanded into Anglophone scholarship, and not exclusively from Anglophone countries. At Lund University, Sweden, a history of knowledge group led by Johan Östling was founded in 2014 and formalised as the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge in 2020. The Lund group has focused mainly on Swedish and other Nordic histories, published principally in English and Swedish. Around the same time, Simone Lässig and colleagues made the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C., one of the key centres for the history of knowledge in the United States. Another is the multidisciplinary Institute on the Formation of Knowledge at the University of Chicago, which since 2017 has published the journal KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge, edited by Shadi Bartsch-Zimmer. The subfield has also drawn in pre-existing work in English. Most notably, the Cambridge historian Peter Burke's work on the history of knowledge, which practically constitutes a tradition of scholarship in its own right, dates back to the turn of the century but has now become integrated into the expanded field. French traditions of the history of knowledge have been less influential on the recent growth of Anglophone scholarship, but also developed in the same period (Van Damme, 2020).

In the last decade and a half, Philipp Sarasin (2011), one of the founders of the ZGW, Lässig (2016) and Daston (2017) have produced programmatic essays that, along with the work of Burke (2000, 2012; 2016), have become part of an emergent subdisciplinary canon. More recently, the foundation of journals and book series have sought to consolidate the field. The Englishlanguage *Journal for the History of Knowledge*, produced by Gewina, the Belgian-Dutch Society for the History of Science and Universities, began publication in 2020 under the editorship of Sven Dupré

and Geert Somsen. Other journals including Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte, History and Theory and History of Humanities have dedicated recent special issues or sections to the history of knowledge or its subthemes (Lässig and Steinberg, 2017; Joas et al., 2019; Jordheim and Shaw, 2020; Hammar and Östling, 2021). Two book series began publication in 2019: Routledge's "Knowledge Societies in History", and Rowman & Littlefield's "Global Epistemics", the latter published in conjunction with the multidisciplinary Centre for Global Knowledge Studies at Cambridge, founded in 2017 by Inanna Hamati-Ataya.

Where has all this activity come from, and why has it emerged in the first few decades of the twenty-first century? As Östling et al. (2018, pp. 10-11) note, much history of knowledge work was produced avant la lettre. Historians of knowledge and other commentators point to the history of knowledge as an extension of a wide range of twentieth-century scholarship, including that on epistemic systems and power-knowledge of Michel Foucault, the philosophy of science of Ludwik Fleck, the sociology and anthropology of knowledge of Karl Mannheim, Pierre Bourdieu and Clifford Geertz, the sociology of science of Robert K. Merton and Bruno Latour, the social histories of knowledge of Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier, and boundary-pushing work in the history of science by Daston, Thomas Kuhn, Anthony Grafton, Simon Shaffer and Steven Shapin (Östling et al., 2018, pp. 10-11; Marchand, 2019, pp. 130-134). The American intellectual historian Suzanne Marchand (2019, p. 130) identifies three factors driving the fusion of this diverse range of influences into the hybrid "history of knowledge". First, there is the digital revolution and the emergence of "big science", which has raised new questions about how knowledge is generated and communicated, as well as new methodological possibilities. Second is long-simmering dissatisfaction within the history of science about the constraints of the categories "science" and Wissenschaft. As debates about whether, say, alchemy constitutes "science" have grown sterile, some historians of science have looked instead to the more capacious category of "knowledge". Third has been what Marchand describes as "the desire to fix some problems in Foucauldian histoire de savoir by accentuating the practices of knowledge-making, circulation, and feedback, to incorporate a wider and more diverse set of 'knowers,' and to recover lost or suppressed knowledges" (for fuller accounts of the history of the history of knowledge, see Östling et al., 2018, pp. 10-17; Marchand, 2019, pp. 126-134; Larsson Heidenblad, 2021, pp. 5-10).

