

WEDNESDAY / MERCREDI, 29.07.2015

KN308 (09:00 – 10:30, Room: M1-12: Oxford: Van Der Goot Building)

Keynote 4: Who was the Enlightenment? Social Networks and Digital Humanities

Keynote Speaker: Dan Edelstein

S094 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

Ireland

Chair: Keith Baker

Szymanska-Lewoszewska, Marta: *Berkeley's Irish Patriotism in 1730s and 1750s*

Dr. William Markham, Bishop of Chester has suggested in the inscription on George Berkeley's (1685-1753) monument that the philosopher should be an important figure for Christians and patriots. However, rarely is he mentioned in the context of the 18th century Irish patriotism. Being half English and half Irish by descent and a member of the Ascendancy, Berkeley struggled in defining his identity while he was a dean of Cloyne. My aim in this paper is to refer to the complex meaning of his Irish patriotism and the change it underwent as it was presented mainly in the early (published in 1730s) and late (published in 1750s) editions of his treatise *The Querist*. It belongs to the tradition of writings in Irish political economy represented e.g. by the early members of the Royal Dublin Society. The Anglican bishop revealed his interest in the situation in Ireland there and he included his ideas of improving its economy and the well-being of its inhabitants. Together with Berkeley's practices of healing parishioners in Cloyne with the help of tar water, his ideas presented in *The Querist* may have earned him a reputation of a good bishop and an Irish patriot. What does it mean however, in the context of a country where people varied in terms of culture, religion, or political allegiance? In the course of the paper I will provide an in-depth examination of his vision of Ireland and his understanding of the well-being of its society. I will focus on Berkeley's views on Catholics as well as the political dependence of Ireland on Great Britain. My analysis will be based on *The Querist* and other writings by Berkeley from the period of 1734-1753.

Wood, James: *Closing Markets: William Molyneux and the Failure of "The Case of Ireland"*

In 1698, the Irish philosopher and politician William Molyneux published "The Case of Ireland", a pamphlet that argued for Ireland's legislative independence from England. In my paper I set the pamphlet in the context of the intellectual network in which Molyneux participated, which included William King, Narcissus Marsh, and John Locke. I argue that Molyneux attempted to legitimize his political pamphlet within his own intellectual circle by appealing to the rational and egalitarian principles that were supposed to guide the international Republic of Letters. In my paper I document the failure of Molyneux's effort to create a community of consensus around his political pamphlet by investigating letters written by, to, and about Molyneux, as well as the presentation copies of "The Case of Ireland" that he sent to his friends. Rather than putting his ideas into circulation, however, Molyneux encountered a closed market for his arguments. King and Locke both criticized Molyneux in letters and Marsh wrote a satirical poem about Molyneux in his own copy of "The Case of Ireland". The intellectual principles to which the Republic of Letters officially subscribed could not be translated into the political realm in the case of Molyneux's pamphlet. Although "The Case of Ireland" would become highly

influential on later agitators for Irish legislative independence, the failure of Molyneux to gain a hearing for his ideas within his own intellectual network is one of the most striking aspects of the pamphlet's contemporary reception.

Dennehy, Coleman: *Irish appellate cases between in the Dublin and Westminster parliaments*

This paper will study the relationship between the Irish parliament and the English parliament in the early decades of the long eighteenth century through the prism of appellate law. Although the process began decades earlier, cases increased exponentially towards the end of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth, virtually all regarding disputes over the ownership of land. Cases relating to Ireland usually moved through the courts there as normal. Appealed cases would move up to the house of lords in Dublin, and from there if the losing party was sufficiently wealthy and hopeful, the case could be appealed to the parliament in Westminster. By 1720, the Westminster parliament had regularised the constitutional situation by confirming total authority over the Irish parliament to both legislate and also formalized its position as supreme court over the kingdom of Ireland with the English lords sitting in final judgement over Irish cases. The paper will seek to under the practical elements of the project, with some thoughts on procedures, results, costs, legal personalities, and the time it took to move these cases through the system. This will in effect be a preliminary progress report on an IRC funded project on the topic.

S095 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)

Paper Practices: Maps, Archives, and Ledgers

Chair: Greg Clingham

De Coene, Karen: *Who's the cartographer? Maps and mobility of Joseph de Ferraris*

Since a few decades historical cartographical studies started to emphasize the social and spatial context of the map maker. The fact that the so-called "cartographer" could fulfill different roles in map production, is less discussed. Whom we now consider a cartographer, may have been entitled by his contemporaries as cosmographer, land surveyor, designer, printer, military man or manager. If any map maker would actually have designed, drawn, or printed a map is a disputable fact.

The life and pursuits of the Austrian general Joseph de Ferraris (1726-1814) shows in particular the complex role of the eighteenth century cartographer. Under Ferraris's guidance the artillery corps of the Austrian Netherlands carried out a mapping project of the territory between 1770 and 1777. The resulting large scale map is considered a milestone in the history of Belgian cartography.

We will use Ferraris's maps and private correspondence to explain his cartographic innovations as regards the eighteenth century social, cultural and spatial context. Eighteenth century cartographic theories about maps, projection and land surveying as discussed in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* were indeed not easily put in practice. Good ideas –not necessarily one's own- were in need of an excellent team, financial aids, intense networking, high mobility and ... a devoted wife to accomplish a mapping project.

McDonough, Katherine: *Nature on Paper: Public Works Archives and the Rural Environment.*

While historians have celebrated the cultural impact of the highway construction boom in eighteenth-century France, the roads themselves were actually technological dinosaurs. Examining a cross-section of a historic road, it is challenging to differentiate between a Roman-era road and an 18th century one given their similar designs and materials. Much more innovative were the documentary practices established to manage public works. Provincial archives swelled with documents attesting to inspections, labor conflicts, and projected works. These archives were tools for provincial administrators to redefine their institution's relationship to territorial development. In Brittany, for example, the sustained effort to create an archive for each road being built or maintained helped the Estates to establish authority over public works and eventually win power over this part of provincial administration from the royal intendant. The carefully curated archive was a political tool that the intendant had failed to see as an important part of public works administration. The Estates' archive used paperwork in innovative ways to document the roadside environment, particularly as administrators struggled to build roads according to approved plans imitating the classical style, with wide, cleared shoulders and drainage areas. Conflict with communities over these road designs led the Estates to soften their regulations about tree clearing and to develop inventories of "useful" trees lining highways. Efforts to resolve conflicts with communities contributing labor for highway maintenance led to new ways of representing the natural environment as part of the provincial landscape: nature became something to work with instead of against. Administrators began to write about the roadscape as a productive, multipurpose area. In this presentation I examine this major shift in Breton public works policy. I connect these governance practices for documenting the increasingly intertwined natural and built environments to a new history of Old Regime natural resource politics

S096(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Understanding Debt and Credit in Eighteenth-Century Europe I – Elites (I)

Organizer / Chair: Johanna Ilmakunnas, Jarkko Keskinen

Stobart, Jon: *Aristocratic credit: book debts, shopkeepers and elite consumers in eighteenth-century England*

The aristocracy is often seen as having a particular relationship with the cultures and practices of credit. For Fontaine (2014), they were central to a moral economy in which credit comprised a system of social obligations; a culture which ran counter to urban capitalism where credit was central to a market economy. But of course aristocrats, like all consumers, had to enter the market to obtain goods and were thus enmeshed in the world of commercial credit. Indeed, the level of their consumption meant that they were more exposed than most and frequently carried a heavy burden of debt to shopkeepers and tradesmen. We know little about these credit arrangements: how they operated as part of the micro-economy of the aristocratic household or the business world of the shopkeeper. This paper attempts to fill this lacuna and thus revise our understanding of aristocratic use of commercial credit in the eighteenth century. It draws on a large collection of receipted bills for the Leigh family of Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire, England, and addresses a number of related questions. What was the extent of credit extended to the Leighs by shopkeepers and tradesmen, and how was this spread across different sectors? What form did credit take (quarterly accounts, formally agreed periods of credit, delayed

payments) and to what extent did this vary according the status, location and type of shopkeeper (was there a distinctive relationship with London retailers, for example)? And how did shopkeepers attempt to manage credit and debt with the Leighs – were the elite treated differently from other customers? Overall, my paper asks what these practices tell us about broader aristocratic attitudes to credit: was there really something distinctive about the aristocracy that distanced them from the commercial world?

Chalus, Elaine: *Social Credit: Englishwomen in Expatriate Florence post-1815*

This paper aims to explore the part played by elite English expatriate women as social gatekeepers in Florence, c.1815–20. By looking at the formal and informal socio-cultural activities of two important British women from very different personal backgrounds — Priscilla, Lady Burghersh, the wife of the British minister plenipotentiary to Tuscany and herself a niece of the duke of Wellington; and Elizabeth, Lady Fremantle, the Anglo-Italian Catholic wife of an English Admiral (as of 1819 Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean) — this paper will suggest that social acceptance into to elite expatriate society depended upon being able to establish roughly the same sort of social credit that was necessary in England. While high birth, the possession of broad estates and substantial wealth still mattered, the physical and psychological distancing from England placed more value on connexion, display and behaviour. As such, arguably, it also gave women, as social gatekeepers, greater power.

Ilmakunnas, Johanna: *Credit, consumption and gender amongst aristocracy in eighteenth-century Sweden*

In early modern societies, consumption patterns were shaped by rank and gender. Ostentatious consumption and lifestyle of aristocracy was expensive and could lead to considerable debt though credit was widely used in all social strata. The proposed paper examines Swedish aristocracy in the eighteenth century, and offers a view to a larger phenomenon in European history: consumption, gender, and credit relations. The paper analyses how individual aristocrats financed their consumption and the role of credit for their consuming habits. Gender and consumption will be discussed in order to analyse differences and similarities between the genders. The relation between consumption credit and indebtedness will be questioned by examining aristocratic income which was not only spent on consumption but also invested for instance in form of lending money on interest for peers. This led to a situation in which aristocrats, both men and women equally, had accumulated substantial consumption credit and were at the same time lending money out on interest. The proposed paper challenges the image of women as primary consumers and shows the role of aristocratic men more nuanced. The paper also examines the role of gender in consuming habits and credit relations, and shows that aristocratic men and women were both creditors and debtors. The paper is based on archival research in Swedish private noble archives, situated in the National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.

S096(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Understanding Debt and Credit in Eighteenth-Century Europe II: institutions and Margins (II)

Organizer / Chair: Jarkko Keskinen, Johanna Ilmakunnas

Dermineur, Elise M.: *Transition to Modernity: The Evolution of French Rural Credit Markets (1700-1800)*

In early modern Europe, credit and debt were the two most essential features of economic exchange. Warding off temporary shortages in the cycle of agrarian economic activity constituted the primary function of credit in traditional societies. But in the early modern period, economic development, characterized by substantial growth, notably thanks to improvements emerging in a period of proto-industrialization and boosts in agricultural output, also required more capital and financial exchange for further investments, engendering growing indebtedness. Credit was therefore an essential financial tool for millions of Europeans, either to sustain their investments or to make ends meet. For rural communities, in particular, credit has been a critical feature of not only the local economy but also of peasants' social interactions. In the eighteenth century, however, many key structural economic changes occurred and strongly disrupted the traditional mode of credit exchange which featured a mix of bartering, cash loans and differed payments. Growing indebtedness, indeed, forced peasants to reorganize their credit markets. A new category of creditors, new actors (in particular women), a progressive standardization of contracts, new type of guarantees sought, and above all new credit networks, resources, and motivations led the way towards modern financial exchange. In this context, one may wonder how rural credit markets and above all its actors experienced the transition between traditional loan processes to a more institutionalized one. How and why did credit markets experience changes in the eighteenth century? What were the social and economic outcomes of this (r)evolution? Thanks to the analysis of mostly loan contracts and local justice records, I propose to shed light on this issue and to closely examine the conditions and various steps of this transition.

Keskinen, Jarkko: *Long line of obligations. Bills of exchange as form of credit in the 18th and early 19th century foreign trade*

The first Finnish commercial banks were founded in the 1860s. Thus the Finnish merchants had three options in financing their business: provide the needed capital from their own pocket, cooperate with local community and relatives or get credit from abroad. But only few Finnish merchant had the opportunity to finance themselves. Although the local cooperation enabled aims that would not have been possible to achieve alone, it was not suitable form of financing foreign trading. Therefore the foreign credit played a significant role in the development of the Finnish foreign trade in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first official entry of bills of exchange can be found in Turku in year 1627. But the final breakthrough in the usage of bills of exchange occurred in the late 18th century along with the growth in foreign trading. The usage of bills of exchange differed from credit obtained from relatives and local business partners. First of all it required new type of connections outside the conventional social circles. Secondly the bills of exchange could be used as an instrument of payment and be passed on endlessly. As a result credit relations were stretched into a long line of obligations based on trust and credibility which entailed constant risk of failure. This paper analyses the organization of the credit relations and bills of exchange in Finnish foreign trade during the late 18th and early 19th century.

S097 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

Economie Sociale, Économie Libidieuse : Sade en Son Temps

Organisatrice/Président: Isabelle Goncalves

Bilate, Danilo: *L'économie des affects chez Sade est-elle une « éthique » ?*

Il s'agit de demander s'il y a chez Sade une « éthique ». Notre hypothèse est que, dans le sens étymologique du terme, très spécifique, en rapprochant sa racine double « éthos/êthos » du mot « pathos », l'éthique serait une économie affective ou libidieuse, un art de « bien » administrer les affects, une oikonomia. Malgré l'immoralisme sadien, il resterait chez lui une pensée qui nous enseignerait à agir et à vivre, bien que ce guide soit, aux yeux de plusieurs, un peu excentrique. Cette pensée serait une théorie des affects qui, par exemple, critique la compassion, la reconnaissance et le remords, mais fait l'éloge de l'égoïsme, de l'honnêteté et même de l'amitié. Enfin, comme dit Sade lui-même dans l'Idée sur les romains, c'est devoir du romancier (et du philosophe, nous pouvons en conclure) « faire voir l'homme, non pas seulement ce qu'il est, ou ce qu'il se montre, c'est devoir de l'historien, mais tel qu'il peut être, tel que doivent le rendre les modifications du vice, et toutes les secousses des passions ».

Carnicero de Castro, Clara: *L'économie libidieuse et le principe de délicatesse chez Sade*

L'éloge de la bizarrerie, en tant qu'une catégorie esthétique, paraît débiter chez Sade par un amusement à propos d'une prétendue fantaisie baroque dans une lettre à son épouse de 1783 et se répand dans ses romans clandestins sous le nom de "principe de délicatesse". Comme l'a bien remarqué M. Delon, on pourrait croire qu'il s'agit d'un paradoxe: "celui qui énonce ce devoir de délicatesse est celui-là même dont le nom est devenu synonyme de brutalité". Le terme est en effet ambigu et évoque plusieurs sens: de l'échange de soins entre Juliette et sa maîtresse préférée La Durand, passant par un simple raffinement sensuel, jusqu'à la fantaisie "la plus bizarre et la plus singulière de toutes", celle qui dépend d'une richesse fastueuse et qui ne s'achève que sur un tas de corps baignés de sang. Il est donc question d'analyser le "principe de délicatesse" en général dans l'oeuvre de Sade d'après les études de M. Delon, A. Le Brun et R. Barthes, puis de le préciser par rapport à l'économie libertine, c'est-à-dire la prodigalité luxurieuse.

St-Martin, Armelle: *Sade, la finance et la révolution française*

Sous la révolution, les lettres de Sade à son notaire sont chargées de demandes d'argent. Cette obsession masque le fait que Sade s'intéresse profondément à la finance et à l'économie. Dans cette communication, il s'agira d'abord de balayer le préjugé qui existe dans la critique et qui voit en Sade un noble réactionnaire dont le rapport à l'argent est symptomatique du déclin de l'aristocratie. Dans un second temps, il faudra mesurer au niveau de la fiction la profondeur et la pertinence de la vision économique de Sade.

Rodríguez Rendón, Juan Carlos: *Du Voyage de Hollande à Aline et Valcour : un système figuré du commerce ?*

Le 17 juillet 1775, le marquis de Sade entreprend son deuxième Voyage d'Italie. Les ressemblances de cette expédition avec le Grand Tour des aristocrates Anglais ne sauraient cacher ses vraies motivations. Sade voyage par agrément, mais aussi et surtout, pour échapper aux tribunaux qui le menacent suite à l'affaire d'un « infernal sabbat ». Dans sa fuite, qui le mène de Lacoste à Naples, rien n'est épargné pour assurer son confort. Nonobstant ses libéralités, il est rarement satisfait des résultats des différents échanges commerciaux. Aussi, s'autorise-t-il des nombreuses remarques d'ordre économique dont la

régularité ne peut que frapper le lecteur de ce récit qui se veut, « critique, historique et philosophique ». Après la dangereuse traversée du col de Montgenèvre, il estime que la rétribution donnée à ses hommes de secours n'est pas à la mesure de leur effort : « On ne regrette en vérité pas l'argent qu'on donne à ces malheureux [...] on voit que quarante sols [...] n'est pas une somme suffisante à les dédommager des peines qu'ils ont eues ». D'autre part, il exprime incessamment son mécontentement face aux taxes exorbitantes qu'il doit payer pour entrer dans chaque ville. Enfin, il se montre défenseur acharnée des privilèges de l'aristocratie lorsqu'il décrit, par exemple, les appartements du palais Pitti, habité par le prince Léopold et l'infante Marie-Louise d'Espagne. Ils sont été construits « et ornés avec tout le goût et l'élégance possibles [...] que l'opulence fait très bien de se procurer, en dépit des raisonnements de l'indigence, souvent plus envieuse que juste ». Plus tard, arrivé à Rome, il « se ruine » littéralement en dépenses. Ces différents événements sont révélateurs de la complexité du rapport du jeune marquis à l'argent qui sera modifié de fond en comble par son emprisonnement, puis par la Révolution. Ils peuvent sinon expliquer, du moins éclairer certaines zones d'ombre qui entourent les réflexions sur le commerce dans son œuvre de fiction. En confrontant le matériau biographique du *Journal d'Italie* (1775) aux systèmes économiques proposés dans *Aline et Valcour* (1795) on pourrait mieux comprendre les enjeux de ces derniers qui ont rarement été étudiés. Je propose donc de lire la discussion sur le luxe lancée par le père Bourseuil (lettre XVIII), la diatribe contre la capitale (lettre XVII), le discours de Sarmiento sur le commerce des Portugais en Afrique (lettre XXXV), enfin, le système économique du groupe de bohémiens Espagnols dirigés par Brigandos (lettre XXXVIII) à la lumière des annotations du journal. Il paraît au premier abord que le dessein de Sade était plutôt de dresser un tableau des différents systèmes de commerce et non pas de proposer un système monolithique. Le *Voyage d'Italie* et *Aline et Valcour* appartiennent au groupe de « récits honnêtes » longtemps mis à l'écart des interprétations philosophiques les plus ambitieuses. Nous pensons donc rendre justice à l'auteur et à l'époque en centrant notre analyse sur ces deux textes.

S098 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)

Literature in an Age of Transition

Organizer / Chair: Ivo Nieuwenhuis

Nohe, Hanna: *Possibilities of reader participation in fictiously exotic travel novels of Enlightenment*

Exotic travellers, be it Turks, Persians or Chinese, coming to sojourn in different places in Europe in order to thence send letters to their compatriots - such narrative constructions of fictiously exotic epistolary travel novels became a popular genre throughout the eighteenth century. Starting with Marana's *L'esploratore turco* as early as 1684, inspired by Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721), many authors sent imagined exotic travellers abroad, such as Daniel Defoe in his *A continuation of letters written by a Turkish spy at Paris* (1718), George Lyttelton in *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan* (1735) or Oliver Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World or letters from a Chinese philosopher* (1762). Up to now, however, these texts, have primarily been regarded concerning their satirical function. In fact, the narrative construction of fictitious foreigners made it possible to express criticism concerning society and its forms of power. Yet, what effect did and does this narrative form create for the reader, and, how can or will they probably react? Based on Teresa Hiergeist's recent work *Erlesene Erlebnisse* (Bielefeld, 2014), in which she analyses the possibilities of reader participation and presents an instrumentarium applicable for analysing literary texts in general, with the present paper I wish to ask and show by which techniques the reader gets involved in this particular genre and what effect it may have both for the text and the reader. It shall be shown that the orientalisating characteristic does not only serve the satirical function of the letters, but at the same time enhances the reader's

curiosity concerning the alluded exotic world and invites them to enter the adventure, following the foreigner in his descriptions of the reader's world. Thus, by changing perspective, the reader might begin reflecting on his own values and attitudes.

Smith, Kenneth: *The Rural Poor and the New Economy in English Poetry 1770-1807*

The second half of the eighteenth century saw increased concerns in English poetry for the village community in the new market economy, and a quest to dramatize the changed situation of the rural poor. This paper traces changes and continuities between Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* (1770), Crabbe's *The Village* (1783) and the *Borough* (1807) and Wordsworth's *The Old Cumberland Beggar* (1798). Goldsmith drew on existing traditions of anti-pastoral and georgic writing but with a new emphasis on the changes brought about by a commercial society based on 'luxury'. Whether accurate or not about depopulation he tapped into the ways in which enclosure was hollowing out the cultural vitality and economic independence of village life. Crabbe, with imagistic harshness, takes us into both a more 'scientific' and more radical view of the poor in the first book of *The Village*, with its infertile landscape and dying pauper's voice. Later, his *The Borough* will contrast the harshness of the workhouse regime with relief of the poor in their own homes where 'none their spirits nor their speech retain'. In Wordsworth's *The Old Cumberland Beggar* the human dignity of the indigent is sustained by benevolence. Yet such organic filaments of society are under threat from what Wordsworth terms 'the war on mendicity' of political economists. As with Crabbe the 'House, misnamed of industry' is seen as a dehumanizing threat. In different ways all three poets seek to rescue their subjects from marginality and to remind the reader 'That we have all of us one human heart' (Wordsworth, *The Old Cumberland Beggar*). Their work suggests that only from these margins of a consumerist economy can such basic, positive values of humanity be recovered.

S099(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Fontenelle & Diderot : *la Marche de L'Esprit et Sa Mise en Scène* (I)

Organisatrice/Président: Mitia Rioux-Beaulne

Seguin, Maria Susana: *Commerce d'idées: du Dictionnaire des sciences et des arts à l'Encyclopédie*

Il s'agira d'analyser les relations formelles et conceptuelles qu'il y a entre le Dictionnaire originairement composé par Thomas Corneille pour l'Académie française, que Fontenelle reprend pour le compte de l'Académie des Sciences, et l'Encyclopédie: non seulement son fonctionnement en tant que source possible de l'Encyclopédie, mais en tant que modèle conceptuel d'un ouvrage où les savoirs se construisent par un réseau sémantique complexe.

Pépin, François: *L'épistémologie empiriste de Fontenelle et Diderot, ou comment penser la diversité des sciences*

Quoiqu'ils n'aient pas été, pendant longtemps, regardés sous cet angle, Fontenelle et Diderot constituent des moments importants de ce qu'on peut nommer l'épistémologie empiriste. Leur originalité tient surtout à leur manière d'articuler la théorie générale de la connaissance et l'étude des sciences particulières. Fontenelle et Diderot se sont tous deux penchés sur les sciences de leur temps, examinant leur diversité, leurs méthodes, leurs « esprits » différents. Or cette étude ne fut pas seulement théorique, elle fut aussi pratique et, pour ainsi dire, menée à la fois du point de vue du philosophe spectateur et de l'intérieur. en effet, sans avoir toujours une compétence technique de

premier plan, Fontenelle et Diderot se donnèrent les moyens de parler comme de l'intérieur, en écoutant et observant les savants ou en se faisant eux-mêmes savants. C'est ainsi qu'ils purent saisir et mettre en perspective, à côté des résultats et des principes, des gestes et des opérations (expérimentales ou intellectuelles) propres à une ou plusieurs sciences. Ils peuvent donc être considérés, non seulement comme des théoriciens de l'empirisme, mais comme des observateurs et des penseurs de la science en train de se faire. Je me propose d'examiner ces éléments à partir de deux types d'empirisme de la constitution (pour reprendre la catégorie forgée par André Charrak) : l'empirisme de l'application, avec son modèle physico-mathématique, et l'empirisme de l'opération, davantage tourné vers les sciences expérimentales et pratiques comme la chimie et la médecine.

Rioux-Beaulne, Mitia: *Fontenelle, Diderot et la scène de l'histoire*

Qu'il le reconnaisse ou non, Diderot est un héritier de Fontenelle, mais un héritier qui, constamment, cherche aussi à marquer sa distance, c'est-à-dire qui refuse de laisser cet héritage peser trop lourd. Une analyse des références explicites à la figure de Fontenelle dans l'œuvre de Diderot montre que la fameuse allusion du Rêve de d'Alembert au « sophisme de l'éphémère » cristallise de façon exemplaire l'ambiguïté du rapport qu'il entretient avec son aîné : il y a une filiation intellectuelle, d'une part, en ce qui a trait à la manière de voir le statut des productions de l'esprit en regard de la nature qu'elles prétendent décrire; mais il y a aussi, pourrait-on dire, une filiation quant à l'ethos, ces deux philosophes se présentant comme tels avant tout sur la base de la relation toute particulière qu'ils entretiennent avec les savoirs et les croyances. Seulement voilà : même s'il veut bien emprunter ce sophisme de l'éphémère, Diderot juge essentiel de le dégager du style dans lequel Fontenelle l'a rédigé. Or, ce problème du style est partout présent quand Diderot évoque Fontenelle : ce dernier est trop fleuri, trop bel esprit. C'est que Fontenelle est d'un autre temps, et sa langue même le trahit. Elle trahit, de fait, une époque où l'on concède un peu trop au bel esprit, et pas assez à la vérité. Là prend source la nécessité de prendre ses distances : l'âge de Diderot commande en effet une autre manière d'envisager le personnage du philosophe. Cette communication visera donc à clarifier ce qu'il en est de la relation de ces deux hommes, et des raisons de Diderot pour rester loin de Fontenelle.

S099(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Fontenelle & Diderot : la Marche de L'Esprit et Sa Mise en Scène (II)

Organisatrice/Président: Mitia Rioux-Beaulne

Roman, Hanna: *Suivre l'écho de Fontenelle dans les articles encyclopédiques de Diderot*

Dans "De l'origine des fables" (1724), de Fontenelle, il s'agit non seulement des fables de l'Antiquité mais, en rappelant son "Histoire des oracles" (1687), des paraboles bibliques et des anecdotes miraculeuses qui sont, elles aussi, des récits inventés pour transmettre une leçon morale. Fontenelle considère qu'on ne doit pas lire ces fables afin de profiter de leurs morales et d'approfondir l'estime pour les Anciens. Mais il ne veut pas pour autant qu'on s'arrête définitivement de les lire ; désormais les fables deviennent autrement utiles. Elles nous montrent « l'Histoire des erreurs de l'esprit humain », à savoir, l'étude de la manière dont les peuples antiques percevaient le monde et les événements qui y arrivaient. Il s'agit de l'analyse de l'état moral du savoir qui les disposait à interpréter ce qu'ils observaient de manière qui semble aux modernes s'égarer de la vérité—et, par ailleurs, de comprendre de façon plus générale ce qui amène les personnes de tout temps à croire aux fables. Il est question donc de distinguer ce qui se passe dans le monde d'avec le degré de croyance qu'on prête à ces événements. À partir de ce problème les auteurs de "L'Encyclopédie", une trentaine d'années après "De

l'origine des Fables", ont tenté de fonder les bases méthodologiques de l'étude de l'histoire naturelle et humaine. Surtout Diderot a remis en œuvre le raisonnement de Fontenelle, non pas dans l'article « Histoire » (Voltaire), comme nous les lecteurs modernes auraient cru, mais dans son article « Fait ». Je tâcherais dans cette intervention de reconstruire un réseau d'articles, noués par leurs renvois à « Fait », qui montre comment Diderot pensait les questions de certitude, croyance et foi soulevées dans l'œuvre de Fontenelle, afin de les interpréter dans le cadre d'un nouveau discours moral, naturel et historique.

Warman, Caroline: *Garat on Fontenelle and Diderot in 1820.*

This session will look at the resonances between the work of Fontenelle and Diderot: my aim is to present an early case study in which those resonances are already being played on. This is in Garat's two volume study of eighteenth-century philosophy, framed as a memoir of the minor man of letters, Suard, his *Mémoires historiques sur la vie de M. Suard, sur ses écrits, et sur le XVIIIe siècle* (1820). Garat's most fervent passages are all devoted to advances in the understanding of 'l'entendement humain' (about which he would briefly lecture at the Ecole normale in its first incarnation in 1795) and it is his most common theme. He sets up Fontenelle as a heroic figure in this respect, and returns to him repeatedly (his *Eloge de Fontenelle* was published in 1784, and had helped to make his name). He also (separately) suggests that Diderot was the true genius of the Eighteenth Century, and records arguments between Rousseau and Suard about whether he was more accomplished as a philosopher (Rousseau's view) or a dramatist (Suard's opinion). Further, he proposes a rather melodramatic code of reading via internal parallels and analogies that will reveal the author's secret meaning. All the signs point towards Garat suggesting that Fontenelle and Diderot be read together, as twin geniuses in advancing our knowledge of the human understanding, and that when he is writing about Fontenelle, he is also evoking Diderot. We will ask why Garat was writing in this coded way, and what his labyrinthine text tells us about the polemicising perception of these philosophes in the immediate aftermath of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, by someone who had been involved throughout.

S100 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Literary Techniques and Motifs in the Age of Enlightenment

Organizer / Chair: Lina Weber

Korde, Bajrang: *Picaresque Elements in Henry Fielding's Tom Jones*

Some of the major characteristics of a picaresque work are that in such a work a rogue / picaro is the central character. The movement / progression of the work is based on a succession of chance incidents. The work depicts the adventures of the picaro. The rogue drifts, in his efforts to survive, from place to place. He drifts from one social milieu to another. Such a work has episodic structure. The picaroon is a sharp-witted person and his wits are sharpened by his hunger. Of course, though picaroon is amoral, he is not a villain because a picaro ultimately conforms to the norms and general ethics of the society he lives in. That is, he is a conformist and not a rebel against the established society. Because the picaro moves from one social milieu to another, the author of a picaresque novel gets ample opportunity to satirise society and the wayward ways of some of its so-called "respectable" / "prestigious" members. In other words, a picaro is, to a large extent, an outsider to his society. This position of his gives him the advantage of the point of view of an outsider and thereby he is able to see through hypocrisy, snobbishness, faults, follies and foibles etc of different social circles. Most of these characteristics of a picaresque work / novel are found in Henry Fielding's novel *Tom Jones*. The present paper will make

an attempt to bring out / exhibit most of these characteristics of the picaresque genre as reflected in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* with relevant illustrations.

Reitsam, David: *Representation of the Antiquity in the French newspapers of the early Age of Enlightenment*

In the 17th century, the oeuvres of ancient authors, such as Homer or Virgil, were the great models for French writers. Already in 1635 Jean Chapelain postulated the superiority of the Ancient world in his *Discours sur la poésie representative* and later on, the French developed the so-called doctrine classique which is based mainly on Aristotle's *De Poetica* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*. In short, the *imitatio imperi* was the watchword.

Around 1700, however, things began to change and intellectuals like Charles Perrault started to pretend that, thanks to recent progress in science and philosophy, the modern age was supposed to be preeminent and more important than (ancient) traditions. Nevertheless the real subject of this crisis, which shattered France for nearly three decades and which is commonly known as the Battle of Books or the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns, is not evident. While some scholars (e.g. Marc Fumaroli) suggest it was about esthetical questions in the first place, other researchers (e.g. Joan DeJean) consider the Quarrel the first true *fin de siècle* which means a major social, cultural and political upheaval. According to them, the development of the first real public sphere in France and the birth of a new concept of interiority were closely linked to the Quarrel and the modern victory.

But by reading popular newspapers of the early Age of Enlightenment (e.g. the *Nouveau Mercure Galant*), one has to recognize that the triumph of progressive ideas was not complete. References to the Antiquity, non-translated Latin quotations and the persistence of classic genres put forward a more complex situation: tradition seemed to be out of fashion and in fashion at the same time. This paradox has to be analyzed and that is why the aim of this contribution is to explain the different ways (ancient) traditions are present and used by (premodern) French journalists.

Dechery, Laurent: *Diderot's Tales*

My paper will deal with Diderot's tales, especially *Mystification*, *Ceci n'est pas un conte* (This is not a story), and *Madame de la Carlière*. Every tale was written in the same time period (1768-73), can be described as a small drama, has a very complex narrative structure dealing with multiple story lines and narrators, including Diderot himself, and deals with ethical issues.

I will analyze the relationship the narrative structure of a tale (relationships between the narrator and the auditor, symmetrical structure of the tale, diversity of voices) and its ethical philosophy (the relationships between the individual, social, and religious points of view.)

This interplay between storytelling and moral judgments encourages Diderot's readers to imagine different moral points of view, realize that there are no easy solutions to ethical problems, and equate a moral situation with a narrative one. I will argue that the best way to read Diderot's tales is to bring to the forefront narrative situations and characters while solving the moral issues of the stories; a more complete reading will also analyze how the different recipients of the tale, including modern readers, change the ethical meanings of the tale. Diderot forces us to position ourselves differently as readers, refraining from identifying with any particular character because we are the only ones who can

appreciate the competitive ethical choices of the tale, and becoming each character and narrator to evaluate their decisions, the consequence of their choices in the story, and the material, cultural, and moral contexts in which they were made.

Diderot's tales deal with ethical issues and they do it through dialogues. Nevertheless, they are not moral tales per se: the morale does not follow the story because there is no real story and because they are a dialogue the answer is never straightforward and one-sided.

S101(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)

Knowledge, Materiality, Power. Archival Practices in the Long Eighteenth Century (I)

Organizer / Chair: Ann Öhrberg

Mattsson, Annie: *Creation of knowledge in the archive of the Royal Police Chamber of Stockholm 1776-1792*

This paper will presents some preliminary results from an ongoing study of the archive of the Royal Police Chamber in Stockholm 1776–1791, a study which is part of a larger project studying several Swedish 18th-century archives from an international comparative perspective. In this project, archives are explored as a fundamental feature of Swedish and European early modern society. The project approaches archives as places where knowledge is produced. It is our understanding that the way pieces of information are collected, documented, ordered and stored produces and allows for retrieval of certain kinds of knowledge. The main questions asked in the paper concern how the archive of the Royal Police Chamber in Stockholm was created, organized, stored and used during its early years, but also to what effect, discussing what kind of knowledge retrieval the organization of the archive and its material form allowed for. There are several reasons the archive of the Royal Police Chamber of Stockholm can be of special interest in this context. While it was a governmental institution with partly well-established bureaucratic routines adopted from other institutions within the Swedish judicial system, it was at the same time based on more modern concepts of a centralized police which is connected to processes of modernity such as urbanization, standardization and increased surveillance and state control. The reform of the Stockholm police which led to the establishment of the Royal Police Chamber was to a large extent created with the Paris police as its model. Giving a tentative sketch of the main similarities and differences between the archives of the Stockholm and Paris police the paper will also touch upon questions concerning how both material and political circumstances influenced the forms and functions of the archives and the sort of knowledge they produced.

Berndtsson, Tim: *Making Secrets. Freemasonic Archives in the Later Half of the 18th-Century*

When it comes to the history of archives, historians have usually emphasised the 19th-century: i.e. the establishment of the public national archives and the rise of positivist historiography in connection to those. My paper, which stems from my ongoing PhD-project, will instead focus on the 18th-century, and at one particular formation of archives outside the great administrative institutions of the state and the church: namely the Freemason's establishment of 'private' archives. The Freemason's were far from the only group assembled outside the governing institutions that gathered and produced knowledge via archives at the time – they were part of a larger transformation of the forms for organizing knowledge in the societal system, the process of modernity. The archives of the Freemasons are not either to be seen as wholly structurally different in comparison to state archives. On the contrary, I will argue that masonic forms of archiving in many ways actually were intentionally modelled on practices in state

apparatuses – also incorporating supranational lines of communication. I believe this comparison might shed new light on the complex question of the relation between secret societies and the state, which was a frequently debated question during the whole 18th-century, as the Freemasons acted both in opposition to and (more often) in symbiosis with official governments. Based on theories from the contemporary German Medienwissenschaft, I will use the Swedish (Stockholm) Freemasons of the late 18th-century as an example, and discuss their archival activities not only as the gathering and appraising of documents, but also in extension as the very production of organized data for the archive. I will furthermore discuss how the masonic discourse of secrecy functioned as a way of rhetorically transcending the material archive into a monument of (arcane) knowledge.

Muellneritsch, Helga: *Indications of professional female scribes in the eighteenth century – a comparative study of Austrian ‘Frauenkochbücher’.*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, an increasing number of women started to work as cookery book authors in German-speaking countries. In Austria and Germany, as well as in the British Empire, this phenomena was mainly inspired by the intention to earn money. The shift from the highly regarded chef, who shared his exclusive knowledge with his readers, to the much more down-to-earth cook, who aimed her books increasingly to servants and lower class women, has been explored by scholars to a great extent. When it comes to cookery book manuscripts however, the role of the working woman has mostly not been acknowledged. ‘Receipt’ collections are usually seen as strongly connected to the private sphere; (female) family members create them for their young daughters, granddaughters or nieces and subsequently those manuscripts were very often passed on from generation to generation. This very sentimental understanding of handwritten cookery books however does not always correspond with the material findings. Several cookery books – so-called ‘Frauenkochbücher’ or women’s cookery books – from Austria and Germany show clearly, that they have been designed and written by a professional hand. This implies that for special occasions like weddings, farewells or other celebrations such cookery books were ordered from scribes who were not family or friends. These professional female scribes are known to exist in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Those women either had to make a living for themselves or contributed to the household income through their work. So far, hardly any studies regard this matter with focus on the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This paper seeks to discuss the possibility of such anonymous professional female scribes and thereby understands itself as a work in progress.

S101(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)

Knowledge, Materiality, Power. Archival Practices in the Long Eighteenth Century (II)

Organizer / Chair: Ann Öhrberg

Öhrberg, Ann: *The Anonymous Hand in the Archive. Production of gender in eighteenth century Moravian archives*

Women the Moravian movement had comparatively privileged positions during, especially during the early formative phases. There are several traces of women in the archives that bear witness of the significance of their activity. My paper is part of a larger project “Knowledge, Power and Materiality. Archives in Sweden 1727–1811” (funded by the Swedish Research Council 2014–2017) were archives are explored as a fundamental feature of Western early modern society. Moravian archives were founded as the movement spread over Europe and the colonies during the eighteenth century, and

functioned as important places of authorisation for the movement. In the paper I discuss examples from the Moravian movement where women were active in different ways as for example authors, preachers, missionaries and in the elderly council. The examples in my paper are made up of one aspect of female participation that not has been discussed in earlier research: the female secretaries. That women were active as secretaries in the congregation is a so far neglected but important question from a power perspective. In focus are two interrelated questions: Could the archives function as sites of authorization for women? How are gender produced by the Moravian archives? Theoretically, my project is based on the concept of the double function of the archive as a place/space that simultaneously creates possibilities of authority/power, and possibilities of exclusion. This is a result of a twofold process. The first is the effect of the materiality of archives – how the empirical material is collected, organized, who has the power over these matters, etc. Second, archives produce notions of temporality. The archive gathers together "the contemporary" and "the present", which then become the foundation/starting point for constructions of the future, i.e. "modernity". These processes implicate power and raise questions about constructions of identity, inclusion, and exclusion.

S102 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

More Than Mere Spectacle: Princely inaugurations and Coronations in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Organizer / Chair: Klaas Van Gelder, Luc Duerloo

Hende, Fanni: *Hungarian Coronations in the Eighteenth Century as Political Representations*

The coronations of the kings of Hungary in the eighteenth century took place according to medieval ritual which changed in the sixteenth century because of the Ottoman occupation of the old coronation city of the kingdom (Székesfehérvár/Stuhlweissenburg). The ceremonies in Pozsony/Pressburg reflected the political situation exactly despite the old rituals. On the one hand, coronations followed the edition of the diploma inaugurale, on the other hand that always happened within the Hungarian diets, therefore the new monarch and the Hungarian estates had the opportunity to configure their political relationship. While the ceremony's fundamentals remained unaltered, the variable political circumstances could shape certain elements of the ritual, this way the political compromise established between the new king and the estates was represented visually. The lecture will present the political representation of the coronations through two eighteenth-century cases: the Pozsony/Pressburg inaugurations of King Charles III (Charles VI as emperor) in 1712 and Leopold II in 1790. Both of them were the result of the solution of an internal conflict, meaning a renegotiated relation and the beginning of a new cooperation between the Habsburg court in Vienna and the Hungarian estates. They had to find new principals after the revolt and war of independence of Francis II Rákóczi in 1712, and after the death of Joseph II in 1790, who governed the Hungarian Kingdom as an uncrowned king. The lecture will analyse the role of the new monarch, the estates and the palatine, the diploma inaugurale, which stabilized the negotiations closing political power relations, furthermore the foreign policy of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Hungarian Kingdom's place therein that affected the result of the agreement. Finally, the talk will review the symbolical appearances of relations and compromises between the new political power and the estates in the coronation ceremonies.