Work undertaken beneath the history of knowledge banner reflects these multiple origins. Though the standard convention is to speak of "history of knowledge" in the singular, two recent surveys of the field suggest a need to consider the label an umbrella term for a diverse set of approaches. The German historian Martin Mulsow (2019, pp. 159-160) identifies four. First, and in line with Marchand's second driving factor, there is the history of knowledge as something of

an expansion of the history of science, as the field has expanded beyond its conventional warrant of documenting the achievements of scientific progress, to consider histories of science popularisation, pseudo- and fringe sciences, craft and artisan knowledges, and Indigenous knowledges (Renn, 2015; Daston, 2017; Joas et al., 2019). As Daston comments in response to Mulsow, the reformulation of the object of study has been attractive to historians of science "weary of sterile debates about internal versus external approaches", and for whom "the absence of any ... bold line between knowledge and its contexts" has been appealing (Daston in Mulsow, 2019, p. 178). There are important global dimensions to these transformations. Federico Marcon, a historian of early modern Japan, notes that science's epistemological baggage as "Western" and "modern" has increasingly become a barrier to understanding the techniques, practices, epistemologies and forms of textual authority of Asian and other non-Western historical knowledge systems. In seeking instead to apprehend such knowledges "on their own terms", avoiding Eurocentrism and teleology, Marcon argues that global history of science "is becoming, methodologically, a history of knowledge" (Marcon, 2020, p. 21-28; see also Elshakry, 2020).

Mulsow's second category of the history of knowledge has focused on the history of information and communications, attending to how in an "information economy", "raw" data—library management systems, police files, archival records, and so on—are or are not transformed into "cooked" knowledge (e.g. Skouvig, 2020). Third, Mulsow identifies what he calls the history of knowledge as a "poetics of knowledge", which, following Foucauldian methodologies, explores the aesthetic spaces of art and literature as domains in which can arise "alternative thoughts and ways of thinking" that are otherwise excluded from the surrounding culture.

Mulsow's final variety constitutes "an extension of the idea of knowledge to include practical knowledge, social knowledge, artisanal, craft and everyday knowledge, spatio-cartographical knowledge, pictorial and orientational knowledge". Mulsow notes that this approach sometimes borrows methods from histories of *mentalités*, but is "taken primarily by historians who work closely with empirical material" (see also Larsson Heidenblad, 2021, p. 10). The focus is sometimes on vernacular or devalued knowledges outside of formal institutional structures, or at least on knowledges outside the traditional canon of intellectual history and beyond the conventional objects of study in the history of science. As Lässig notes in a key programmatic statement of the history of knowledge thus conceived, the approach "seeks to analyze and comprehend knowledge *in* society and knowledge *in* culture" (Lässig, 2016, p. 58; see also Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, 2020). The circulation, reproduction, and transformation of knowledge in different contexts are prevailing concerns, arguably at times at the expense of more structural investigations of hierarchies, classification and systems of knowledge (Marchand, 2019,

pp. 140-141). Circulation especially has emerged as a central analytical category of "knowledge in society" approaches (Gugerli et al., 2011; Östling et al., 2018), in part because knowledge seems to require it. As David Larsson Heidenblad (2021, pp. 7-8) puts it, knowledge does "not exist in any 'pure' form. Knowledge requires channels and bearers in order to move and operate". Knowledge becomes known only through processes of circulation, which in turn involve its formatting in given media. The formatting or, to borrow a term from Sarasin (2011, pp. 167-169), the mediality (*Medialität*) of knowledge itself shapes the known. Formatted knowledge then undergoes reinterpretation and transformation in new social, political and institutional contexts.

In a second recent survey of the varieties of the history of knowledge, Östling (2020, pp. 111-115) identifies five types. Only two of these align with Mulsow's categories, namely the history of knowledge as an expansion of the history of science, and as "a fundamental category of society", with Mulsow's second and third types left off Östling's list. Of Östling's other three varieties, one is what he calls the "encyclopedic manifestation" of the history of knowledge, represented above all by the work of Burke in his two-volume *A Social History of Knowledge* (Burke, 2000, 2012), and his short primer *What Is the History of Knowledge*? (Burke, 2016). All three offer dizzyingly eclectic surveys of forms of Western knowledge—applied and theoretical, tacit and explicit, learned and popular—but little in the way of a theoretical conceptualisation of the field.

Next there is the history of knowledge as a (prospective) all-embracing history of learned or academic knowledge, encompassing not only the natural and social sciences, which have longstanding historiographies, but also the history of the humanities, as that field has been reconstituted in the last decade and a half by a group led by Rens Bod at the University of Amsterdam. The three-volume series The Making of the Humanities (Bod et al., 2010-14), and Bod's A New History of the Humanities (Bod, 2013), were followed by the founding in 2016 of the journal History of Humanities. As the journal's editors wrote in its inaugural issue, "Eventually a case could be made for uniting the history of the humanities and the history of science under the header of 'history of knowledge" (Bod et al., 2016, p. 6). As the wording suggests, such a union was an aspiration rather than an actuality, and such arguably remains the case six years on, some efforts to write the history of the two together notwithstanding (various authors in Bod et al., 2010-14, vol. 3, pp. 27-77, 667-685; Bod and Kursell, 2015; Bod et al., 2018; Heilbron, 2019). The prospect connects, however, with Bod's vision of the field, in which the humanities and the sciences are seen as unified in their efforts to explain and understand the world in terms of patterns—regularities in natural and human domains—and principles—explanations of those regularities. Such a perspective challenges conventional disciplinary binaries, whether conceptual as in Wilhelm Dilthey's distinction between the verstehen (understanding) of the Geisteswissenschaften and the erklären

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(explaining) of the *Naturwissenschaften*, or cultural-contextual as in the supposed divide between C.P. Snow's "Two Cultures". Heather Ellis (2017, p. 143) draws a connection between this project and the history of education, noting a need for a broad-based history of education focused "on the history of knowledge transmission and of teaching and learning, ... a history of education, broad enough to include the history of scientific instruction alongside the history of instruction in the arts, humanities, social sciences and other departments of knowledge".

The new history of the humanities and the history of knowledge have also been mutually supporting in other ways, through instances of cross-fertilisation involving the history of knowledge understood in terms of the social circulation of knowledge rather than as an expansion of the history of science (Hammar, 2019, 2021a; Östh Gustafsson, 2020; Marchand, 2020; Hammar and Östling, 2021; Östling et al., 2022), sometimes by scholars who specifically reject the latter model of the history of knowledge (Östling et al., 2020, p. 9). If a grand unified history of academic or scholarly knowledge remains an incompletely fulfilled ambition, local histories of the social circulation and transformation of humanities knowledges have been a notable hybrid product of the two fields. Isak Hammar and Hampus Östh Gustafsson's contribution to this themed section further develops this literature.

Finally, Östling identifies a history of knowledge that "transgresses epistemic knowledge and proposes analyses of other forms of knowledge". In practice and in some of the programmatic examples Östling quotes, this variety tends to overlap with the "knowledge in society" approach. What most clearly distinguishes this last type, however, is its emphasis on theorising what is meant by "knowledge". By contrast, analyses of the circulation and transformation of knowledge in society often leave "knowledge" relatively untheorised, usually treating it as broadly equivalent to ideas, information, texts or discourses (typically generalised in the literature as "epistemic" knowledge). Indeed, that history of knowledge conceptualisations of "knowledge" are frequently vague, and therefore that the field's advances on other forms of scholarship are unclear, has been a common criticism, made especially by some historians of science (Marchand, 2019; Bergwik and Holmberg, 2020). More sympathetically, Daston notes that the category of knowledge has been "capacious and usefully vague" but that the field as it develops "will have to undergo a ... probing conceptual analysis" similar to analyses of "science" within the history of science (Daston, 2017, pp. 142, 145; see also Daston in Mulsow, 2019, pp. 173-178).

An approach to the history of knowledge centred on theorisations of its objects begins to answer these needs (Mulsow, 2019, pp. 160-162). For instance, Anna Nilsson Hammar (2018) theorises the circulation of different types of knowledge in everyday life using the Aristotelian triad of *theoria* (epistemic or theoretical knowledge), *praxis* (practical wisdom of "social and political

interaction"), and *poiesis* (applied creative skills, such as artisanal knowledge, connected in Aristotle to *techne*). Cecilia Riving (2020) has similarly employed *phronesis*, closely linked to *praxis*, as a theoretical frame for an analysis of applied practical knowledges in the history of psychotherapy. Björn Lundberg (2020) has traced a genealogy of a knowledge category often taken for granted, namely the idea of "conventional wisdom".

A related but somewhat different tack is to analyse historical knowledge systems, hierarchies and classifications of knowledge, historicising the ways in which different forms of knowledge came to be authorised and valorised, and others devalued or proscribed. This is the form of "conceptual analysis" recommended by Daston (2017; Daston in Mulsow, 2019, pp. 176-178), and by a number of other historians of knowledge (Sarasin, 2011; Dupré and Somsen, 2019; Verburgt, 2020, p. 5). Doing so requires taking account also of histories of ignorance and notknowing, a developing subtheme of the history of knowledge, since knowledge hierarchies necessarily imply unknowns, as well as excluded and devalued knowledges, and often excluded and devalued knowers (Gugerli et al., 2009; Burke, 2012, pp. 139-159; 2020; Mulsow, 2015; Zwierlein, 2016; Keller, 2020; Verburgt, 2020; Burke and Verburgt, 2021). In these domains the history of knowledge has rich existing conceptual resources to draw upon in the history and sociology of science. As Staffan Bergwik and Linn Holmberg (2020, p. 292) note, "what counts as knowledge in a given historical context, and how hierarchies and orderings of knowledge emerge and change, have been basic research questions for historians of science for many decades". These are likewise research questions relevant to the history of education, insofar as it focuses on institutions engaged in the construction, formalisation and rearticulation of authorised knowledges, and, as a necessary corollary, the exclusion of other unauthorised knowledges.