Van Gelder, Klaas: *From Iconography to Ceremonial? Transformations of subjects' participation in inaugurations in the eighteenth-century Southern Netherlands*

In 1981 Hugo Soly analysed the longitudinal evolution of princely joyous entries and inaugurations in the Burgundian and Habsburg Netherlands. According to him, in the late Middle Ages and beginning of the Early Modern Era, these ceremonies were highpoints of direct communication between the host cities and the ruler. Gradually, however, the aspect of princely propaganda gained weight, and eventually these ceremonies evolved into pure spectacle, exalting the absolutism of the monarch and demoting the onlookers to passive spectators. He situated the watershed in this evolution in the late sixteenth century. However fruitful Soly's analysis has been, and however adequate major parts of it still are, recent research shows that the aspects of communication and negotiation were not completely absent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The advent of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs in the Southern Netherlands in 1716 even led to full-blown negotiations between Estates and ruler, before the latter could be inaugurated. This example notwithstanding, by this time a subtle transformation seems to have taken place as well. While the iconography was ever more controlled by the ruler and his advisors, the Estates, cities and corporations participating in the inauguration ceremonies seem to have found other ways to express claims and stage their importance within the body politic. In this paper I discuss this transformation on the basis of different eighteenth-century inaugurations in Brabant and Flanders. In doing so, I demonstrate that the dominance of princely propaganda did not exclude the active participation of the subjects and ceremonial communication, and that the perceived loss of political meaning was not absolute.

Neu, Tim: *The Inauguration That Wasn't. Politics, Religion, and Political Participation in 18th-Century Hesse-Cassel*

When Landgrave William VIII of Hesse-Cassel died in February 1760, the Seven Years' War still raged all across Europe, especially in Germany. Just five months later, the city of Cassel was taken by French forces and held by them for more than two years. The greater part of the territory including its capital city being occupied the new landgrave, Frederick II of Hesse-Kassel, obviously had other things to worry about than to enact a proper inauguration. But the solemn act and its core elements, the subjects' oaths of allegiance and the prince's confirmation of their rights, were not just postponed but, as it turned out once peace was restored, should be omitted completely. In 1764, the first territorial diet after the war urged Frederick to administer the oath of allegiance, but he utterly refused, even when the estates threatened to call upon England and Prussia for support. In the end, Frederick ruled for another twenty-one years – without an inauguration. This case raises a lot of questions concerning the function and meaning of inauguration in the so-called 'Age of Absolutism'. It is commonly assumed that inaugurations ceased to be events representing the mutual bonds between subjects and ruler after the middle of the seventeenth century and turned into instruments for staging the monarch's sovereignty. But if this view holds, why didn't Frederick take this opportunity to add visibility and legitimacy to his rule, especially after long years of war and occupation? Why, on the other hand, was an inauguration so decidedly demanded by the territorial estates? And why should England and Prussia be interested in this seemingly domestic matter? In analyzing this particular non-event – the inauguration that wasn't – the paper will ex negativo shed new light on the political functions of inaugurations and oaths of allegiance in the long eighteenth century.

Godsey, William: *Royal Inaugurations and Coronations in the Habsburg Empire, 1790-1848*

In an age of major historical change, the constituent territories of the Habsburg Empire experienced a notable, if little-regarded revival of coronations and royal inaugurations. They occurred against the background of the emperor Joseph II's famous refusal to submit to any such ritual after his coronation as Roman king in 1764 – he reigned 1765/80-1790 – and the French Revolution's ideological challenge to monarchy after 1789/92. In the roughly five decades beginning in the year 1790, three Austrian rulers (Leopold II r. 1790-92, Francis II/I r. 1792-1835, and Ferdinand I r. 1835-1848), and on a few distinct occasions their wives (as queens of Hungary), absolved a total of 16 separate rituals. In every reign, they included the inauguration of the archduke of Austria in Vienna, the coronation of the king of Bohemia in Prague, and the coronation of the king of Hungary either in Pozsony (Bratislava) or Buda. On two occasions each, the coronation of the Holy Roman emperor in Frankfurt and the inauguration of the count of Tyrol in Innsbruck took place, while the coronation of the king of Lombardy-Venetia happened on only one occasion. This paper will explore the changing meaning of these rituals by placing them in their respective historical contexts. To what extent did they continue to be constitutive of dominion in the traditional sense? To what extent did post-revolutionary ideas of legitimacy and patriotism play a role? Specialized studies of these rituals have tended to focus on only one ceremony in a particular territory, blending out the broader Habsburg context. This paper, by contrast, will attempt to restore that context and examine what the endurance of these inaugural rites tells us about the nature of the Habsburg Empire more generally

S103(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Commerce des Livres, Circulation des Savoirs: Leprince de Beaumont et les Femmes Écrivains (I)

Organisatrice/Président: Catriona Seth, Rotraud von Kulesa

Seth, Catriona: *La femme auteur dans les écrits de Leprince de Beaumont*

A plusieurs reprises dans ses écrits, Leprince de Beaumont offre des éléments d'information sur la vie de la femme auteur, ses revenus et relations. La communication examinera ces occurrences.

Hageman, Marjolein: *La réception des pièces d'éducation de Mme de Genlis dans les Provinces-Unies*

Tout comme Mme Leprince de Beaumont, Mme de Genlis a connu un certain succès dans les Provinces-Unies. Son théâtre d'éducation a été traduit par la célèbre romancière Betje Wolff et l'on retrouve également ses pièces en français dans de nombreuses bibliothèques. Nous proposons lors de cette conférence de présenter la traduction de plusieurs pièces telles que *Les Flacons* ou encore *Les Faux Amis* afin de mesurer le degré de fidélité de ces traductions, mais aussi d'en découvrir la réception par le public néerlandais de l'époque. Comment ont été perçues les pièces originales ? Dans quelle mesure les traductions se sont-elles adaptées au public ? Quelles ont été les réactions des lecteurs ?

Onandia, Beatriz: *Itinéraires de l'écriture au féminin : les femmes éducatrices françaises et leurs influences dans l'Espagne des Lumières*

La réception espagnole des auteures françaises, telle que Madame de Genlis, Madame de Beaumont ou Madame d'Épinay, constitue un chapitre important de la fortune littéraire que ces auteures connurent en dehors des frontières françaises. La visée pédagogique de leurs œuvres séduira un grand nombre des intellectuels des Lumières espagnoles. L'intérêt des femmes pour la lecture et le développement du monde éditorial, provoqueront ainsi, pendant tout le XVIII^e siècle, une véritable avalanche de textes destinés à la formation et à l'instruction féminine, surtout vers la deuxième moitié du siècle lorsqu'un fort intérêt pour les traductions d'œuvres étrangères se fit sentir. Dans ce contexte, un grand nombre d'écrivaines/traductrices espagnoles, comme Josefa Amar de Borbón, Rita Cavada Solares, Beatriz Cienfuegos, Maria Rosa de Gálvez, Margarita Hickey, Maria Gertudis de Hore ou Inés Joyes y Blake commencèrent à produire des œuvres pédagogiques en s'inspirant de la plume de certaines de ces érudites françaises. La plupart des écrits féminins, furent rédigés dans le but de laisser entendre la voix des femmes dans le débat entre les sexes. La production féminine des Lumières espagnoles ne peut être comprise en dehors du contexte culturel et religieux propre à l'Espagne de l'époque. Cette société fortement catholique et misogyne avait établi comme tradition la ségrégation des sexes et entretenait une grande suspicion au sujet de l'éducation féminine. Notre communication va essayer d'analyser les avatars des œuvres de certaines de ces pédagogues françaises, leurs imitations et leurs influences sur la littérature pédagogique espagnole et en particulier celle produite par des femmes. De cette manière, on pourra esquisser certains traits spécifiques qui caractérisent cette production hispanique de littérature pédagogique.

Corbi Saez, Maria Isabel: *Mme Leprince de Beaumont dans Les lettres sur l'Angleterre, la Hollande et l'Italie d'A-M. Du Boccage: enjeux et portée d'une référence*

Il est fort connu qu'Anne-Marie du Boccage fut à son époque une célèbre salonnière, pourtant il faut savoir que dans ce XVIII^e siècle absolument peu enclin à accepter les femmes dans le champ littéraire, elle fut une femme-auteur célébrée de son vivant par de nombreux amis philosophes tels que Voltaire parmi d'autres. Cette "amazone du Parnasse" a publié par décision personnelle et sous son nom –aspect indéniablement fort peu habituel de son temps– *Les lettres sur l'Angleterre, la*

Hollande et l'Italie (publiées d'abord sous forme de recueil en 1764, 1767 et 1770, puis séparément) qui dévoilent d'emblée les diverses facettes d'un échange épistolaire maintenu avec sa sœur cadette lors de ses différents voyages. Elle y aborde comme il ne pouvait en être autrement les aspects familiaux –les moindres cependant, comparément avec les autres, elle nous offre des galeries de portraits des personnages rencontrés, des descriptions des pays visités et admirés, mais aussi et surtout de multiples et diverses réflexions suscitées lors de ses itinérances dans les espaces géographiques et culturels fréquentés. Pourtant, ce recueil de lettres retient d'autant plus notre attention car sa lecture permet d'approfondir et de connaître directement de la plume de l'épistolière le contexte culturel dans lequel ont vécu des femmes qui d'une façon devancière ont défendu une place comme auteures dans un contexte éminemment masculin, où "le commerce des livres" fut bien réservé aux hommes. Ainsi, s'agit-il souvent de commentaires ou de réflexions qui versent au jour le jour sur son œuvre littéraire, cherchant à inscrire noir sur blanc –nous l'avons démontré dans un article précédent-- et à léguer à la postérité son statut de femme écrivain, mais également de rendre hommage à d'autres femmes de lettres contemporaines. Tel que le titre de notre proposition l'indique, notre contribution prétend se pencher et de réfléchir sur l'espace accordé à Mme Leprince de Beaumont dans le recueil des *Lettres sur l'Angleterre, la Hollande et l'Italie*. Aspect qui à notre avis n'est pas fortuit. En considérant que Leprince de Beaumont travaille en Angleterre comme préceptrice dans une famille de l'élite sociale et intellectuelle lors du voyage de Du Boccage, que son livre *Le triomphe de la vérité* (1748) a soulevé une bonne critique déjà, que *Le Magasin des enfants* (1757) et *Le Magasin des adolescentes* (1760) seront très bien reçus du public lecteur non seulement français mais aussi étranger grâce aux traductions –notamment vers l'anglais, nous nous proposons d'analyser dans notre contribution les enjeux de cette présence et de nous approcher sur une "amitié" littéraire conséquence de l'admiration d'Anne-Marie du Boccage envers le rôle d'éducatrice et de femme auteur de Leprince de Beaumont.

S103(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Commerce des Livres, Circulation des Savoirs: Leprince de Beaumont et les Femmes Écrivains (II)

Organisatrice/Président: Catriona Seth, Rotraud von Kulesa

Herz, Ramona: « Demander à sa plume des moyens d'existence » Écrire - un commerce chez Marie Leprince de Beaumont

Les publications de Marie Leprince de Beaumont témoignent d'un réseau international, remarquable pour le XVIII^e siècle, comprenant des destinataires, collaborateurs et éditeurs en Angleterre, Russie, Allemagne, Espagne, France, Lorraine et Savoie. Quoiqu'elle vive plutôt retirée, la rouennaise prend soin d'inscrire ses ouvrages dans un vaste contexte franchissant aussi bien les frontières géographiques que sociales afin d'assurer une ample diffusion de son œuvre. Véritable femme d'affaires, elle opte pour des formes littéraires appréciées – et donc bien vendues – à son époque (dialogue, roman épistolaire, magasin) en considérant son projet littéraire comme un commerce indispensable pour survivre : « la providence m'a donné quelques talents pour me dédomager des richesses qu'elle m'a refusées. Je ne dois point rougir de chercher à en tirer parti, & je ne crois pas me dégrader en le faisant, plus que le négociant qui cherche à faire valoir ses fonds dans le commerce. » (*Magasin des Enfants*, 1756, *Avertissement*, p. xix-xx.) Lors de notre intervention, les dédicaces soigneusement choisies et placées, les listes de souscription, les commentaires sur les contrats d'édition issus de la correspondance de l'éducatrice ainsi que les stratégies de vente immanentes aux textes seront analysés. Cette étude permettra un aperçu global du commerce des livres chez Marie Leprince de Beaumont duquel sa vision de la femme auteure peut se dégager. Ceci aidera finalement à reconstruire une des multiples réalités de la femme écrivain au XVIII^e siècle, à savoir celle de l'auteure qui doit vivre de sa plume.

Lohrey, Ivana: *Marie Leprince de Beaumont ou les Lumières « grand public » ?*

Proposition de communication Ivana Lohrey/Rotraud von Kulesa Marie Leprince de Beaumont ou les Lumières « grand public » ? La contribution sera consacrée à l'analyse de la diffusion des œuvres de Marie Leprince de Beaumont au 18e siècle en France et en Allemagne. Défenseuse de la démocratisation de l'éducation, elle fut lue d'un public large dont, jusqu'à présent, nous ne connaissons pas toute l'envergure. Si nous savons que cette auteure compte parmi les plus lues du siècle des Lumières, nous n'avons cependant pas de données concrètes quant aux tirages des différentes éditions etc. Dans un premier temps, il s'agira donc de procéder à une analyse quantitative quant à la diffusion réelle des œuvres de Leprince de Beaumont. Dans un second temps, ces données seront mises en rapport avec des analyses comparables au sujet d'autres auteures comme celle de David Smith sur les Lettres d'une Péruvienne de Françoise de Graffigny. Le deuxième volet de la communication portera sur la réception des œuvres de Leprince de Beaumont en Allemagne. L'analyse de la diffusion et des traductions de l'œuvre de Leprince de Beaumont dans le contexte germanophone permettra de comprendre sa réception dans des contextes religieux différents. Leprince de Beaumont, éducatrice catholique, avait par exemple connu une réception assez variée selon les différentes régions en Allemagne, protestantes ou catholiques. L'exemple de cette auteure servira ainsi à mieux concevoir la dimension européenne des Lumières « grand public ».

Melcher, Christina: *Circulation des savoirs – stratégies de communication : l'autopromotion*

Marie Leprince de Beaumont, gouvernante catholique, était jusqu'au 19e siècle surtout connue pour ses ouvrages d'éducation d'enfants, de jeunes filles et des pauvres. Elle a pourtant publié une œuvre d'une variété étonnante : on y trouve entre autres des contes pour enfants, le Nouveau magasin français, un des premiers journaux mensuels en français dirigé par une femme, une importante correspondance, ainsi que plusieurs romans épistolaires. Pour faire circuler ses ouvrages littéraires, Marie Leprince de Beaumont faisait recours à une technique de communication très moderne : l'autopromotion. Auteure professionnelle à l'époque, elle vivait des ventes de ses livres et était elle-même en charge de leur promotion. Elle se servait, par exemple, de son Nouveau magasin français pour y faire paraître en roman feuilleton ses romans épistolaires. Ainsi, elle anticipe une technique de publication qui ne viendra vraiment à la mode qu'au 19e siècle. En même temps, les dédicaces des romans font preuve qu'elle recourt encore au mécénat traditionnel. Il s'agit alors de s'interroger sur le statut de cette auteure, dans le champ littéraire de l'époque, à cheval entre le mécénat et la professionnalisation du métier d'auteur.

Montoya, Alicia: *Leprince de Beaumont lue aux Pays-Bas*

Comment Mme Leprince de Beaumont fut-elle lue aux Pays-Bas? A partir du cas de sa traductrice / adaptatrice Barbara van Meertens-Schilperoort nous nous pencherons sur les réseaux (féminins) dans lesquels s'est inscrit son œuvre aux Pays-Bas aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, ainsi que les pratiques réelles de lecture suscitées par son œuvre, particulièrement dans des salles de classe et des milieux éducatifs.

S103(III) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Commerce des Livres, Circulation des Savoirs: Leprince de Beaumont et les Femmes Écrivains (III)

Organisatrice/Président: Catriona Seth, Marc André Bernier

Bernier, Marc-André: *Pratique de la science et idéal de sociabilité chez Geneviève Thiroux d'Arconville*

Lorsqu'elle meurt en 1805, Geneviève Thiroux d'Arconville laisse une œuvre considérable, foisonnante et hétérogène. Si cette diversité exprime la vaste étendue de ses champs d'intérêt, elle la distingue aussi de la plupart des autres femmes de lettres du XVIII^e siècle, puisqu'à l'étude « de la morale, de la littérature et des langues », Madame d'Arconville aura toujours joint celle, bien plus inattendue, « de la physique et de la chimie », comme l'observe en 1804 le Dictionnaire historique, littéraire et bibliographique des Françaises. Or, cette pratique du travail scientifique, Madame d'Arconville aura également su en tirer une conception de la vie sociale. C'est sans nul doute le long et lent travail de laboratoire, réalisé en vue de son Essai sur la putréfaction (1766), qui l'aura convaincue de la nécessité de mettre en commun les lumières, tout en s'inscrivant dans la longue succession de ceux qui ont voulu, depuis les origines des sciences, travailler à l'avancement des connaissances. En même temps, cette posture invite à rêver à une société des cœurs et des esprits, qu'elle évoque partout dans ses préfaces comme la norme d'une humanité nouvelle, passionnée de science et dévouée à l'utilité publique. Cette communauté de recherche, Madame d'Arconville lui prête, de surcroît, des douceurs et des charmes qui en font peut-être l'une des figures les plus attachantes qu'ait su revêtir la sociabilité savante au cours des derniers siècles. De fait, s'il importe tout autant d'employer le cœur et l'esprit à des activités utiles que de fuir l'agitation excessive dans laquelle jettent les passions, les occupations auxquelles convie cette forme restreinte, savante et apaisée de sociabilité se ressentent en permanence, comme on le verra, de l'influence qu'exerce sur celle-ci une culture du divertissement aristocratique.

Keilhauer, Annette: *Les traductions allemandes de Leprince de Beaumont, quelques remarques méthodologiques*

D'après la bibliographie de Hans Fromm (Bibliographie deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen 1700 – 1948), Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont compte parmi les auteures françaises les plus traduites en langue allemande, bien que la plupart de ses ouvrages soient oubliées de nos jours. Pour retracer l'impact historique véritable de ses écrits, il est important de contextualiser ses traductions non seulement en fonction du sexe de leur auteure, mais en même temps en fonction de mécanismes et courants de transfert culturel plus larges, comme ceux de l'importation de la littérature religieuse dans les différents pays allemands et de la diffusion paneuropéenne des ouvrages d'éducation de provenance française. La contribution prend l'exemple de Leprince de Beaumont et de quelques traductions allemandes de ses textes pour réfléchir plus généralement sur des approches méthodologiques du transfert culturel de la littérature d'éducation.

Ring-Ágh, Éva: *L'impact des oeuvres de Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont dans le Royaume hongrois*

Les oeuvres pédagogiques de Leprince de Beaumont ont fait grand écho dans les différentes parties de la Monarchie des Habsbourgs, y compris le Royaume hongrois. Outre les versions françaises et allemandes des ses ouvrages, les interprétations d'autres langues (hongrois, serbe, tchèque) sont apparues vers la fin du 18^e s. ou dans les premières décennies du 19^e s.

Pinto, Isabel: *The comtesse de Genlis' aristocratic strategy: Education a la carte against capital accumulation*

The French Revolution has been approached in terms of a bourgeois revolution on the basis of a continuous economic growth in France throughout the eighteenth century, due to the extension of pre-industrial production, which entailed a circuit of commodity, money and capital on its own (Duchesne, 1990; Heller, 2006). Starting with the definition of merchant as someone 'to earn capital in the sphere of circulation' and of a noble as one that 'derives his income by virtue of his "lordship," designating a whole range of seigneurial rights – juridical, economic, fiscal' (Duchesne, 1990: 306), I will look into *Théâtre à l'usage des jeunes personnes, ou Théâtre de l'éducation*, Vol. III (1780), by the comtesse de Genlis, discussing how she explicitly embraces the education of the descendents of traders and merchants (Plagnol, 1997) and thus anticipates the class conflict of the revolution. Genlis extends the educational capital of theatre to bourgeois children, taking a concern on their upbringing according to certain moral, and also economic, values. The plays emphasise class distinction between nobility and bourgeoisie, insofar as the comtesse starts by dedicating these dramatic works to the 'enfants de marchands, d'artisans, etc.' According to her, a concern with their contact with 'le détail de leurs obligations et des leurs devoirs' is completely justified by the necessity of learning to honour 'l'état où le Ciel l'a placé'. The comtesse is then actively reclaiming the role of educating the new emergent class, assuring that nobility still had the last word. If the bourgeoisie needed an education, it would have to depend on nobility to get it. Therefore, the plays are pervaded with class prejudices and depict a clash of worlds, in the sense that they systematically reassess the superiority of the noblemen's worldview in relation to the bourgeois social order of 'productive forces'.