Mulsow's and Östling's surveys thus identify between them no less than seven subspecies of scholarship operating under the label "history of knowledge": an expansion of the history of science; the history of information and communications; history as a "poetics of knowledge"; empirically focused histories of knowledge in society; an "encyclopedic" history of knowledge; a prospective history of scholarly knowledge, driven by histories of learning and by the new history of the humanities; and theorisations of historical knowledges in their different forms. Some of these approaches are mutually incompatible or at least in significant tension, especially regarding understandings of the relative significance of science and the history of science, degrees of interest in everyday versus elite scholarly or academic knowledges (Daston, 2017, pp. 143-144), and levels of theorisation of the category of "knowledge".

Such tensions are however outweighed by the field's broader integrative capacity, what Mulsow (2019, pp. 163-167) calls its "broad bandwidth". As Östling et al. (2020, pp. 14-17) argue,

the history of knowledge has both integrative and generative capacities, bringing historians working on different historical periods and in different fields into dialogue in ways that cut across conventional subdisciplinary groupings and academic infrastructures. Some overlaps and hybrid forms have already been noted. While such interdisciplinary dialogue raises some questions of coherence (Bergwik and Holmberg, 2020), it also entails promising opportunities. For the history of education, the integrative capacity of the "broad bandwidth" promises means of iterating in resources for conceptualising phenomena such as knowledge circulation and legitimacy, from adjacent but otherwise often siloed subfields such as the history of science. In doing so, integration is also generative, producing new historical questions and problems, and new approaches to old problems.

The history of knowledge and the history of education

What can the history of knowledge offer historians of education, and what questions and provocations does it raise? More precisely, given the foregoing survey, what is gained by approaching history of education topics within one or more of the various history of knowledge frames? The four articles gathered here develop some of the possibilities that history of knowledge perspectives hold for the history of education, extending a small but rapidly developing literature at the intersection of these two fields. When this themed section was conceived in April 2020, the history of education had not figured prominently among the fields feeding into the formation of the history of knowledge, with a few exceptions (e.g. Gugerli et al., 2010; Ahlbäck, 2018; Hammar, 2018; 2019; Ericsson, 2020; Simonsen, 2020; Groesmeyer, 2020). Since then, a range of studies have approached educational institutions, policies and practices from within history of knowledge frameworks (Nordberg, 2020; Östh Gustafsson, 2020; Hammar, 2021a; Hammar and Östling, 2021, especially Hammar, 2021b, and Pietsch and Kemmis, 2021; Chang, 2021; Montgomery and Kumar, 2021; Barnes, forthcoming; Coninck-Smith, forthcoming; Westberg, forthcoming). Scandinavian researchers and topics have tended to predominate in this literature, and the present themed section will appear around the same time as a special issue of the Nordic Journal of Educational History also on the history of knowledge and the history of education, edited by Björn Lundberg. A related development is the history of knowledge program pursued by Lässig and colleagues in Washington, focusing on knowledges in the history of childhood and youth, particularly the experiences of young migrants (Lässig, 2016; Lässig and Steinberg, 2017, including of special relevance to the history of education, Van Wick, 2017; Lässig and Steinberg, 2019). These forays, however, have to date reflected the predominantly European focus of the history of knowledge field. Indigenous knowledges, and interactions between European and non-European forms of

knowledge in imperial, postcolonial, and neoliberal contexts, remain rich fields for the application of history of knowledge approaches.