S104(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

Pictures in Motion: Portraiture Around the World During the Long Eighteenth Century (II)

Organizer / Chair: Jennifer Germann

Choi, Kee II: *Face time with the Qianlong emperor: a Qing imperial portrait completed at Sevres*

In early 1773, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95) granted three sittings to the Italian Jesuit painter, Jesuit Giuseppe Panzi (1734-1812). Father Joseph Amiot (1718-93) subsequently sent the resulting oil sketch to Henri-Léonard Bertin (1720-92), a French minister of state to both Louis XV and Louis XVI. This paper reconstructs how the portrait was first captured in China as a contextual preface for its reception in France. Though a European artist, Panzi was compelled to work within a strictly prescribed Qing imperial artistic practice, where such bust likenesses served as preparatory sketches for full length scrolls, which were then displayed in a pantheon of imperial virtue. In France, Bertin had the portrait translated twice by French artists at the Sèvres factory. The bust length model was directly copied on a painted porcelain plaque (1776); and a second derivative of Panzi's original was adapted into a full-length sculpture in biscuit porcelain (1775-6) by Josse-François Leriche (1741-1812). In this translation from two to three dimensions, the portrait was transmuted from a Qing imperial image of virtue into a European monument of an enlightened, learned ruler, a vision originally conceived and contextualized by Amiot within a larger project to promote within Europe the 100 most celebrated Chinese in history. This grand commemorative initiative evoked Titon du Tillet's *Parnasse François*, and was directly contemporary with the Comte d'Angiviller's project to promote the *Grands Hommes* of France, also for their virtuous service to the king. Henri Bertin expanded Amiot's vision to encompass other porcelains that celebrated the Qianlong emperor as chief guardian of China's ancient past as well as the responsible steward of the empire's natural resources. This unheralded Sino-French material culture narrative permits us to consider the question, 'How does portraiture help us to understand what it meant to be global in the eighteenth century?'

Lindeman, Christina: *Going Dutch: The Convergence of Fijnschilder Conventions in Self-Portraits of Eighteenth-Century German-speaking Artists.*

In 1781, Sir Joshua Reynolds, president of the British Royal Academy, travelled through Holland, the Low Countries, and their neighboring Germanic states. While visiting the art collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector of Palatine in the city of Düsseldorf, one painting in particular caught his eye, Gerrit Dou's *The Quack* (1652). Of the painting Reynolds wrote, "It is very highly finished, but it has nothing interesting in it. Gerrit Dou himself is looking from a window with his palette and pencils in his hand." Although Reynolds admired Dou's technical skill it was the subject matter that disinterested him. One can surmise that Reynolds did not appreciate Dou's realistic depiction of an artist's life and instead preferred to idealize artistic life within the trappings of academia. Unlike Reynolds's dismay over Dutch art, there were several German-speaking artists who adopted the *fijnschilder* convention of the artist in the windowsill in their own self-portraits. The importance of the window in seventeenth-century Holland is evident in portraits and genre scenes alike, making it a focal point of daily life. The image that Dou recreated of the seventeenth-century artist peering from his studio's window onto a crowded city street demonstrated the interconnectedness of the artist's growing profession within this rising urban culture. These paintings echoed the new economic and mercantilist growth in several German cities during the eighteenth century. This paper intends to examine the impact of seventeenth-century Dutch art on eighteenth-century artists particularly their adoption of the windowsill in their own self-portraits. In doing so, we turn attention to the circulation of Dutch art and collections within Germany, and the impact of travel to Holland and the Low Countries as sites for inspiration rather than the Grand Tour to Italy.

S104(II) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

Pictures in Motion: Portraiture Around the World During the Long Eighteenth Century (III)

Organizer / Chair: Jennifer Germann

Stringer, George: *The Commodity of Myth: Anglo-Indian Portraiture at the Edge of Empire*

For over a century and a half since the British East India Company first began trading in India, sending home accurate visual descriptions of the country seems to have had a low priority. India was a coastal resource with an unknown interior full of fabled riches. It was not until 1769 that Britain's first professional artist arrived to practice there. Tilly Kettle's inaugural on-site portrait of an Indian ruler (Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot, c.1770) impressed Londoners, signalling the start of an exclusive, exotic portrait trade. Kettle's artistic identity was more fully tested in his ambiguous role as resident foreigner and first point of contact with local painters in the northern buffer state of Awadh. What marked this moment of cultural convergence? Perhaps the most natural impulse might have been to find common artistic ground, yet this shifted continually, as recent appraisals (by Eaton, Rajan, and others) suggest. In this paper, I argue that shared social values in portrait content were overshadowed by aesthetic alterity, their fluctuations reflecting the fortunes of the portrait trade itself. Beginning with a comparable domestic paradigm in children's portraits, I show how the change in subject matter to more adult pastimes during the heyday of colonial portraiture echoed a wider loss of innocence, and metropolitan anxiety about Company corruption. What began as a moment of 'anthropological' clarity in Anglo-Indian portraiture soon became incongruous, hybridised; such part-observed portraits or conversation pieces veered uncomfortably close to reality, and had to make way for a more picturesque view of India which ultimately proved more widely marketable.

Wang , Lianming: *Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) and Manchu Portraits Revisited*

Shaped by unprecedented styles and techniques imported by European artists, a new type of Sino-European portrait painting for picturing the emperor as well as his family, emerged in Qianlong's (1736-95) Manchu court. As one of the key figures, Giuseppe Castiglione's (Ch. Lang Shining, 1688-1766) training in Italy stimulated radical changes that immediately distinguish his portrait works from all else; for the emperor, his children and concubines he produced a great number of portraits, including portraits that being included in the court interiors decorated according to pictorial schema derived from European illusionistic modes. This paper aims to address the transcultural exchange between China and Europe with a primary focus on Castiglione's (illusionistic) portraits in light of Jesuit missionary environment and the Qing's exposure to European science/arts (mathematics, Geometry/ central perspective, chiaroscuro and oil painting) in the eighteenth century. A key area that remains unresolved in the large scope of Sino-Jesuit exchange is an in-depth understanding of Castiglione's own artistic formation in Italy (where he made portraits for the Duke of Genua) before his arrival in China and the precise tools and techniques that he learned from Andrea Pozzo. Questions that need attention are: What are the primary artistic and technical features of the school(s) from which Jesuit painters emerged that would specifically impact Qing portraits? What features of Castiglione's training, which made it possible for him to translate techniques used in Christian sacred images into portraits for the Manchu court? How did Castiglione and his Chinese colleagues experiment with different materials, genres, techniques, and formats that encode certain attitudes? And ultimately, how did his technical skills inspire particular types of experimentation, e.g. the "illusionistic portraits" at Manchu court?

Zhradnik, Aneta: *Travelling Portraits. The collection of Austrian archduchess Maria Anna (1738-89)*

My paper will present the results of a recently completed research project investigating a newly discovered 18th-century portraiture collection which once belonged to the eldest surviving daughter of Maria Theresia, archduchess Maria Anna. The collection consists of 122 portraits, oil paintings and pastels, representing four generations of the Hapsburg family and contemporary clerics as well as numerous children's portraits. The project's main objectives were a contextualization of the artworks within regional and transregional art production and distribution. The study aimed to reconstruct their historical presentation at Maria Anna's palace in Klagenfurt, in order to describe their representational and memorial functions. The collection reflects the strong impact of Maria Theresia's interest in the representation of the Habsburg family, where continuity and serial production of portraits played a central role. It illustrates the information and exchange through portraiture between the different European courts as a means of proving the cohesion of the Hapsburg siblings who lived at various residences in France, Italy and Austria... A considerable number of these portraits repeats and cites well-known 18th-century (group) portraits sometimes kept elsewhere in the family, and brought to Maria Anna in order to maintain her connection to the family. Also, the portraits are always already conceived as existing in series and groups, quite differently from a notion of portraiture as expressing individualistic singularity. They clearly served to establish networks, group and family identities. Indeed, as I would like to argue, the collection is of special interest as a prime example of portraiture in circulation, touching upon issues such as exchange, reference and citation. The practices of citation and repetition should not only be perceived as marks of second-rate art. Instead, analyzing these may lead to insights into the culture of court portraiture and a better understanding of genre conventions.

S105 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Le Philosophe et la Mort: Théories et Représentations de la Mort au Siècle des Lumières

Organisatrice/Président: Syliane Malinowski-Charles, Stéphane Bastien

Malinowski-Charles, Syliane: *Le déiste face à la mort : réflexions autour de Voltaire*

La pensée philosophique de Voltaire ne laisse pas de susciter des questionnements. La variété des conceptions de son œuvre par les commentateurs, qui en font successivement un athée, un sceptique ou un déiste à tendances spinoziennes, reflète une difficulté réelle de saisir sa pensée philosophique à travers une œuvre morcelée où la fiction et la théorie philosophique s'entremêlent perpétuellement. Cette communication entend aborder la pensée de Voltaire sous l'angle d'une question, celle de la place et de la signification qu'il donne à la mort dans sa pensée. Cette approche nous permettra notamment d'investiguer et de clarifier ses idées concernant l'existence ou non d'une vie après la mort, le sens de la vie, et le rôle de la philosophie comme préparation à la mort.

Charles, Sébastien: *Penser la mort en matérialiste au XVIIIe siècle : le cas Radicati*

La structuration de la pensée matérialiste au XVIIIe siècle supposait que soit abordé le problème de la mort, qui pose au matérialiste la redoutable question de sa disparition. Faut-il penser que, du fait de l'éternité supposée de la matière, il y ait quelque chose qui puisse subsister après la désagrégation du corps humain, hypothèse notamment envisagée par Diderot? Ou bien faut-il plutôt mener le matérialisme à son terme et retrouver son fondement épicurien en ne voyant dans la mort que la dissolution des parties du corps matériel, et donc la suppression à jamais de toute possible survie post-mortem? Cette seconde option, plus radicale, est celle envisagée par la Dissertation philosophique sur la mort de Radicati qui propose une conception matérialiste cohérente et conséquente de la vie et de la mort remettant en question l'approche traditionnelle dualiste qui suppose l'existence d'un résidu spirituel après la mort.

Belleguic, Thierry: *L'écrivain et la mort : figures de la consolation*

« J'enrage d'être empêtré d'une diable de philosophie que mon esprit ne peut s'empêcher d'approuver, et mon cœur de démentir ». Par ces mots, Diderot résume exemplairement la tension à l'œuvre, chez le matérialiste qu'il est, entre sa compréhension du monde et de ses déterminismes et une sensibilité qui ne saurait renoncer aux doux plaisirs d'inclinations électives qui échapperait au diktat du temps qui passe et de la disparition qu'il porte. Face à l'aveugle nécessité d'une matière hétérogène régie par des lois et livrée, nonobstant, aux aléas des circonstances, le philosophe-écrivain, penseur « éclectique » et « mitigé », pose la question de ce qu'il advient de l'individu, dès lors que la matière qui le constitue se désagrège. Comment se consoler de cette irrémédiable perte ? Comment faire barrage à l'inéluctable oubli ? Diderot aborde ces questions dès la mort de son père, en 1759, à l'occasion d'un mémorable voyage à Langres. Il y reviendra vers le milieu des années 60 à l'occasion de ses échanges avec Falconet, ainsi que vers la fin de sa vie, notamment dans les *Éléments de physiologie*, texte complexe et puissant, véritable testament philosophique et poétique. Sommes-nous consolables ? Et si oui, de quoi la philosophie, l'art, la littérature peuvent-ils nous consoler ? Avons-nous des raisons d'espérer dans un monde sans dieu ? Autant de questions qui portent autant de configurations que nous nous proposons d'étudier dans le cadre d'une série de scènes.

S106 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Travel of Knowledge, People and Goods at the Austrian Military Border and Its Hinterland in the Long Eighteenth Century

Organizer / Chair: Andreas Golob

Jesner, Sabine: *Quarantine and Plague Prevention. Trade Restrictions at the Transylvanian Military Border*

During the 18th century outbreaks of the bubonic plague often arose in the Ottoman Empire. Transylvania was touched several times by the disease until the first half of the 19th century. Established in 1762, the Transylvanian Military Border acted as both military security and plague prevention, akin to an early warning system. Militarily, the Transylvanian cordon sanitaire was guarded by Border Regiments. The Habsburg Monarchy established quarantine facilities along its long frontier with the Ottoman Empire from the Adriatic Sea to the Carpathian Arc. People and goods could only cross into Habsburg territory at designated checkpoints with quarantine stations. Merchants and travellers from the Ottoman Empire were held and monitored to observe, whether they showed signs of disease for 21 days under ordinary circumstances and up to 42 days when there was an indication of the plague being active in Ottoman territory. Cotton and wool were held in storehouses for weeks, other goods and also letters underwent fumigation with burning sulphur among other methods. Primarily, the quarantine-system was a barrier to Ottoman trade. Apart from loss of time, merchants suffered financially, because they had to pay cleaning taxes as well as for food and necessities in the quarantine. Furthermore, they had to deal with loss of quality of their goods due to the long quarantine. These restrictions were circumvented by using other trade routes or smuggling. The Transylvanian herdsmen were also restricted. The Monarchy tried to alleviate this economic burden by establishing special gates, where trade with specific goods was possible without loss of time, by determining special cross-border rules for the Transylvanian population and by admitting a gradual reduction of the quarantine duration. The paper will highlight the practices of regulation policy and commerce in this restricted environment.

Roma, Vasile Ionuț: *Administrative Duties in Banat in the Time of Emperor Joseph II. Ensuring Public Order at the Periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy*

Defeated in the war from 1716 – 1718, the Ottoman High Porte lost the Banat of Timișoara, which was first integrated in the Habsburg Monarchy as an inseparable and inalienable province. However, after having existed as a distinct province for a few decades, the country was incorporated in the Hungarian Kingdom 1778 and 1779, assuming more and more the status of a peripheral region. The most common phenomenon that jeopardized public safety at that time was brigandage, both in peacetime as well as in the chaos caused by military confrontations, threatening everyday life as well as commerce, tax collection and travel. Sometimes, the situation became critical, when the safety of whole village communities was at stake. Therefore, combating brigandage played an important role in the work agenda of the administration. To ensure public safety, the authorities sustained troops of professional soldiers and created corps of civilians, who were commanded by civil servants and were paid for their service. In order to identify the areas inhabited by outlaws, scouts were sent in the forests, and villagers were asked for information. To stimulate informants, a kind of protection program was developed. In this way, the civil servants adopted diverse strategies, using not only coercive but also subtle persuasive methods. They also cooperated with officers from the military border and their civil counterparts in Transylvania, demanding and receiving support for trans-regional campaigns to get rid of the criminals. Since brigandage affected the movement of goods, tax collection, postal communication and trade as a whole, the paper will contribute to the question on

measures, taken to prevent and combat phenomena that jeopardized not only public order but also economic success. Despite tensions between the central and regional officials, intense regional and trans-regional communication and visible efforts can be observed.

Reininger, Alice: *A property on the edge of a disputed border. Troubles in the making for those on the Austrian military border in the Balkans in 18th century Austria-Hungary.*

The noble Draskovich family owned, like many other Croatian noble families and clergy, property which lay on the borders to the Austrian military border with the Turkish occupied lands. For the Counts Draskovich the property concerned was Steničnjak which lay in the military district of Karlstadt between the mountains of Petrova-Gora and Babina. These lands were not only of agricultural and economic use to the Draskovich family, it was from here that they recruited men for the Imperial Army to serve during wartime. Again and again quarrels arose between the civilian population of the Draskovich lands on one side of the border, and the military on the other. Both groups used the fields, grazing lands and woods in this far stretching area. Both populations enjoyed the yields from extended woodlands on the property and through the incorrect felling of trees often caused a lot of damage. After the damage statements were issued each side blamed the other. The inhabitants of the Steničnjak lands were known to be particularly quarrelsome. These constant arguments made quite a number of border inspections and fixing of boundaries necessary. In the late autumn of 1767 there was such a border inspection of the Draskovich lands conducted by a commission from the Imperial Court. This commission was urgent since the continuous border quarrels between the civilian population of Steničnjak and the military community had over the years escalated and reached a blood-letting point. The inhabitants were completely outraged. After days of scrupulous inspection and hefty discussions the commission came to a decision. For some time it seemed that the situation calmed down, but not for long – and the problems began to rise again and lasted till this noble property was sold finally and became military property in the 1780ies.

Golob, Andreas: *Communicating the Military Border: The Case of Graz Peasant News*

The locally and trans-regionally leading Bauernzeitung (Peasant News), published between 1786 and 1796, was by far the most wide spread Styrian newspaper. Based in Graz, it developed into the most important newspaper of Inner Austria. Moreover, five hundred issues reached the Hungarian hereditary countries, two hundred found their way to Lower Austria, and three hundred were dispatched to the Bohemian countries. Upper Austria and Tyrol were also well served; in practice, the distribution area covered the whole monarchy. A focus could be identified in the eastern and south-eastern periphery of, and outside the hereditary countries, exemplified by outposts like Karlobag/Carlobago, Novi, Gradiska, Vrpolje/Verpogle, Sremska Mitrovica/Mitrowiz, Zemun/Semlin, Oravița/Oraviza, Saska, Dognecea/Dognacska, Brașov/Kronstadt, Bistrița/Bistriz, Sireth, Tscherniwzi/Czernoviz, Lwiw/Lemberg, Brody, Bucharest, and the principality of Moldavia. When the editor began to answer anonymous letters of readers and contributors, because individual reactions would have been impossible in his constant lack of time, some sort of public communication developed between the editor and the most active of his “friends and patrons”, as he called his readers and correspondents. Furthermore, he clearly distinguished between correspondents and other newspapers as sources for the articles in his newspaper. Therefore it will be possible to address the following questions: Where did the correspondents come from? Which points of view did they represent as military or civil servants or merchants? Which political, economic and socio-cultural information did they provide and which sources did they use? Which role did media and their information play in local, regional and trans-regional contexts? As far as the regional and temporal foci are concerned, the paper will concentrate on the south-eastern periphery of the Hungarian hereditary countries, that is, on Croatia, Slavonia, Transylvania and the Banat in the first half of the 1790ies.

S107 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Trade and the Ottoman Empire

Organizer / Chair: Joris Oddens

Stroev, Alexandre: *Argent et pouvoir : les compagnies marchandes en Russie et en Turquie face à l'État*

En 1763, à Saint-Pétersbourg, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre souhaite organiser un commerce fluvial avec l'Inde et la Chine et, en 1769, le comte von Redern veut fonder une version russe de la Compagnie des Indes. Ils demandent de leur octroyer des monopoles et des privilèges qui feraient des sociétés commerciales presque des États indépendants. De la même façon, en 1771, baron de Bilstein propose à la Russie de faire des principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie, appartenant à Turquie, une république indépendante dont il serait chancelier, et, après l'échec de son plan, en 1776, suggère à la France de coloniser le pays, toujours sous sa direction. Durant la guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane de 1768-1774, les frères Scanavi, marchands-drapiers de Chios, s'enrichissent. Profitant de la protection de la sultane Asma, patronne de l'île, ils financent les grands-vizirs qui combattent les armées russes, venues pour soulever et libérer les Balkans et la Grèce. Ensuite, à Constantinople, ils deviennent des banquiers privés du sérail et marient leurs filles aux princes phanariotes qui gouvernent les principautés danubiennes. En 1788, le lendemain de la mort de la sultane, Dmitri Scanavi, ses frères et ses fils sont décapités et leurs biens confisqués pour financer la guerre contre la Russie. Plusieurs journaux anglais, français, belges, espagnols et portugais en parlent. La tragédie n'a rien d'unique : enlevés au sommet et persécutés, les Scanavi subissent le même sort que d'autres financiers de la Porte.

Karagedikli, Gürer: *Economic Activities of non-Muslims in the 18th Century Ottoman Balkans: Real estate transactions among Christians and Jews (c.1730-1780)*

The eighteenth century stands as an outstanding period not only for the European states but also for the Ottoman Empire. This period, during which horizontal and vertical mobility dramatically increased, witnessed an increase in capital accumulation among city dwellers – including Christians and Jews – who got more involved in various economic activities including the real estate market – i.e., houses, shops, orchards, vineyards, and so on. In this study, by focusing on the city of Adrianople (present day Edirne in Turkey), where Armenians, Greeks, and Jews had a substantial portion in the city's population, I aim at analyzing the patterns of property buying, selling, and renting among Christians and Jews in the Balkans in the 18th century. Roughly covering a 50-year period in the century, this study brings together the deeds of property sales (*menzil mübaya'a hücceti*) issued by the local judge (*kadi*) in the city. As the number of transaction records shows us, there was a great interest in buying immovable properties among Christians and Jews in the Edirne region in the 18th century. I argue that this was a direct result of intensified communal networks among Christians as well as Jews making community members more informed about the availability of real estates in the region. Keywords: Edirne, Christians, Jews, immovable property, property deeds, 18th century

Syrakoy, Athena Christina: *Segregation and unity in Ottoman Veroia: residential quarters and the central market*

Veroia is a city in Central Macedonia, Greece with a history so old, that it stretches back into ancient myths, mythical heroes, gods and kings. Its strategic location, natural defence position and fertile land, have assured that it has been inhabited continuously for millennia until today. Although contemporary buildings, of modern influence since the 1950's have mostly filled the city, parts of the old town still exist, roughly following the main ancient street layout, and its buildings dating from Byzantine times, the Ottoman occupation and beyond. The city was under the Ottoman rule for approximately 500 years, from the 14th century until the early 20th century. During this long period of Ottoman occupation, Veroia acquires a multicultural community with the Greek Orthodox Christians, the Ottoman Muslims and the Jews, comprising the main groups of the city. These groups formed distinct and separate spatial urban residential sections in the city, the Christian, the Muslim, and the Jewish quarter. They were designed to maintain and preserve the cultural, social and religious characteristics of each community, through specific functional and morphological choices in the planning and design of the built environment. The only common meeting space of these different groups was the central market area that offered the binding agent for the interaction of the communities. This paper attempts to explore the circumstances under which this cultural, social, religious and built environment was developed during the Ottoman occupation in the city of Veroia, with a particular focus on the 18th century. The 18th century could be considered a focal one for Greece, as it led the way to the great rebellion that occurred in the early 19th century, which resulted in the gradual liberation of Greek land.

S108(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Les Connaissances Scientifiques – les Voies du Changement (I)

Organisatrice/Président: Emese Egyed, Rathmann János

Egyed, Emese: *Un adepte du Penseur de Sans-Souci en Transylvanie (L. Székely)*

L'agilité de la censure des livres à l'intérieur d'Autriche à l'époque des Lumières peut être suivie par l'analyse d'une quantité considérable de livres restés en manuscrit en Europe Centrale et Orientale. A force de passer en revue ces oeuvres – des traductions ou d'adaptations pour la plupart – on ne peut pas ignorer l'intérêt du public pour le discours nouveau voire provocateur du point de vue du contenu (mondain, frivole, philosophique, politique, artistique) ou de celui de la forme choisie – lettre, traité, pamphlet, journal fictif, poésie. Nous nous arrêtons sur l'oeuvre d'un haut fonctionnaire de la Transylvanie, Principauté de l'Empire des Habsbourgs, le baron László Székely (1738–1763), qui, à part une autobiographie volumineuse et quelques adaptations d'oeuvres de confession, avait élaboré entre 1765–69 la variante hongroise des Oeuvres du Penseur de Sans-Souci. Il s'agit d'un homme cultivé qui possédait une bonne bibliothèque et se permettait l'abonnement aux journaux européens. Nous sommes d'avis que la traduction réalisée par lui repose sur une édition allemande anonyme due à Wieland, également en prose. Le baron, connu comme citoyen loyal au Gouvernement de Vienne, passait ses loisirs à traduire dans sa langue maternelle des lettres de Voltaire ou d'autres qui lui avaient été adressées et des essais ou vers de celui qui allait devenir Frédéric II, roi de Prusse, avec lequel l'Impératrice Marie-Thérèse se trouvait assez longtemps en conflit politique. Les sujet du livre analysé rendent familiers dans l'entourage du baron un grand nombre de problèmes liés à la modernité. Connaissant les habitudes locales de lecture – diffusion par manuscrits, lectures par réécriture – nous considérons le Baron László Székely le premier représentant parmi les lecteurs hongrois des idées de Frédéric de Prusse.

Kiss, Endre: *The Role of the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften by Shaping of Scientific Transfers in the 18th Century*

The paper reconstructs the goals and principles of the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften at the last decades of the 18th century. The Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften started great Price Questions to all Intellectuals and Scholars of the German Scientific Community. Through this way of management, the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften organized a scientific publicity, a large transfer of scientific contents and a way to contact with the tradition and the international sciences. The paper reconstructs mainly the activities of Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottfried Herder connected with the Price Questions of the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften. The paper pays a special attention for the reconstruction of the constructive efforts of the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften in thematizing of Jewish Emancipation in Prussia.

Kurucz, György: *The production and circulation of specialist knowledge: the influence of Göttingen University on Hungary's agricultural training at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*

The idea of circulation of knowledge in the fields of sciences has over the course of recent decades become a focal point of scholarly discourses both in western historiography and in the works of a select group of Hungarian academics. For this reason, the role of certain centers of knowledge, especially the influence of Georgia Augusta of Göttingen founded by George II of England, also needs reinterpreting within the context of newly emerging fields of sciences in relation to the making of institutional and personal aspects of the reception of new concepts and results in the Kingdom of Hungary at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This paper is intended to throw some light on the importance of the activities of one time Hungarian students of Georgia Augusta, thereby revealing the complexities of modern agricultural training in Europe's first college of farming founded by Count György Festetics in 1797. Also, it should be noted that the reception of new theories and more productive farming technique was made possible by the establishment of a specialist library, thereby adjusting and rendering a traditional Baroque aristocratic library to the needs of a newly rising discipline. In addition, this paper is meant to elucidate the process of the evolution of institutionalised professional training which was instrumental in the overall acceptance of farming as a distinctive field of sciences.

S108(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Les Connaissances Scientifiques – les Voies du Changement (II)

Organisatrice/Président: Emese Egyed, Rathmann János

Maino, Giuseppe: *Magic and reason in the inheritance of Newton.*

In the circulation of the modern scientific thought in the age of Enlightenment rational elements and 'magic', traditions coexist, already present in the works of Galileo, Kepler and Newton. An analysis of scientific language allows us to highlight this simultaneous presence of both old and new paradigms in a period of transition when they laid the foundations of the current methodological system of the exact sciences. The persistence of magical conceptions, such as the alchemical ones, makes it possible to have a shared conceptual framework from which to develop the new language of European scientific culture.

Rathmann, Janos: *Studies on New Hungarian Peregrins*

Outbound flight of Hungarian peregrins (to the Netherlands and Germany) went on for centuries, but particularly intensified in the 18th century, during the Age of Enlightenment. Particularly significant was the enrollment of great masses of Lutheran Hungarians at the Jena University: they made up 40 % of the Hungarian students (Halle, Wittenberg, Göttingen). The reason is that the reformed, modern education that started from the 80s in Jena, opened up great choice in the framework of the "Studium generale" where courses of Kantian philosophy and ethics could also be taken by all faculty students. On the basis of subsequent domestic activities Johann Samuel Toperczer and Johann Genersich proved to be the best talents of the Hungarian peregrins.

Şoos, Amelia-Maria: *Kantianism as Instrument of the Cultural and Educational Modernization in Transylvania (1790-1850)*

The scientific concern for the Transylvanian Kantianism of the end of the 18th century and of the 19th century is a concern related not only to the history of philosophy, history of ideas or philology. Kantianism meant in Central and Eastern Europe - in philosophy, education, social and political guidelines - modernity itself. Transylvania's situation is, from this point of view, a specific one, as this modernism was developed under the complicated network of the censorship of the Habsburg Empire. The followers of Kant, authors who spread these doctrines among young people in the Transylvanian society despite the imperial censorship, a mechanism which was in motion to prevent all these, haven't received the required attention. Since the 19th century came into the scientific consciousness that some of them were pioneers of the Kantianism in Transylvania, but a great part of their works are also today in manuscripts, inaccessible to a larger public. These authors were the first ones to propose a philosophical terminology in national languages, they are related to the birth of the philosophy in national languages. Therefore, our aim is to realize an inventory of these authors/teachers of the philosophy who were influenced by the philosophy of Kant in Transylvania (between 1790-1850), and our second purpose is to make a short first comparative analysis of the Kantian interpretations in the Hungarian and Roumanian philosophy of this period.

S109 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

Marketing the French Press in the Dutch Republic / Les Marchés De La Presse Francophone Des Provinces-Unies

Organizer / Chair: David van der Linden, Wijnand Mijnhardt

Van der Linden, David: *Marketing the Enlightenment? Huguenot booksellers in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1715*

The persecution of Protestants by the French state in the 1680s, followed by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, unleashed an unprecedented wave of refugees seeking exile in the Dutch Republic. Among these Huguenots were many printers, publishers and booksellers, known as *marchands libraires*, who established new publishing houses in the major cities of Holland. Scholars of the Refuge have often cited their businesses as evidence that Huguenot refugees successfully integrated into the Dutch economy. Book historians, moreover, have argued that the arrival of French booksellers managed to halt the decline of the Dutch book trade in the seventeenth century, pushing it into new directions: thanks to refugee booksellers the Dutch Republic became the warehouse of the early Enlightenment, as Huguenots boosted the production and demand for French books, newspapers and learned journals throughout Europe. This paper, however, will argue that appearances can be deceiving. Large numbers of booksellers are not necessarily a very reliable indicator of success. Using statistical analysis to explore the number of French booksellers and their output of French books, as well as archival evidence on their careers, I will demonstrate that many struggled to gain a foothold on the highly competitive market for books. In fact, only a handful of

refugee booksellers managed to set up profitable publishing houses that lasted for more than a decade. Their output also included surprisingly large numbers of theological works, not just publications written by refugee philosophes. And although they did specialise in French editions, this was mostly a pragmatic move, not because they necessarily subscribed to enlightened ideals: pouring out journals, Huguenot sermons and treatises provided them with a lucrative niche to survive the stiff competition.

Brétéché, Marion: *Les dynamiques socioéconomiques à l'origine du journalisme politique en langue française (1686–1730)*

En 1686, la parution à quelques mois d'intervalle de l'Histoire abrégée de l'Europe à Leyde puis du Mercure historique et politique à La Haye marque un véritable tournant pour la presse en langue française : désormais, la politique est présentée comme un objet devant être soumis à la réflexion et même à l'interprétation. Fort différents des gazettes existant depuis le début du siècle, ces mensuels d'actualité politique rencontrent un vif succès et sont imités, donnant ainsi naissance à la première presse politique d'analyse et d'opinion en langue française. Or, jusque dans les premières décennies du XVIIIe siècle, ce nouveau produit sur le marché européen de l'information politique est imprimé exclusivement aux Provinces-Unies. Surtout : il est issu de la plume d'exilés français qui n'avaient rien publié avant leur départ et deviennent néanmoins des professionnels de la publication de l'actualité politique. Cette intervention analysera donc les mécanismes socioéconomiques qui ont conduit à l'émergence d'un nouveau produit éditorial européen et à la naissance de la profession de journaliste politique en langue française. La réussite de ces hommes autodidactes et de leurs éditeurs – français ou néerlandais – repose sur un positionnement singulier au sein d'un marché éditorial caractérisé par une très forte concurrence. En étudiant la singularité de contenu, de forme et de ton des douze « mercures » publiés en Hollande, il s'agira de saisir les stratégies de distinction qui ont permis à ces hommes – et à une femme – de séduire le public et d'ainsi vivre exclusivement de leur plume malgré l'absence de droits d'auteur. La naissance de ce journalisme politique d'un type nouveau qui s'implante dans les principales capitales européennes tout au long du XVIIIe siècle, engagé, réflexif et vecteur d'une politisation des lecteurs, apparaît alors prise dans des dynamiques économiques et sociales tout autant que politiques.

Nijenhuis, Andreas: *La circulation des imprimés néerlandais en langue française dans la France du XVIIIe siècle, appréhendée à l'aune de la bibliothèque de l'évêque de Grenoble, Jean de Caulet (1693-1777)*

Après une longue période d'alliance dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, les Provinces-Unies et la France entament dès le règne personnel de Louis XIV une période d'antagonisme politique. Avec la Guerre de Hollande (1672–1678), la rupture diplomatique est consommée. Cependant, les ouvrages édités aux Provinces-Unies, au cœur de la République des Lettres, continuent de circuler en France. La « supériorité qu'affichent désormais les Hollandais sur le marché international du livre » survit aux bourrasques politiques. La bibliothèque de Jean de Caulet (1693–1771), sacré évêque de Grenoble en 1726, en témoigne. Ce prélat occupe le siège épiscopal pendant 45 ans et met son mandat à profit pour rassembler une bibliothèque comportant 21.068 ouvrages en 31.351 volumes. Grâce à une souscription publique lancée au décès de l'évêque en 1772, le fonds devient public. Ainsi, la collection est restée intègre depuis le XVIIIe siècle, a parfaitement survécu à la Révolution et n'a pas été dispersée. Elle fournit par conséquent un intéressant aperçu de la circulation des imprimés néerlandais « en province ». Les ouvrages francophones édités aux Provinces-Unies sont, en effet, largement représentés dans le catalogue. Sur un échantillon de 3.658 titres concernant l'histoire profane, 620 sont publiés aux Provinces-Unies (288 proviennent d'Amsterdam, 134 de La Haye, 117 de Leyde et 81 d'autres villes moins importantes), soit près d'un cinquième de la collection. Cette intervention vise à analyser, partant de cette collection éclectique, la circulation dans la France des Lumières des imprimés francophones néerlandais. Comment se rapporte la production néerlandaise

aux autres éditions européennes ? Quelle évolution transparait au cours du XVIIIe siècle ? Quels contenus dominant ? Quel lectorat est visé ? À travers ce questionnement, cette intervention veut dresser un bilan, partiel, de la présence néerlandaise sur le marché du livre français.

S110 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)

Exchanging Knowledge and Materials

Organizer / Chair: Greg Clingham

Clingham, Greg: *Commerce and Cosmology in Sir George Macartney's Narrative of an Embassy to China 1792-94*

Cosmology and Commerce in Sir George Macartney's Embassy to China, 1792-94 The British embassy led by George Macartney to the Court of the Qiánlóng Emperor in 1792-94 is a pivotal event in the history of Sino-British relations. Historians have judged the embassy to have been a diplomatic failure, for Macartney was unable to negotiate the international trade arrangement that both the East India Company and the British government sought, nor was he able to persuade the Chinese to permit the British to establish a permanent diplomatic mission in Peking. Extensive historical scholarship has placed the Macartney embassy – as well as the Amherst embassy of 1815 – in the context of the political and diplomatic tensions between the two nations leading up to the Opium wars of the 1840s and '50s. At the same time, cultural and literary critics – including David Porter and James L. Hevia – have identified the cultural engagements between the Chinese and the British to be an area of rich and fascinating potential, revealing the broader orientalist and aesthetic views and expectations that underlie the commercial and cultural structures of engagement between China and Britain and between China and British India from the time of Qiánlóng to the Opium Wars (Chi-Ming Yang, Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, and Matthew Mosca). I myself have an essay forthcoming that argues that Macartney's "failure" actually reflects his understanding and exploration of cultural difference, and that his highly sophisticated narrative account of the embassy opens a space that brings British and Chinese representatives together while also meditating on differences between the two cultures. The paper I wish to offer at ISECS explores the thinking behind the cultural objects and scientific instruments the British took to China as gifts for the emperor and his officials. Manuscripts pertaining to the embassy in the Charles W. Wason Collection at Cornell University and in the Toyo Bunko Oriental Library in Tokyo open new perspectives onto the commercial and cultural interactions between the China and Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These papers, I will demonstrate, reveal in detail not only the quite extraordinary range of gifts Macartney took with him to China, but also how surprisingly astute, informed, and imaginative he was in planning this part of the undertaking. As Hevia notes, Macartney may not have understood the full implications of the ceremonial protocol underpinning the Qing imperium, leading him to refuse to kou tou to the emperor at their meeting in Jehol in September 1793; and Macartney may not, as Cynthia Klekar argues, have appreciated the Chinese tradition of identifying the exchange of gifts as being in its nature commercial, thus placing the British at a negotiating disadvantage. But the manuscripts I discuss – never cited before – reveal how deliberate the British were in choosing the gifts for the trip, and how self-conscious Macartney was in articulating their significance in various written exchanges with the emperor. That significance is most obviously cultural – paintings, porcelain, vases, tapestry, carpets, manufactures, furniture, military machines, telescopes, globes, planetariums, clocks, and a Herschel reflector are all offered as manifestations of British artistic and scientific invention and cultural greatness, designed to impress the Chinese, and to vindicate enlightenment principles of philosophical, scientific and commercial exploration. In addition, however, I demonstrate that Macartney articulates, and seeks to elicit for the emperor's appreciation, a cosmological framework within which to accept the gifts. This cosmological framework, in the words of the eighteenth-century cosmographer Benjamin Martin, measures the relationship between human time and the

cosmos, and is articulated by Macartney through his manipulation of various astronomical instruments. He constructs an atemporal, mythic world within which the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of China could join together in harmony. As Macartney writes to the emperor: "As the study of astronomy is not only essentially useful towards the perfection of Geography and navigation, but from the greatness of the objects to which it relates, it elevates the mind and thus is worthy of the contemplation of Sovereignty." This cosmology, I argue, has two functions for Macartney – it seeks to respond imaginatively and sympathetically to Qing mythological thought (in ways hitherto unappreciated); and it thereby seeks to influence Chinese commercial decisions. To regard Macartney's efforts in the area of gift-exchange simply as a failure, is itself a failure of historical imagination. The manuscripts I discuss reveal an impressive cultural and scientific sophistication on the part of the British that lends depth and substance to their encounter with the Chinese in 1792-94. My discussion also brings to light the richness of two little-known archives at Cornell and in Tokyo, neither of which have (yet) been digitalized. Brief bibliography Clingham, Greg. "Cultural Difference in George Macartney's An Embassy to China, 1792-94," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39:1 (2015). Hevia, James L. *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). Jenkins, Eugenia Zuroski. *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Klekar, Cynthia. "'Prisoner's in Silken Bonds': Obligation, Trade, and Diplomacy in English Voyages to Japan and China," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 6:1 (2006): 84-105. Macartney, Sir James. *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1793-1794*, ed. with introduction and notes by J.L. Cranmer-Byng (London: Longmans, 1962). Martin, Benjamin. *Philosophia Britannica* (London, 1747). Mosca, Matthew. "The Qing State and its Awareness of Eurasian Interconnections, 1789-1806," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 47 (2014): 103-16. Porter, David. *Iconographia: The Chinese Cypher in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). Yang, Chi-Ming. *Performing China: Virtue, Commerce, and Orientalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

Mikeshin, Mikhail: *Britain and Russia: The Transfer of Ideas Brotherly Supervised*

Material, technology and knowledge transfer between Britain and Russia during the Enlightenment was possible, roughly, in two ways: the indirect way, that is via France, German states, and other countries, and the direct way. The last one was strictly supervised and expertly managed, especially in 1785-1805, when two Woronzow brothers controlled both ends of the chain. While the elder brother Alexander was a kind of Catherine the Great's minister of trade, the younger brother Simon was Catherine's ambassador at the court of St. James's. Count Simon's 'junta' at the embassy was small but very effective. Receiving both official and private orders from Russia, the members of the group actively scanned Britain to find luxury articles, paintings, marbles, machines, navy officers, managers, stewards, physicians, harnesses, coaches, horses, guns, etc. All these things and persons were valued for their origin and ideas they contained, however, there were a lot of special missions of the group aimed at ideas. Excursions across the country were organised for mining engineers, mechanics, nobles who came from Russia. Those interested visited the most advanced factories and mills in Soho and Scotland. To implement all this, the ambassador and his staff established and carefully kept personal relations with British ministers and secretaries, MPs, leaders of opposition, entrepreneurs, bankers, scientists. Watching carefully the situation and trends in the sphere of political, organisational, technological, artistic and scientific ideas, the count and his men collected the information and sent it in thousands of letters to Russia. Letters were sometimes accompanied by new books just from print, like, for instance, Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations'. Thus, the flow of ideas from Britain to Russia, in a great variety of forms and containers, supported by the flow of raw materials coming from Russia, was thoroughly controlled and purposefully organised.

Nguyen, Yen-Hoang: *Science and Technology Exchange between China and Vietnam and its Effects on Vietnam Economy in 18th century: focus on Vietnamese envoys*

Science and technology exchange between China and Vietnam, one of the most important cultural exchanges between the two countries, in which the envoys play a very significant role, has great effects on Vietnam economy. But there are few research conducted in this topic so far. Hence, in this paper, we will focus on Vietnamese envoys dispatched to China in 18th century, who contributed to science and technology exchange between the two countries with in-depth analysis of how and why they brought these technology back home and how they influenced Vietnamese technology and economy. The result shows that, with the help of these envoys, the science and technology exchange between China and Vietnam in 18th century included typography, medicine, textile, ceramics technology etc., and they made great contribution to the formation and development of Vietnam technology and related industries in 18th century.