The themed section opens with Nell Musgrove and Naomi Wolfe's "Aboriginal knowledge, the history classroom and the Australian university", an exploration of competing knowledge structures at work in teaching Australian Indigenous history to undergraduate students. As such, it is one of the relatively few considerations of Indigenous knowledges under a history of knowledge frame (see also Urton, 2017; Echterhölter, 2020). Musgrove and Wolfe's article exemplifies how the history of education can be enlivened by focusing closely on the knowledge generated by and circulated through educational systems and institutions. As Marchand (2019, pp. 136-137) notes, one of the promises of the history of knowledge, one of special relevance to the history of education, is its capacity to insert learning, or knowledge-making, into histories, shifting attention away from more monolithic "discourses". Musgrove and Wolfe also probe the limits of knowing in settler-Indigenous contexts, exploring what it means to challenge students with "the revelation that not all knowledge is available for their consumption", and to "sit with the notion that they may not fully understand everything we put before them - indeed they may never fully understand some of the conversations we begin". Such limits are relevant not only in the classroom but also historically. In the Australian context, one thinks of deep settler ignorance of Aboriginal land management and spiritualities as well as the deliberate erasure in the twentieth century of knowledge about colonial frontier violence. While this notion of the limits of settler knowledge intersects with existing literatures on ignorance, it also signals a dimension that is not captured either by the literature on 'agnotology', the social construction of ignorance (e.g. Proctor and Schiebinger, 2008), nor by existing history of knowledge treatments of ignorance, which have focused mainly on the precarity and loss of epistemic knowledges, and on uncertainties associated with experimental and scientific methods. Instead, Musgrove and Wolfe point to a kind of situated knowledge that for structural reasons may ultimately remain beyond the reach of settler knowledge communities.

In "Unity lost: negotiating the ancient roots of Pedagogy in Sweden, 1865–1971", Isak Hammar and Hampus Östh Gustafsson analyse more than one hundred years of the content of the pedagogical journal *Pedagogisk Tidskrift*, to argue that classical history was displaced as the "common past" of Swedish culture and education. Following other scholars of knowledge, they see "historical knowledge" as a key analytical concept, a heuristic for studying what has been considered worth knowing at different times in the past (introduction to Jordheim and Shaw, 2020). Their article pushes historians of education to think about how their own discipline has been produced. When and how and under what conditions does it diverge, for example, from

histories of the humanities, or histories of science? Engaging with the history of knowledge in this way perhaps also opens room for historians of education to write a new kind of disciplinary history that explores, in Hammer and Östh Gustafsson's words, how the "branches' of knowledge are intertwined".

Remy Low's article, "Follow the breath: mindfulness as travelling pedagogy", traces the transformation of a certain form of "knowledge"-mindfulness-through several very different contexts: war-torn Vietnam in the 1960s, a Massachusetts medical school in the late 1970s, and a Connecticut university campus in the mid-1980s. In common with scholars such as Nilsson Hammar who explore everyday knowledge in forms other than the purely epistemic, Low conceptualises mindfulness as a "middle concept" between theory and practice. But he traces its circulation by utilising the postcolonial scholar Edward Said's notion of "traveling theory", rather than works from the emergent history of knowledge canon (Said, 1983, pp. 226-247; 2000, pp. 436-452). Understanding mindfulness as a "travelling pedagogy", Low argues, "is to say that it has no predetermined ethico-political significance in itself". For him, the circulation concept permits a genealogy of mindfulness as a pedagogy of the oppressed, a counter-history to much of mindfulness's reputation within contemporary neoliberalism. Low's use of Said to conceptualise circulation is novel within the history of knowledge literature, and might be brought into conversation with existing resources in the field for doing so, mainly from global histories of science, such as James Secord's oft-cited 2004 lecture "Knowledge in Transit", and the work of Kapil Raj (Secord, 2004; Raj, 2007; for uses of these see, e.g., Östling et al., 2018, pp. 17-22; Larsson Heidenblad, 2021, p. 8; other comparable conceptualisations of circulation include Mandler, 2004; Livingstone, 2007; 2014).

Finally, Sharmin Khodaiji's "Indian Economics' in Universities in Colonial India: A Case of Contestation and Adaptation' further explores processes of knowledge circulation and transformation in colonial context. Khodaiji traces higher education pedagogies as practices and in their materiality, examining the introduction of classical political economy in the curricula of several Indian universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and its subsequent transformation (as "Indian economics") in the hands of a nationalist intelligentsia. Opening up questions of knowledge as a technology of imperial governance, Khodaiji interrogates the ways in which the imputed universality and the localised transformation of knowledge could serve competing imperial and nationalist interests, respectively. Here then is a case study of the circulation of knowledge in which its transformation in a new context, and counterpoised efforts to arrest that transformation, were consequences of larger power struggles over political governance. If, as historians of knowledge insist, knowledge transforms as it circulates, it is a

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significant confirmation of this general thesis that the continued relative uniformity of knowledges in new circumstances, far from being knowledge's default condition, requires as Khodaiji shows to be actively reconstructed and reproduced. So too did the transformed knowledge project of "Indian economics", which Khodaiji traces in its material creation through the development of departments, chairs and research programs at Calcutta and Bombay Universities.