Ibneyeva, Guzel: *Catherine II and Zh.F.Marmontel's novel "Belisarius": Ideology of Enlightenment in the public education*

The political practice of Catherine II promoted the introduction of the concept "general welfare" into the consciousness of people. It was one of the components of public consent, and therefore civil peace. Public consent, sense of solidarity were necessary to resolve the problems of the social, cultural construction set by the Empress. Catherine tried to find ways to communicate with the Russian society, not only by explaining people the basic aims and intentions of her government, but by public education, which was being realized in her political practice. The aim of this paper is to show with what ideas of enlightened absolutism reflected in Marmontel's novel "Belisarius", the empress Catherine II wished to acquaint the Russian society.

This paper discusses following aspects:

1. Aspects of theory of "general welfare" in the political conception of Catherine II.
2. The perception of Ideology Enlightenment in the novel of Zh.F.Marmontel "Belisarius" by Catherine II is shown in this paper.
3. Special attention will be paid to organization of the translation of Zh.F.Marmontel's novel "Belisarius" by Catherine II.
4. History of dedication of translation of the novel "Belisarius" to Archbishop Gabriel.
5. Publication of the novel "Belisarius" and Russian society.

The translation of "Belisarius" by Catherine II and her courtiers showed her desire to demonstrate compassion of her ideas to aspirations of her intentions. The ideas of tolerance, equality of all estates before the law, the ideology of the "legitimate monarchy", preached in this book, was acknowledged by Catherine as important and valuable for population of the Russian Empire. That gesture made it possible to broadcast the ideology of enlightened absolutism on the population of the Russian Empire. The government was ready to carry out public education by introducing virtuous ideas in the minds of people.

S111(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)

Economic Knowledge in Encyclopedic Compilations of the 18th Century - Structures and Translations/ Le Savoir Économique Dans Les Compilations Encyclopédiques Du XVIIIe Siècle - Structures Et Traductions (I)

***Panel of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts**

Organizer / Chair: Hanco Jürgens, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen: *Le Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce (1723) de Savary Des Bruslons comme modèle d'une encyclopédie économique au Siècle des Lumières - structure, transformations, transferts*

Cette conférence analysera le plus important dictionnaire économique du XVIIIe siècle européen, le Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce (1723) des frères Savary des Bruslons et de leur successeurs, une œuvre qui s'est avérée d'une importance fondamentale pour la systématisation et la diffusion du savoir économique, non seulement en France mais aussi dans l'ensemble de l'espace européen des Lumières, sous un triple angle :

Premièrement en éclairant la place centrale de ce dictionnaire dans l'histoire de l'expansion économique au XVIIIe siècle, notamment du commerce international, outre-mer et vers les colonies, et dans le mouvement de différenciation considérable que connurent les savoirs économiques pendant cette période, une différenciation qui se reflète dans la multiplication rapide des imprimés économiques et dans l'apparition de manuels et de dictionnaires économiques de référence parallèlement dans tous les grands pays européens ;

Deuxièmement en étudiant l'histoire éditoriale du Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce qui connut de nombreuses éditions en quatre versions différentes entre 1723 et 1765 ainsi que de nombreuses traductions, en anglais, en italien, en allemand et en russe, dont certaines constituaient des adaptations qui furent à la base de nouvelles traditions de dictionnaires nationaux ;

Troisièmement en élargissant l'analyse avec le corpus des dictionnaires de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et du tournant du XIXe siècle qui prirent le relais du Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce à partir des années 1770, comme le Dictionnaire universel de la géographie commerçante (4 vols. 1798-99) de Jacques Peuchet dans la conception duquel l'Abbé Morellet joua un rôle essentiel.

Jürgens, Hanco: *Translations and circulations of economic knowledge of India in European encyclopedias*

In his 'General heads for a natural history of a country', Robert Boyle advised authors to take into account the country's longitude and latitude, the air, the water, the earth, its inhabitants and its productions, such as the arts and industries to improve agriculture and mining. Boyle considered these insights as "highly conducive to the improvement of true philosophy, and the welfare of mankind". European travelers who visited India were expected to write about the country in an encyclopedic way. Boyle's directions could have served as a guideline. However, in the European encyclopedia's, the history of India was often better represented than its present-day economy. In my paper, I will discuss the economic knowledge of India in encyclopedias by contextualizing the various ways of knowing of European travelers in India, and discussing the various transmissions of their knowledge in European encyclopedias. In Johann Heinrich Zedler's Universal-Lexicon, the economic knowledge of India was found scattered in a wide variety of entries on specific Indian products, towns or regions. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Europeans hoped to gain more knowledge of India by promoting the reading of old Indian texts. Travelers were advised to get in touch with the learned Brahmins in order to study the Indian habits and customs as well as the country's plant and animal kingdoms. The exchange of information about the natural history of India was promoted for reasons of knowledge as well as economy. Around 1800, large parts of India were

colonized by the British East India Company. The nineteenth century encyclopedia's focused mainly on India's famous history, instead of its topical economic significance.

Baggerman, Arianne: *Blussé's Complete Description of Trades and Occupations*

In this paper I will analyze the encyclopedia which was announced in 1786 by the Dutch publisher Pieter Blussé, a 24 volume series with the title Complete description of all the arts, trades, crafts, factories, markets and their workplaces, tools etc. Taken in part from the most renowned foreign works: with a supplement on the theory and practice of the finest domestic artists and artisans. Blussé kept the promise expressed in his prospectus, but it took him 32 years to finish the project. It was one of his most expensive undertakings and it is still unique in the annals of Dutch publishing. The production of this work is also of interest from an international perspective. Examples were already in existence, the famous Encyclopedie of Diderot published in 28 volumes between 1751 and 1772. However, a much more important source of inspiration - and as it turned out also of information- was another encyclopedic book series published in French, titled Descriptions des arts et metiers by De Reaumur and Du Monceau, published around the same time as Diderot's Encyclopedie. The Reaumur-Monceau series consisted of more than 100 volumes about the technical aspects of a broad scala of trades and industries. In this paper I will sketch a profile of the buyers of Blusse's encyclopedia based on a list of subscribers. I will also look at the production of the volumes, the recruiting authors and illustrators, the decision which trades were chosen with the Dutch economy as a determining factor, the function of dedications added to separate volumes. Finally, we will look at what Pieter Blussé wrote about this project in his autobiography, where he listed this encyclopedia among the five most important of the 1400 books he and his father had published.

S111(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)

Economic Knowledge in Encyclopedic Compilations of the 18th Century - Structures and Translations/ Le Savoir Économique Dans Les Compilations Encyclopédiques Du XVIIIe Siècle - Structures Et Traductions (II)

***Panel of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts**

Organizer / Chair: Hanco Jürgens, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

Donato, Clorinda: "Promoting Commerce, Trade and the Maritime Prowess of the Venetian Republic in the Encyclopédie méthodique de Padoue (1784 - 1817)"

This paper will discuss the ambitious project to publish an edition of the Encyclopédie méthodique in the Republic of Venice. Between 1784 and 1817 the Seminario di Padova, one of the most long-standing and important publishing houses in the Veneto, produced an Italian edition of the French Encyclopédie méthodique. Under the direction of Giovanni Coi, the monumental work known as the Encyclopedie methodique de Padoue sought to provide Italy and Europe with a compilation to rival that of Encyclopédie méthodique publisher Charles-Joseph Panckoucke. Controversial for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the decision to publish in French rather than Italian, (from the correspondence between Coi and the editorial board, it is clear that this was an extremely contentious issue), Coi's correspondence reveals from the very beginning that a complete revision of the geographical and historical articles of the Encyclopédie méthodique was sought. In other articles I have discussed the rebranding of geographical and historical knowledge. In this paper, I will emphasize the economic information transmitted in these articles in the interest of promoting the commerce of the Republic of Venice at a critical time in its history.

Greilich, Suzanne: *Savoir économique et l'Espagne des Lumières*

L'article se propose d'analyser les transferts de connaissances économiques sur le Nouveau Monde entre la France et l'Espagne dans la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle. Sur le fond de la politique réformatrice bourbonienne et de l'établissement du Comercio libre en Espagne en 1777, ces transferts prennent une nouvelle dimension. Tandis que Charles III et son "ministre des Indes" José de Gálvez, afin de rendre utiles à la couronne les immenses conquêtes en Amérique du Sud, laissent s'inspirer par les propositions et les informations données dans la littérature économique française, les philosophes français commentent dans leurs écrits les mesures entreprises par la couronne espagnole pour rendre les colonies plus profitables. L'article analysera l'écho que trouvèrent ces processus dans les encyclopédies et les compilations économiques et philosophiques de l'époque. L'accent sera mis sur les entreprises espagnoles de traduire des publications françaises importantes dans ce contexte, tels l'Encyclopédie méthodique (traduite sous le nom de Encyclopedía metódica par Antonio de Sancha) et l'Histoire des deux Indes (traduite sous le nom de Historia política de los establecimientos ultramarinos de las naciones europeas par le duc d'Almodóvar) et de les adapter selon leurs propres besoins nationaux.

D'Aprile, Iwan-Michelangelo: *Transfer of Economic Knowledge in German Encyclopaediae: From Krünitz to Brockhaus*

Through the example of translations of Economic treatises, press articles, and statistic data the transfer of economic knowledge in two German Encyclopaediae (Krünitz and Brockhaus) is discussed

S112 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)

Pensée Clandestine et Commerce de Livres

Organisatrice/Président: Maria Susana Seguin

Muceni, Elena: *John (Jean) Nourse : un masque anglais au service de la littérature clandestine française.*

L'indication à Londres, «chez Jean Nourse » paraît sur un nombre considérable de publications éditées entre 1739 et 1793, parmi lesquelles se trouvent plusieurs textes plus ou moins connus (on peut citer par exemple la deuxième édition française de la Fable des abeilles de Mandeville) au contenu scandaleux pour la sensibilité commune. Le cas des impressions attribuées à Jean Nourse est d'autant plus intéressant que l'idéation de cette présumée maison d'édition anglaise, résulte de l'usurpation partielle de l'identité d'un vrai libraire, contemporain, de Londres, John Nourse (1705-1780), actif à partir des années 1730, et spécialisé dans l'édition de textes anglais de nature scientifique ; mais qui entrepris aussi des éditions ou rééditions des livres d'auteurs français comme Montesquieu, Maupertuis, ou Voltaire. Nous nous proposons d'étudier plus en détail ce cas, à partir de l'identification des ouvrages produits à travers cette stratégie et en essayant de découvrir quels réseaux (non seulement en France mais aussi certainement aux Pays-Bas) ont eu recours à cette identité fictive d'imprimeur pour commercialiser leurs publications

Kahan, Michèle: *Les acheminements éditoriaux d'un journal clandestin vus par un chroniqueur de la Régence*

Dans ses Chroniques de la Régence et du règne de Louis XV (1718-1763), Edmond Jean-François Barbier parle avec détails sur les moyens de diffusion et les sources de financement du journal janséniste clandestin les Nouvelles ecclésiastiques. Réunir et présenter les éléments d'information concernant le commerce et les modes de circulation du périodique interdit tels qui ont été recensés par le diariste permettront de construire une image plus claire de ses acheminements matériels. Il s'agit également de comprendre l'intérêt que porte Barbier à la réalité économique et au fonctionnement pratique du journal clandestin par une lecture attentive des axiologiques dans son discours. L'on pourra ainsi mieux estimer le degré d'admiration du chroniqueur à l'égard d'une aventure éditoriale aussi audacieuse que celle des Nouvelles ecclésiastiques.

Artigas-Menant, Geneviève: *Un usager du commerce clandestin des livres et manuscrits : Thomas Pichon*

Les papiers de Thomas Pichon (Vire 1700 - Jersey 1781) constituent un ensemble exceptionnellement riche de documents sur les rapports de sa génération à la littérature clandestine, manuscrite et imprimée. A partir de son abondante correspondance, de son activité de copiste, de ses catalogues de bibliothèque et des listes de livres qu'il a établies ou recopiées, on essaiera de broser quelques éléments du tableau de la clientèle et de l'activité de ce domaine encore trop mal connu du commerce de la Librairie au XVIIIe siècle .

S113 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Transforming Plantation Cultures

Organizer / Chair: Lisa Broussois

Matos Antonio, Edna Maria: *Enlightened economy Pombal: discourse and practice in the American colonial space*

The second half of the seven hundred in Portugal was the time of implementation of a reform of the Absolutist State inspired by the directives of the illustrated thought, under the administration of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699-1782), the Marquis of Pombal. Creator and performer of a plan and actions to modernize the Portuguese State, its proposals It supported the goal of a mercantilism revitalized to strengthen the economic life of the Kingdom by stimulating agricultural production and trade in the vast Portuguese Empire. The political and economic projects originated in this period were based on new concepts ratified a wide range of philosophical theses on society and political economy, the result of an international context in transformation. Were discussed the principles of the Enlightenment that have spread through Europe with his progress paradigm and reason, the context that influenced the Portuguese bureaucrats for the implementation of reform actions starting from modern concepts of economic policy and role of the state, with the intention of promoting capitalist development and civilization to the Iberian kingdom. Within a broad spectrum of research possibilities that period and allow the question, the investigative proposal presented here intends to conduct a detailed considering the headquarters of European economic thought / Iberian and adaptation / interpretation of the colonial economies and forms of mediation between these theoretical principles and ideas and their application in the colonial reality. For this analysis, we focused on the economic and administrative setting of the northern Portuguese America, specifically the captaincy of Sergipe.

Nedervelt, Ross: *Land Tenure Reform and the Economic Development of the Bahama Islands after the American Revolution*

The American Revolution instigated a dramatic and violent split within Britain's American Empire, and the resulting flight of American Loyalist refugees to the neighboring British colony of the Bahama Islands precipitated a significant socioeconomic transformation. Long-standing land-ownership laws were challenged by the American Revolution and Loyalist diaspora, and their reform spurred the economic transformation of the impoverished Bahamas. Through close analysis of the British Colonial Office documents concerning the Bahamas, it can be demonstrated that the implementation of land reforms after the American Revolution led to the colony's economic growth. The reforming of land tenure and ownership laws freed Bahamian planters and small farms to develop cash crops for commercial exportation, which increased the islands' commercial activities and spurred their economic development to levels not previously experienced. Traditional economic activities like wrecking, timber harvesting, and "turtling" gave way to cotton production and large-scale salt raking. The settlement of the Loyalists on land made available through the land reforms challenged the islands' traditional social, cultural, and political landscape, which was characterized by illicit trading with foreign entities and indifference to British rule. The Loyalists also brought substantial personal wealth and higher standards of living than the long impoverished Bahamians were accustomed to. Consequently, the islands underwent a material and cultural transformation that turned the weathered ramshackle cabins of Nassau into elegant townhouses, and instigated large-scale public works projects across the archipelago that would have been impossible to finance and build prior to the American Revolution. While the American Revolution broke apart Britain's American Empire, it spurred on much needed land tenure reforms and enabled a socioeconomic transformation to occur in the periphery Bahama Islands.

S114 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

Panel Commerce

Organizer / Chair: Inger Leemans

Rubinstein, Elena: *Lord Bolingbroke about British economy after Glorious Revolution in his last work "Some Reflections on the Present State of Nation"*

Lord Bolingbroke about British economy after the Glorious Revolution in his last work "Some Reflections on the Present State of the Nation". In 1720-30 at the beginning of Bolingbroke's political career, he rarely touched upon any aspects of issues related to economy in his writing. Aiming to summarize his own research and meditations in his last work "Some reflections on the present state of the Nation" (1749), he focused on an analysis of socio-economic processes in the contemporary England. According to Bolingbroke, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had resulted in as many important changes in the country's economy as it did in its political reality. He noted that unfortunately the "money" interest was taking over the "land" interest. His perception of the current situation in the country presented a wider perspective and was not limited to socio-economical analysis. According to Bolingbroke, the influence of "money interest" on the government affected not only the "land interest", but also other groups of the society, such as manufacturers. He tried to convince Tory that well-developed trade and manufacturing industries were the only way to economic prosperity of the country. Bolingbroke suggested developing colonies more intensively to provide opportunities to expand both trade and manufacturing as he considered these industries to be optimal markets for suppliers of raw materials as well. He expressed critical opinion about East Indian company that monopolized the market causing the increase in prices. Therefore, Bolingbroke firmly believed that political power must always remain in the hands of "landowners". On the contrary, Bolingbroke observed the prevalence of the interests of "financiers" in contemporary

England. Bolingbroke had a clear understanding of the essence and reasons of social conflicts between the ruling classes of English society of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Valmori, Niccolò: *The rise of a New World: American securities market and European investors at the end of the eighteenth century.*

At the end of the eighteenth century the European financial world was directly affected by the revolutionary wars which were troubling important financial hub as Amsterdam and throwing in a deep distressed position the French economy. This paper aims to understand how this situation in Europe led some British investors to turn their interest towards the American securities market as a safe refuge for their assets. The fall of Amsterdam in the hands of French armies marked the point of no return for British investors who had interest in financial operation on the Continent: new markets had to be found in order to diversify trading activities. In this contest the new born republic of the United States of America seemed to offer new opportunities of investment to European merchant bankers willing to invest in the American securities market. However, the American market was not void of risks and to invest there could be particularly hazardous to European merchants who had no direct knowledge of this new world. Moreover, European investors, such as Dutch bankers and French adventurers, had meet with big failures and promises of big profit had turned to be mere fraudulent schemes. Scholars had focused their attention on famous attempts of speculators in land acquisition such as the Ohio Company or the Holland Land Company. A great land operation brought the young Alexander Baring, son of the eminent banker Sir Francis Baring, to travel to the United States. Once he arrived in America, Alexander Baring started not only to monitor the land operation but he also suggested to his father to invest in the American securities, in particular the different Us bonds issued to finance the American debt. This investment constituted a strategy of spreading the risk in activities safely away from the unraveling state of European markets.

Zabel, Christine: *Tomorrow is Today's Uncertainty: Speculating in Early Modern Europe*

In this paper, I aim to present an intellectual history of the early modern notion of speculation, showing how speculation shifted from a theological-metaphysical concept, which was seen as the counterpart to divine promises in the 16th and early 17th centuries, to a more philosophical understanding of speculation as a type of non-empirical reasoning in the late 17th century. Only in roughly the 1760s did the notion of speculation receive its now more familiar economic connotation. In historicizing the concept of speculation, I also aim to study the practice of dealing with failed speculation (bankruptcy) in the leading European capitals of financial exchange, namely Amsterdam, London and Paris. Exploring the "dark" side of speculation will allow me to address further questions: When, and in which contexts, were bankrupts called "speculators"? What defined a speculator and how did speculators justify their actions in bankruptcy courts? What legal consequences followed from this: Did contemporaries see bankrupt speculators as gamblers, who had taken reckless and immorally high risks? And who or what was made accountable for failure: the speculator who gambled with his/her future, the market, or another external power? Finally, I want to shed light on certain aspects of transatlantic exchange by analyzing particular cases of European immigrant-speculators in the New World. Furthermore, I will aim to show how both the economic as well as the philosophical notion of speculation were deeply connected with questions of temporality, trust/mistrust in future events and the consequences of human interference in the historical process.

Cruz, Miguel: *Making the Empire defensible: international commercial networks and the 18th century Portuguese Atlantic World*

This communication addresses the involvement of commercial networks (national and international) in the military solutions adopted by the Portuguese monarchy to defend its overseas territories. Portugal, one of the weakest early-modern European imperial states and therefore one that more willingly would embrace private initiative in its imperial endeavors, especially in wartime, remains largely overlooked by an academy devoted to the study of connections between business networks and political structures. Few states were so ill-prepared to face, on their own, the overseas challenges of international conflicts. Besides the demographic constraints, the Portuguese Crown did not possess a fleet of warships or transport vessels. Similarly, the country did not have a military industry capable of producing the necessary war materials for the protection of its very rich but also very exposed American and African colonies. The involvement of private merchants in the protection of the Portuguese Empire was therefore essential. Someone (other than the Crown) had to put soldiers in the other side of the Atlantic, and someone had to be hired to acquire artillery in regions (normally in northern Europe) where there were no signs of Portuguese trade and shipping. In fact, for many decades, even the diplomatic relations with countries like Sweden were sporadic at best. However, unlike what happens with other early-modern empires, we know almost nothing about the commercial networks that made the Portuguese Atlantic Empire defensible. We know almost nothing about these trading partners that controlled this big business sector of the Portuguese Atlantic World. This communication, within the conceptual confinements of an Atlantic perspective, seeks to understand how trade intermingled with political structures, searching for signs of kinship amongst politicians and merchants. At the same time, it attempts to scrutinize the composition of these networks and the way they operated in the Portuguese international trade.