In addition to these individual contributions, common themes emerge as generative across the four papers. The notion of "arenas of knowledge" is a concept that several authors found helpful. Östling, himself a historian of universities, defines a public arena of knowledge as "a site for interactions between knowledge actors and their audiences" (Östling, 2020, p. 122). This is a suggestive concept for historians of education who, as in the articles gathered here, seek to understand how educational practices take place at the intersection between institutions and the broader community (see also Renn, 2015, p. 41). It offers a way of thinking about how formal pedagogic practices are coproduced with public pedagogies (the many ways in which teaching and learning occur in the community or outside formal institutions), and helps conceptualise the porousness of schools and classrooms and professional settings. For Musgrove and Wolfe this arena is the nexus between academic and Indigenous communities, for Hammer and Östh Gustafsson it is the pages of a pedagogical journal, for Low it is a pedagogic practice that exists both within and beyond formal educational institutions, and for Khodaiji it encompasses both the colonial university and the emerging nationalist intelligentsia who utilised and transformed the discipline of political economy in India.

Second, the question of how the legitimacy of certain knowledges is produced and reproduced is a crucial one for all authors. As Musgrove and Wolfe argue, thinking with history of knowledge approaches can help destabilise the "knowledge" that is assumed to underpin education. Though treating diverse subject matter, the contributors all highlight the importance of thinking about knowledges in the plural, the multiple ways of warranting different knowledge claims, and the conditions under which some of these claims are given social recognition while others are sidelined. Musgrove and Wolfe examine the difficulties that students, who are imbued in settler-colonial knowledge structures, have in recognising Indigenous knowledge, and Hammar and Östh Gustafsson trace the displacement of the authority of antiquity in Swedish pedagogy. If these two papers consider different knowledges in competition, Khodaiji and Low both explore the way one discipline or form of knowledge was remade by groups seeking political change. Together all four papers ask us to consider how different pasts are reproduced in educational settings. They point to the utility for historians of education of the notion of "knowledge regimes"

that are produced by a certain set of actors and socio-political power alignments, but that also change when put under pressure by new actors and circumstances.

Finally, all the articles develop the notion of pedagogy as practice. From approaches to classroom teaching (Musgrove and Wolfe), to journals (Hammar and Östh Gustafsson) and textbooks and academic appointments (Khodaiji), to the divergent contexts in which one form of knowledge is taught (Low), the practices examined are diverse. But together these papers show historians of education that thinking about pedagogy as practice, and historicising it in different educational contexts, is important because it reveals the mechanisms by which "knowledge regimes" are both maintained and changed. As Khodaiji points out in the context of colonial India and Musgrove and Wolfe highlight in the context of settler-colonial Australia, the specific ways certain knowledges are practiced and deployed and maintained is key to understanding how knowledge works as a technology of rule.

Indeed, three of the articles explicitly think about how power relations, circulatory practices, and arenas of exchange might enhance our understanding of educational institutions and pedagogies in non-European settings. Together they not only show how suggestive history of knowledge approaches might be for the history of education, but they also point to some of the challenges that utilising approaches to the history of knowledge in non-European contexts pose for the field itself. It is, after all, one of the field's key insights—building on work in the history of science—that knowledge, including academic knowledge, undergoes processes of translation and change as it circulates and is reproduced in new contexts. Such an understanding entails a certain reflexivity of approach that is of special relevance for studies of non-European cultures (Marcon, 2020, pp. 36-47). And as feminist, postcolonial, Black and Indigenous scholars have long shown, processes of knowledge transformation can work to entrench and extend as well as contest uneven and unequal structures of power. How might conceptualisations of the history of knowledge's central problems change in postcolonial and settler-colonial environments? And how might the examination of postcolonial and settler-colonial contexts extend and potentially reshape some of the key questions of the field? These provocations extend well beyond the history of education, through the many other subfields of which the history of knowledge is an integrative composite. Nevertheless, there is scope for historians of education to play a part in shaping the field as it develops more widely. The present themed section offers some beginnings.

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