S115 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

Panel Diplomacy

Organizer / Chair: Matthijs Lok

Weiss, Alfred and Lobenwein, Elisabeth: « *Le bon dieu nous accorde seulement bientôt la fin de cette malheureuse guerre (31.12.1794)* ». *Prince archbishop count Hieronymus Colloredo and his view of the war of the first coalition*

Count Hieronymus Colloredo, the last prince archbishop of Salzburg (1732–1812; time of reign 1772–1803/1812), was among the most important enlightened clerical as well as secular sovereigns of Europe of his time. With the beginning of the war of the first coalition, however, he had to face on the one hand side the constant danger that his country might be besieged by the French Revolutionary Army and on the other hand side the beginning process of the secularization of the imperial church. From this politically very turbulent time in European history, unique ego-documents of count Hieronymus Colloredo have been preserved. Between 1789 and 1801, prince archbishop Colloredo wrote about 550 private letters to his brother, the imperial vice-chancellor prince Gundakar Colloredo. As both brothers were major and influential political figures of their time, they dedicated a great part of their correspondence to the exchange of topical news. Consequently, the war of the first coalition, its developments, battles, important negotiations and strategic decisions were constantly mentioned in the letters. Via the analysis of the private correspondence one gets an interesting insight into how count Hieronymus Colloredo saw himself as a sovereign and (inter)national political figure and how he surveyed, analysed and interpreted this time of radical change and uproar. Furthermore, the letters reveal Colloredo's European-wide network system as he reported his brother in detail about his informants e. g. from where and from whom he had received specific information.

Minaoglou, Charalampos: *Diplomatic service as a means of education: The Phanariot's case*

The Phanariots, the Greek-orthodox elite of the Ottoman Empire, served the Sultan in two important offices during the period 1669-1821: as diplomats and as semi-autonomous princes of the Danubian Principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. In both services, they took advantage of the contacts with the Europeans to improve their education. During their stay in European capitals as representatives of the Porte, they created a great network of scholarly colleagues, they participated in the intellectual life of the European capitals they visited, read and wrote in the European style supporting enlightened or counter-enlightened ideas, monarchism or republicanism. In order to play their intermediary role and to acquaint themselves with the Enlightenment's ideas, they employed a means of medieval origin, but gave to it a modern function; during the numerous Austro-Russo-Ottoman wars they surrendered themselves on their own will to the enemies of the Porte (Russians and Austrians) cooperating with them and pretending then that they were captured in Bucharest or Iasi, when the Habsburg or Romanov forces invaded Wallachia and Moldavia. Thus, they had the chance to stay as captives (in reality as guests) in Russia and Austria during the war period. In Saint-Petersburg and Vienna as far as it concerns the volunteer captives and London, Paris and occasionally other European capitals for all the Phanariots participating as member of Ottoman embassies, they had the chance to educate themselves and -usually the younger of them- even to attend real courses in the Universities of these capitals. In any case, Phanariots played a major role in the cultural dialogue between Ottoman Empire and Europe transferring ideas in both directions and putting also their personal in-between identity, the Greek-orthodox one.

S116(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre : *Nouvelles Perspectives (I)*

Organisateur/Président: Simon Davies

Robinson, Philip: *Comment rééditer La Vie Et Les Ouvrages De Jean-Jacques Rousseau?*

L'édition critique par M. Souriau de ce qu'il appelle LA VIE ET LES OUVRAGES DE JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU est un travail exemplaire de bien des points de vue. Pour la nouvelle édition des oeuvres complètes de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre chez Garnier, il serait donc absurde de ne pas prendre cette édition de Souriau comme point de départ, c'est-à-dire comme texte de base. Celui-ci laisse pourtant de côté beaucoup de pages rédigées par Bernardin pour la raison plausible qu'elles ne concernent pas directement Rousseau mais sont plutôt des digressions, des réflexions à côté. Dans une édition moderne des oeuvres complètes de Bernardin, il conviendrait dans certain cas de donner de telles digressions, car elles contribuent à représenter ce qu'est la pensée de l'écrivain à une époque intermédiaire entre le Voyage à L'Isle de France et les Études de la nature. Cette intervention au Congrès expliquera ma méthode pour ce faire.

Kapor, Vladimir: *Curiosités, preuves, titres de compétence: l'usage de la flore et la faune mauriciennes dans la prose naturaliste de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*

La critique littéraire a souvent reconnu le caractère « matriciel » du Voyage à l'île de France (1773) au sein de l'œuvre de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. En effet, tout en lui permettant de découvrir sa vocation d'écrivain, le séjour à l'île Maurice, à l'origine de ce récit de voyage, a marqué l'auteur à un tel point qu'on a pu aussi parler de l'« ancrage indienocéanique » (G. Armand) des théories scientifiques exposées dans ses Études de la nature, ainsi que dans son ouvrage inachevé Les Harmonies de la nature, publié de manière posthume. Dans cette communication, nous nous attacherons à suivre l'évolution de la réflexion naturaliste de Bernardin qui, de son propre aveu, « prend le goût » pour l'histoire naturelle à l'île de France, aux côtés de l'intendant Pierre Poivre. Aussi le Voyage à l'île de France dresse-t-il un inventaire des plantes et animaux de l'île qui se veut exhaustif. Dans un premier temps, nous nous pencherons sur la méthode de décrire et de classer la flore et la faune dans cet ouvrage. Notre analyse tracera ensuite la réutilisation de la flore et la faune mauriciennes dans la prose naturaliste ultérieure de l'auteur, notamment dans Les Études de la nature et les Harmonies de la nature. En proposant une typologie des usages variés réservés à telle espèce botanique ou animale au gré de son cheminement à travers l'œuvre de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, nous nous attacherons à formuler quelques observations générales sur la méthode de travail de l'écrivain havrais et sur les rouages de sa logique épistémologique.

Castonguay-Bélanger, Joël: *Poétique du ciel et des planètes dans les Harmonies de la nature de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*

Il s'agira d'étudier les tableaux vivants imaginés par Bernardin de Saint-Pierre pour illustrer les rapports harmoniques et l'ordre providentiel reliant selon lui le monde terrestre et le monde céleste. Sur la base d'une vision de la nature qui lui vaudra une renommée certainement plus grande parmi les théologiens et le grand public que parmi les savants, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre se prête à l'exercice fort étonnant de décrire les paysages et les habitants qui pourraient selon lui se retrouver sur chacune des planètes du système solaire. Affirmant trouver dans l'intuition poétique et le sentiment une vérité beaucoup plus grande que celle mise de l'avant par les froids raisonnements de la science, l'auteur de Paul et Virginie brosse des tableaux pittoresques et empreints d'exotisme des horizons qui s'offriraient à l'homme si celui-ci trouvait le moyen de poser le pied sur d'autres planètes que la sienne. Quel étonnement n'éprouverait-il pas de constater que les paysages de Vénus évoquent à la fois la vallée de la Loire et la végétation qu'on trouve sur les îles des mers du Sud! Ces pages, que Camille Flammarion n'hésitera pas à citer plus tard dans son répertoire de théories imaginaires et "d'astronomies passionnelles", donnent un aperçu de ces nombreux discours cosmologiques produits en marge des institutions officielles et mettant au jour des tensions symptomatiques des transformations culturelles auxquelles ont été confrontés le monde des sciences et celui des lettres au tournant des Lumières. Nous accorderons une attention particulière à la réception offerte à cette vision harmonique - et décalée - des cieux et des astres, vision que les progrès contemporains de l'astronomie semblaient pourtant exclure des théories recevables.

De Santis, Vincenzo: *Trois Drames Méconnus Du Tournant Des Lumières: Notes Sur Le Théâtre De Bernardin De Saint-Pierre*

Dans ses Études de la nature, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre s'intéresse à la fonction moralisante du théâtre : il prône ainsi la mise en scène de personnages aptes à réveiller une « pitié » nouvelle et « patriotique » (1804, t. 3, p. 298) selon le modèle de Shakespeare, génie capable d'« harmoni[er] [...] les genres disparates de Melpomène et de Thalie » (Bibliothèque Armand Salacrou, dossier 36, f. 47). En dépit de ses positions théoriques, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre n'a jamais fait représenter aucun drame. Sa vaste production en comprend néanmoins trois : La Pierre d'Abraham, Empsaël et La Mort de Socrate, dont seulement ce dernier a paru de son vivant. Les trois ouvrages ont en revanche été

publiés comme des « contes » dans les éditions posthumes procurées par son secrétaire Aimé-Martin ; si on étudie les manuscrits autographes, on remarque que l'éditeur a apporté des modifications importantes en éliminant les didascalies, les indications scéniques et en ajoutant des courts passages narratifs. Dans les éditions plus tardives, le véritable statut générique de trois œuvres a partant été oublié.

En m'appuyant sur les manuscrits autographes, je me propose d'analyser ce petit corpus théâtral souvent négligé par la critique. Après avoir reconstruit son histoire éditoriale, je m'intéresserai à l'écriture dramatique de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre : quels sont ses rapports avec le théâtre de son époque ? quelle est la relation de ces trois drames avec la vision plus générale qu'a l'auteur du monde dramatique et de ses fonctions ? y-a-t-il une cohérence entre la morale véhiculée par son théâtre et la « philosophie » de l'auteur ? en ce qui concerne La mort de Socrate, comment a-t-elle été lue par ses contemporains ?

S116(II) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre : Nouvelles Perspectives (II)

Organisateur/Président: Simon Davies

Gigan, Angélique: *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et la question de l'Etat-providence*

J'y analyserai la façon dont l'auteur veut venir à bout de la misère sociale en repensant la redistribution des ressources économiques et en s'appuyant sur ce qu'on appellerait aujourd'hui une éthique du care.

Cook, Malcolm: *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et son Voyage en Normandie*

Dans les premiers mois de 1775, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, de retour en France de son voyage à l'île de France, et suivant la publication du récit de ce voyage en 1773, décide de partir à pied pour rendre visite à sa sœur en Normandie et revoir les lieux qu'il avait connus dans sa jeunesse. Ce texte, manuscrit, n'a jamais été édité intégralement (une partie seulement a vu le jour au 19e siècle, l'épisode qui décrit une visite que fit Bernardin au monastère de la Trappe). Cette communication offre donc une étude d'un écrit de l'auteur qui est quasi inconnu. Au cours de son voyage en Normandie Bernardin nous donne une description détaillée des lieux, des habitants, des conditions de la vie des Normands. Il décrit l'industrie qu'il rencontre et il donne un aperçu d'une révolution qui se prépare, avec des images de révoltes et de contestations. Il est clair qu'il a gardé longtemps ce manuscrit près de lui car certains passages, que nous allons regarder de près, sont utilisés dans les Etudes de la nature qui ne paraîtront qu'en 1784. Il est clair aussi que ce manuscrit est passé entre les mains du premier éditeur des œuvres complètes de l'auteur, Aimé-Martin, car nous trouvons parfois des commentaires dans les marges. Ce qui nous intéresse le plus dans ce texte sont les réflexions que fait l'auteur; nous pouvons suivre une philosophie qui se prépare, sur la religion, sur la nature, sur les gens, sur les villes et la campagne, sur la politique et le rôle de la monarchie. C'est le texte d'un écrivain qui a déjà beaucoup voyagé et qui peut donc revoir sa province natale avec des yeux expérimentés. Nous avons ici un avant-goût de l'œuvre d'un écrivain qui a marqué la fin du 18e siècle.

S117 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Three Visions of Commerce and international Order: Fénelon, Mandeville, and the Ottoman Empire

Organizer / Chair: Ryan Hanley

Pitts, Jennifer: *Oriental Despotism and the legal status of the Ottoman Empire*

In the course of the increasing identification of the law of nations with European public law, the Ottoman Empire played a role of unparalleled importance as the marginal case par excellence of the European international order. Very different constructions were put on the history of European commercial, diplomatic, and treaty relations with the Ottoman Empire as a conception of oriental despotism came, during the eighteenth century, to replace earlier concerns about treaties with infidels as the chief lens through which relations with the Ottoman empire were viewed. What was at stake in these different accounts was not just what relations with the Ottomans would look like, but more fundamentally, how universal European law could claim to be, and on what grounds; the key justifications for the limitation of its application to only some states and societies; when and how the exercise of European states' power could be tempered by law, or at least criticized on legal grounds; and, perhaps, what should be considered the core principles of European law.

Schliesser, Eric: *Mandeville and the Courage of Soldiers.*

In this paper, I argue that in the Fable, Mandeville is interested in promoting worldly greatness. In particular, I claim that he focuses on the management of courage in soldiers. Oddly enough, while there has been quite a bit of scholarship on Mandeville's moral psychological and political views on dueling, I have been unable to find work on his interest in promoting military greatness. (This may be a consequence of the ongoing focus on his interest in economic prosperity.) I will argue that Mandeville develops a Hobbesian insight in ways that lead to a very un-Hobbesian project. In the first part of the paper, I sketch Hobbes's distinction between natural and artificial courage in Leviathan. I'll argue that the Hobbesian sovereign is surprisingly uninterested in promoting courage; the Hobbesian sovereign prefers docility (Leviathan, Chapter 27-8). One might think that soldiers are an exception to this, but when it comes to soldiering, Hobbes's sovereign can only demand ultimate sacrifice of his soldiers when there is a war to prevent imminent destruction of the state (Leviathan, Chapter 21). In the second half of the paper, by focusing on Mandeville's treatment of dueling (Fable, Remark R), I'll first show that Mandeville adopts key features of Hobbesian moral psychology. But unlike Hobbes, Mandeville promotes a useful courage in soldiers. In particular, in order to cultivate a desire among the soldiers to die for the country, he advocates not just strict martial discipline, but he also sees the need for an imperial state propaganda and a civic religion that honors the dead. Finally, in order to reduce the fear of death he advocates a standing army that is battle hardened by ongoing warfare. In conclusion, the significance of my paper is that Mandeville has a fully worked out political moral--psychology not just for commercial life, but also for a mercantile-imperial project. He does so in ways which anticipate many nineteenth century European imperial projects. I believe this previously unacknowledged feature helps explain the grudging, lack of generosity displayed by the anti-imperialist, Adam Smith toward Mandeville.

Hanley, Ryan: *Fénelon and the Birth of Political Economy*

Historians of eighteenth-century ideas have become increasingly interested of late in the origins of classical political economy in Enlightenment thought. Only very recently has a due degree of attention been given to the political thought of Fénelon, who, in the wake of influential work by the late Istvan Hont, is now coming to be rightly regarded as standing at the headwaters of the eighteenth-century luxury debate that has been traditionally thought to begin with Mandeville. My paper seeks to further this line of inquiry by demonstrating the degree to which Fénelon's most influential and central commitments as a political economist emerged directly from his foundational

theological commitments. In particular, my paper will argue that the core concerns of Fénelon's political economy – including mitigation of excessive luxury, avoidance of excessive inequality, and promotion of international peace – each deserve to be seen as the result of his extension of his central theological and ethical concept of “pure love” to the realm of political economy and international affairs. In so doing it will argue that Fénelon's chief aim as an economic thinker was to establish a vision of moderate opulence that could secure the material conditions necessary for the maximum degree of flourishing across social classes: a vision that would serve as a point of departure for thinkers from Mandeville to Adam Smith, and especially anticipates Rousseau's political economy.

S118(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

There Was No Resource But in Commerce': Trade, Exchange and Conversation in Laurence Sterne (I)

Organizer / Chair: Flavio Gregori

De Voogd, Peter: 'Tristram Shandy' and the Levant Company

The paper's starting point is Tristram's introduction of his father, Walter Shandy, in 'Tristram Shandy', volume 1, ch. 4: 'My father, you must know, who was originally a Turkey merchant, but had left off business for some years, in order to retire to, and die upon, his paternal estate in the county of ----' In volume 5, ch. 3, this is picked up again when it is mentioned that Walter, 'whilst he was concerned in the Turkey trade, had been three or four different times in the Levant, in one of which he had staid a whole year and a half at Zant' (i.e. the small island now called Zakyntos and then part of the Venetian state and an important outpost for trade with the near East. Sterne's choice of the Levant Company (rather than the East India Company) is of interest here and its significance in light of the status of the Levant Company at the time has never been discussed in the annotations to Sterne's text. The paper will focus on Sterne's authorial choices, more closely look at Walter's later activities as would-be landowner, and analyse to what extent Walter's commercial career and later aspiration to settle on his “paternal estate” both influence and echo Tristram's actions and misfortunes.

Goring, Paul: Marketing Sterne in the newspapers

Sterne's keen awareness of the commercial workings of the literary marketplace is well known. From 1759, when he began modifying his Rabelaisian and Scriblerian tendencies to produce the eminently marketable 'Tristram Shandy', Sterne was a writer who was in tune to and responsive to the community of people who bought books. He took an active role in the promotion of his works and was aware of the power of the news press as a publicizing agent. The advertising of Sterne's works (and of Sterneana) in the newspapers has already attracted the attention of scholars, but we have yet fully to exploit the research opportunities opened up by the relatively recent mass digitization of eighteenth-century newspapers. This paper will present the results of a digitally conducted survey of advertising of Sterne's works (and selected Sterneana) in eighteenth-century newspapers, both metropolitan and provincial. The aim is to map the reach of the advertising 'campaigns' surrounding Sterne's works, and to explore the interaction of different agents (printers, booksellers, newspaper workers) in the business of literary advertising.

Williams, Helen: Typographic Trading: Advertising Tristram Shandy in the York and London Papers

The title-page of 'Tristram Shandy' is renowned for concealing the novel's provincial origins. However, advertisements in the 'York Courant' and 'Morning Chronicle' newspapers proudly marketed the volumes as being printed in York. This paper draws upon newly uncovered newspapers to argue that in printing his volumes at Ann Ward's shop at the sign of the 'Bible in Stone-gate' Sterne was not only, as is commonly held, able to exert control over the visual appearance of his novel but he was also working in a mutually-beneficial artistic collaboration with its skilled

proprietor. Kenneth Monkman has suggested that despite York's absence on the foot of the title-page Ward benefitted from 'gossip' divulging her role in the production of *Tristram Shandy*. This paper demonstrates that she also promoted her own typographic contribution through strategically designed advertisements in the *York Courant*. The widow of printer Caesar Ward, Ann went on with the business, including printing the 'York Courant', from his death in 1759 until 1789. During this time she acquired the reputation of 'master-typographer'. This paper compares the marketing of 'Tristram Shandy' in the 'York Courant' to its London counterparts, demonstrating that creative typography featured prominently in the earliest provincial marketing campaign to advertise not only the stylish finesse of Sterne's volumes but also the expertise of Ward and her print shop. Ward's advertisements function as pieces of master-typography in themselves, showcasing the mixed founts and luxurious use of white space which could be found within a text printed at York. London's Public Advertiser, by comparison, relied on luring potential buyers of later editions by name-dropping Hogarth and Reynolds. As a history of the newspaper marketing of 'Tristram Shandy', this paper shows that trading Tristram was, in the early days, a feat of typographic artistry much like the product it proposed to sell.

Dal Santo, Regina Maria: *An Economic Pastiche: Riches, Commerce, and the Sermons of Mr. Yorick*

Sterne's life was also characterized by a series of commercial enterprises which led him to both economic disaster and success. The publication of some of his sermons in May 1760 was occasioned by economic interest, as well as by the firm belief that the sermons could suit the taste of the public. A second edition was required in July the same year, and Sterne was paid the huge sum of £200 for their publication. This paper aims at investigating the meaning, both denotative and connotative, that wealth and commerce acquire in Sterne's Sermons. The idea of maintaining, donating and abusing wealth is at the base of his charity sermons, in which the sin of covetousness is opposed to the pleasures of donating and being charitable to fellow creatures. Riches are also destined to chance, and Sterne is eager to warn his congregation of the easiness with which they could find themselves destitute of all they own. The idea is, for example, at the base of Sermon 17, 'The case of Hezekiah and the Messengers', that Sterne preached in Paris before the Earl of Hertford, the English ambassador. 'Commerce' also acquires a new definition in Sterne's sermons, as the word takes on an otherworldly dimension, describing the relationship of the human soul with God. However, the terms on which this relationship is grounded are drawn from the economic field, as in the case of the references to the 'tangible' interest that men might gain from proper attendance to divine dictates.

S118(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

There Was No Resource But in Commerce': Trade, Exchange and Conversation in Laurence Sterne (II)

Organizer / Chair: Flavio Gregori, Peter de Voogd

Walsh, Marcus: *Conversations with the past: Laurence Sterne and forms of knowledge*

This paper will address Laurence Sterne's fascination with, and some of his satiric exploitations of, the exchange, transmission and use of knowledge. It has been well known, since the publication of Douglas Jefferson's seminal essay on 'Tristram Shandy and the Tradition of Learned Wit' (1951), that Sterne was much influenced by late medieval and renaissance exercises in learned satire. It is well understood too that in many ways Sterne thought of himself as a belated Scriblerian. I shall consider in this paper Sterne's ongoing conversation, in the 'Rabelaisian Fragment' and 'Political Romance', as well as in *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*, with Renaissance and Scriblerian authors, especially Rabelais, Burton, and Swift, on the subject of the transmission, formulation and uses of knowledge, both serious and satirical. My focus here will be on Sterne's discussion of the forms, presentation, transmission and ownership of knowledge. The paper will build, with a new reference

to Sterne, on work by Walter Ong, Anthony Grafton and others. Sterne is intrigued by the processes of the intellectual manufacture of knowledge, in the imagined scholarship of Slawkenbergius and others; by the ways knowledge may be borrowed, or stolen, in the sermon-writing of nimming Homenas, and in his own acknowledged and unacknowledged citations and quotations; by the ways in which knowledge may be physically possessed, and quasi-erotically enjoyed; and by the ways in which it may be transmitted from, and to, others, both orally and on paper. Sterne is interested in the physical nature of the vessel in which knowledge is communicated, from torn off fragment to thorough-stitch'd volumes. He is fascinated by the different ways in which knowledge might be structured, in ordered cyclopaedias, and institutes; in narratives; and in fragments. He is interested too in the lives of such vessels, passed from hand to hand by accident or maintained for one hand's use, on a handy shelf.

Newbould, Mary: *The Interests Involved in Sterneana*

The commercial and popular success of Laurence Sterne's novels during his life-time is evident from the rapid sale of *Tristram Shandy's* initial instalments – its later volumes fared less well – and from the critical and readerly acclaim which met *A Sentimental Journey's* appearance. The author's personal celebrity added a further facet to the marketing and sale of his work, which continued to develop after his death. The considerable industry surrounding the production of *Sterneana* provides an alternative, sometimes surprising complement to this evidence. From the outset Sterne's works were parodied and imitated by those who admired or sought to mock facetiously the quirky narrative techniques or visual features found in *Tristram Shandy*. Imaginative responses to *A Sentimental Journey* took a different shade, with some readers sincerely adopting, others comically recycling the typical traits of sentimental fiction that Sterne nevertheless decoys for his fiction's ironic ends. The fashion for Sterne-related productions took a fresh turn following the author's death in 1768: editions of his correspondence, anthologies extracting the most famous passages from his work, and biographical accounts sought to market anew the image of Sterne and his work. This paper will explore the vogue for *Sterneana* as a significant aspect of the commercial dimension of Sterne's publications and of his authorial persona. The financial possibilities of producing spin-off texts, or those which excite a connection with a popular work and its creator, are clear; as one critic has noted, the publisher George Kearsley was a 'skilled adventurer in the vogue for *Sterneana*', who exploited its money-making potential with a variety of publishing projects. Kearsley was just one among many similarly minded booksellers. *Sterneana*, indeed, took many varied forms: texts, drama, poetry, song, and visual and material culture all display evidence of a continuing interest in Sterne in which numerous writers, artists, manufacturers and booksellers sought to capitalise on the fame, or notoriety, of man and work. This paper will ask how far 'Sterne' was actually marketable in this way, and the significant impact that late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century *Sterneana*, as both aesthetic and commercial industry, exerted on the subsequent reception of his work.

Gregori, Flavio: *Sterne's balance of learned and sentimental commerce*

Discourses on commerce and trading have an important function in Sterne's works. In '*A Sentimental Journey*' (in the 'Preface – In the Désobligeant') the narrator, Yorick, speaks of "the balance of sentimental commerce" that is seldom favourable to the "expatriated adventurer: he must buy what he has little occasion for, at their own price — his conversation will seldom be taken in exchange for theirs without a large discount — and this, by the bye, eternally driving him into the hands of more equitable brokers, for such conversation as he can find, it requires no great spirit of divination to guess at his part." Elsewhere, Yorick comments on the "want of knowledge in this branch of commerce" men betray when they speak of love only by considering its more sentimental side, by using words rather than by actively love making. In the chapter entitled '*Rennes – The Sword*', he narrates the story of the destitute Marquis d'E**** who has "no resource but commerce" to redress the economy of his house: he leaves the country for Martinica, where "in about nineteen or twenty years successful application to business" he recovers his fortunes and is able to reclaim his nobility in

France. Mention of commerce and financing can be found in 'Tristram Shandy' too, in which Tristram's father, Walter Shandy, was a merchant in the Levant Company before retiring in London and then in his estate at Shandy Hall. Walter expounds his ideas on commerce in book 2 ch. 14 of 'Tristram Shandy', thus widening the novel's learned treatment of social sciences to various theories on luxury and on the production and consumption of commodities. The paper will discuss those and other references to commerce in Sterne's works, as well as the more metaphorical uses of commerce as interpersonal exchange, thus involving ideas, sentiments, opinions; with reference to eighteenth-century debates about the role of trading and financing as 'rational' (and also 'irrational') intermediary between producers and consumers.

S119 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Classifying Bodies: Race, Disease and the Enlightenment

Organizer / Chair: Willemijn Ruberg

Vartija, Devin: *Researching Bodily Difference: Transformations in 'Race Thinking' in the Enlightenment*

Scholars generally agree that the modern racial classificatory system was invented in the long eighteenth century. Many historians take the mid decades of the eighteenth century in particular as a crucial turning point in the racial worldview of European thinkers. In this presentation, I will investigate the practices used by eighteenth-century naturalists to investigate bodily differences. In the early eighteenth century, almost all naturalists relied on the description of various human groups provided in the ever-growing field of travel literature. From around the mid century onwards, however, there was a marked shift to the direct observation, measurement and anatomical investigation of racial subjects. Petrus Camper's invention of the facial angle in the 1770s and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's contemporaneous investigations of skulls, fetuses and other prepared specimens are two prominent examples of the transformation in the production of knowledge concerning racial difference in the late eighteenth century. How did these new research practices inform racial theories? Many historians argue that the anatomisation of bodily differences was part of an attempt to essentialise divisions within humanity in response to growing demands for political equality. By surveying the work of important naturalists who investigated race, I would like to call into question the argument that Enlightenment scientists developed the racial classificatory system as a response to the birth of modern equality.

Verwaal, Ruben: *Blood Ties: The Chemistry of the Body at Dutch Universities, 1700–1775*

Medical historians have thoroughly studied anatomical and physiological studies in the early modern period. By looking at the practices of eighteenth-century medical professors and students, I will address the question how chemical technologies altered ideas about the body. First, I will argue that bodily fluids as subject matter can trace developments of academic chemistry in medicine. Inspired by Jan Baptista van Helmont, Dutch chemists and physicians such as Herman Boerhaave and Jerome Gaub studied their patients' blood, milk and urine. From the early eighteenth century onwards, medical students in Leiden and other Dutch universities increasingly applied chemical methods to bodily fluids to learn what the body consisted of. Second, I will argue that chemical examinations of bodily fluids ignited new ideas and theories about the body. Mechanics had explained the circulation of the blood. The coagulation of blood, by contrast, was a phenomenon that could only be examined chemically. Boerhaave proposed the existence of vital forces, because the process involved qualitative changes in active, living matter. In sum, focussing on new chemical experimentations at Dutch medical faculties will provide a new perspective on eighteenth-century physiology and pathology.

Mc Inerney, Tim: *Noble Paradigms of Human 'Race' in Eighteenth-Century Britain*

The noble paradigm of pureblood superiority is inextricable from early, pre-biological understandings of human 'race' – that is to say, the idea that human groups could be understood above all as linear families, and that one's genealogy and 'breeding' were essential elements in determining one's social and spiritual rank. Yet, how important was this noble 'race paradigm' to the emergence of so-called human variety theories in the eighteenth century? How did this noble system of genealogical hierarchy influence the notable shift within human science from a discourse of observation at the beginning of the century (grouping humans by appearance, location, and custom) to a discourse of lineage toward the end of the century (reframing exotic cultures and physiques as familial attributes, to be understood in terms of pure or impure blood)? How, in short, did the tradition of noble race influence the beginnings of modern race theory in the eighteenth century? This paper considers the nobility of eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland in terms of racialised ideology, and examines how the ideals of human superiority at the heart of noble tradition profoundly shaped the development of early modern systems of human inferiority. It will briefly consider early genealogical histories, such as Maurice Shelton's *True Rise of Nobility* (1718), traditional philosophies of universal order as put forth in Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1734), and the interpretation of continental theorists such as the Comte de Buffon and Carolus Linnaeus by British authors such as Oliver Goldsmith, in his *History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (1774). It will analyse the structural links between noble race and human race, and examine how both can be considered part of a greater sense of racialised hierarchy at this time.

Wagner, Corinna: *Artists, Anatomists, Mapping and Disease.*

Many eighteenth-century British and European artists and anatomists shared a belief that the body's interior structure and its physiological workings were the means of understanding and accurately representing the human. Realism and objectivity, in art and anatomy, became deeply moral pursuits that established 'truths' about human identity. At the same time, both artists and anatomists emphasized the importance of beauty to representations of the body—whether in fine art or medical illustration. The Dutch anatomist, anthropologist and artist Petrus Camper, the English surgeon Charles White, and the Scottish anatomist-artist Charles Bell were collectors of human remains, particularly skulls, from around the world. In their anatomical and anthropological studies, they emphasized accuracy, objectivity and realism. Although they disagreed about some points, these men categorized humans according to racial difference in anatomy, as well as aesthetic definitions. In this presentation, I will show how the act of classifying involved reconciling the universal and the particular. The relationship between bodies could only be understood once they were dissected into their constituent parts and racial differences recorded. At the same time, categorization also required the identification of commonality within racial groups and agreement as to definitions of beauty. I will argue that the processes of particularizing and universalizing, which are intrinsic to the categorizing impulse of Enlightenment scientists and artists, had two effects. First, they gave rise to essentialist interpretations of new anatomical knowledge, which elided individuality and uniqueness, and more significantly, occluded the effects of environmental factors on the development of bodies, intelligence, and character. Secondly, I will argue that this belief in innateness led to a project of medical mapping, which established geographical origins for disease.

S120(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)

Writing Rights 1789 (I)

Organizer / Chair: Keith Michael Baker, Robert Morrissey

Coleman, Nicole: *Three Dimensional Texts: The Role of Design in Reading and Writing History*

The digitization of texts opens up new possibilities for reading. Statistical methods have been adopted by scholars interested in quantity and measurement of the digitized and aggregated mass. But digitization and digital instruments also make it possible to construct new complex objects out of existing historical materials. The careful and critical combining, interlinking, and parsing of a collection of texts produces new multi-faceted objects for study. To unveil the complexities and idiosyncrasies of these digital objects, we need visual and spatial instruments. This paper will provide examples of how the academic discipline of design provides an intellectual complement to traditional humanistic methods in the building of text-objects, the techniques for spatial analysis of them, and the visual expression of historical arguments.

Sweetapple, Kate: *Visualizing Text Creation: Problems and Choices*

Visualization is increasingly prevalent in many fields of research yet if it is to play a significant role in the humanities it must be positioned as both a method of inquiry and a form of argumentation and dissemination. This paper will explain the methodological choices made in our effort to capture visually the complex, contingent and improvised nature of the Declaration's creation. More broadly, it will make the case for a partnership between design and the humanities that could offer means of arriving at a fuller understanding of the situated and constructed nature of philosophical, epistemological, and political claims and convictions.

Lorber-Kasunic, Jacquie: *Visualizing Text Creation: Patterns and Presentation*

This paper will present and explain the visualization that has resulted from our effort to capture the process by which the Declaration of the Rights of Man was written. The aim will be to reveal patterns, rhythms, repetitions, and silences that have emerged in our analysis of the series of draft declarations and assembly debates that produced the final text of this fundamental document.

S120(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)

Writing Rights 1789 (II)

Organizer / Chair: Keith Michael Baker, Robert Morrissey

Baker, Keith Michael: *Improvising a Declaration of Rights*

A central question regarding the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen has been the extent to which it should be understood as a political improvisation responding to specific contextual issues or the expression of a coherent philosophical program. Our hope is that our digital analysis and visualization will clarify this question. In this paper, I will look particularly at the evidence for improvisation in the process by which the Declaration was eventually put together.

Edelstein, Dan: *On the Intellectual Origins of the Declaration of Rights*

While our digital approach to the study of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen reveals the extent to which certain phrases and idea appear to have been selected for inclusion somewhat haphazardly, it also highlights those that were extremely widespread in the drafts, and thus were "overdetermined" for inclusion. In this paper, I will overview these passages, and trace them back to central themes in French Enlightenment thought.

Wright, Kent: *From Improvisation to Theme & Variations: Atlantic Echoes of the Declaration of Right*

If the digital approach helps to clarify the way in which the Declaration of Rights of 1789 was an improvisation on Enlightenment phrases and ideas, it also points to wider conclusions, explored briefly here - the way in which the French Declaration of Rights established a theme whose variations resonated widely through the revolutionary Atlantic world.

S121(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Lectures des Lumières Françaises en Europe de L'Est (I)

Organisatrice/Président: Jean Pierre Schandeler

Schandeler, Jean-Pierre: *Condorcet dans les pays de l'Est*

L'intervention consistera d'abord à analyser la géopolitique des traductions de Condorcet dans les pays de l'Est entre 1936 et 1989. Le propos s'attachera ensuite aux éditions tchèque et hongroise (1968 et 1986).

Schandeler, Jean Pierre: *La réception de N. de Condorcet en Bulgarie*

La réception littéraire des philosophes français de l'époque des Lumières dans un pays sud-est européen, tel que la Bulgarie, commence pendant le siècle du National. Il faut prendre en considération le fait que les deux grandes figures – Voltaire et Rousseau – sont plus ou moins marginaux, mais présents dans la presse bulgare de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. « Le neveu de Rameau » de Diderot paraît dans sa première traduction au début du XXe siècle, tandis que pour la traduction de l'« Esprit humain » de Condorcet il faudra attendre les années 1940. Dans ma contribution je me propose de faire un bref aperçu des traductions bulgares de l'œuvre de Nicolas de Condorcet. Son nom apparaît à côté des noms des autres philosophes des Lumières dans les chrestomathies et les syllabus universitaires des dernières années. en même temps on trouve des commentaires dans les études sur l'histoire des idées modernes faites par des savants et des publicistes bulgares et étrangers. Au niveau des idées on tâchera à définir les motifs du traducteur bulgare D.I. Polyanov (1876-1953) – poète « des ouvriers », éduqué en France et projeter de la lumière sur l'intérêt des éditeurs et des chercheurs des deux dernières décennies pour l'œuvre de Condorcet.

Ondo Grecenkova, Martina: *Competition et concurrence dans la science dans la correspondance éclairée*

Cette présentation s'inscrit dans l'ensemble de mes travaux sur la correspondance éclairée aux XVIIIe siècle, notamment sur celle de Condorcet et Windischgrätz. Je m'attacherai cette-fois aux autres correspondances de Windischgrätz avec les Français, en me concentrant aux questions du succès et de l'échec dans le travail scientifique, et à la problématique de la compétitivité dans le travail des recherches et dans la publication des travaux des recherches.

Tartari, Eriona: *Lectures de la Renaissance albanaise apres la Seconde guerre mondiale*

Après une étude du contexte historique et culturel de la Renaissance albanaise nous proposons voir le changement des lectures de cette littérature qui, pour nourrir une idéologie littéraire, devient un mouvement littéraire « mythique » pendant la période communiste. Nous proposons voir les différents aspects de l'interprétation de cette littérature sous le paradigme des Lumières pendant le régime communiste albanais. Notre réflexion, après une étude sur l'influence ou l'héritage des Lumières à l'origine même de la Renaissance albanaise, se présente comme une analyse de l'usage et du mythe crée autour de cet héritage dans la propagande albanaise et dans l'incessante métamorphose des lectures et des interprétations des Lumières en Albanie. A travers des auteurs et des exemples concrets, cette étude se rend possible grâce à l'analyse des types et des mythes que ces changements d'influences et de lectures imposent dans la littérature idéologique albanaise à l'époque de l'Europe de l'Est: bilan dynamique d'un passé toujours présent, bilan que nous avons jugé utile à reprendre.

S121(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Lectures des Lumières Françaises en Europe de L'Est (2) (II)

Organisatrice/Président: Jean Pierre Schandeler

Mihaila, Ileana: *Les Roumains des Lumières, lecteurs de la littérature de leur siècle vus aujourd'hui*

Le commerce des livres français n'était qu'à ces débuts au XVIIIe siècle dans les Pays Roumains. Même s'ils se trouvaient à l'orée de l'Europe des Lumières, les Roumains se montrent des lecteurs actifs et passionnés, intéressés du mouvement des idées et des textes qui marquent leur époque. Littérature, philosophie, droit, histoire – les livres entrent déjà dans leurs mains et bibliothèques et les font ainsi participer au grand commerce des idées de l'époque. Vite convertis à la francophonie, les lettrés roumains ne se bornent pas seulement à la lecture, ils commencent vite à traduire plus ou moins librement. Certaines traductions sont incorporées à leurs propres ouvrages, d'autres circulent en manuscrit ou même imprimées. Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, Condillac, Fénelon, mais aussi Marmontel ou Louvet de Couvray commencent ainsi ce long chemin de leur célébrité carpato-danubienne qui dure jusqu'à nos jours, grâce à des lettrés parfois anonymes et la plupart des fois oubliés au fil des années. Ce n'est que depuis l'essor des études dix-huitiémistes roumaines du siècle dernier que leur effort d'entrer en consonance avec la culture européenne de leur époque a commencé à être mis à jour. À commencer par les travaux de Pompiliu Eliade, Nicolae Iorga et Dimitrie Popovici, en continuant avec Al. Cioranescu et G. Calinescu, pour arriver de nos jours à Alexandre Dutu et Romul Munteanu et aux éditeurs de ces premières traductions et adaptations de la littérature du XVIIIe siècle réalisées par les Valaques de leur époque, la lecture roumaine des Lumières reste un thème inépuisé pour recherche d'aujourd'hui.

Galleron, Ioana: *Voltaire progressiste en Roumanie*

L'histoire des éditions et de la réception de Voltaire de 1940 à 1989 est marquée à la fois par l'intérêt des autorités pour un auteur phare des Lumières, permettant de justifier le communisme en tant que doctrine politique et sociale dans une perspective historique, et par la méfiance envers le satiriste, le représentant d'une bourgeoisie pour laquelle l'aristocratie constitue le modèle culturel à imiter. Dans cette présentation, il sera question des stratégies des traducteurs/ éditeurs de Voltaire pour faire passer les écrits du patriarche de Ferney dans les préfaces et autres paratextes accompagnant leurs éditions, mais aussi de la négociation plus complexe qui se mène dans l'ouvrage de Dimitrie Almas Voltaire istoric (Voltaire historien). Enfin, sera également posée, brièvement, la question des échos de Voltaire dans la littérature de tiroir/ de témoignage, en regardant plus particulièrement du côté de la prose de I. D. Sarbu.

Kovács, Ilona: *La circulation des idées du libertinage en Hongrie*

Je me propose d'étudier dans le cadre général du sujet la réception des idées éclairées et des courants littéraires dans la réception des Lumières Françaises dans la région de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, plus particulièrement en Hongrie. Sur la base d'une synthèse succincte des diverses influences françaises, je voudrais analyser dans le détail la circulation des idées du libertinage en Europe Centrale.

Polosina, Alla: *Lectures et traductions des œuvres de Rousseau en Russie (de Karamzin à Léon Tolstoï)*

En XVIIIe s. les œuvres de Rousseau ont été traduites à travers le prisme de leurs propres positions politiques. Et sur la particularité de l'image russe de Rousseau on peut juger en partie d'après le répertoire de ses œuvres traduites en Russie. Avant tout il faut indiquer à ses fameux traités philosophiques traduits plusieurs fois à la fin du XVIIIe s. et au début du XIXe s., y compris Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité. À l'égard de Lotman, à cette époque-là les lecteurs russes savaient bien le Contrat social et Émile ont été perçues comme des «œuvres dangereuses». Pour la première fois au XVIIIe s. De l'origine de l'inégalité, a été traduit en 1782, ensuite à Saint Pétersbourg en 1907. Dans les années 1900, le Contrat social a été et publié avec des coupures traduit par Frenkel sous la rédaction et la préface de Djiveleguov. Sur le livre, il est marqué: «Autorisé par la censure. en 1938 à l'Institut de philosophie de l'Académie des sciences d'URSS on a réédité l'édition ci-dessus sans marquer ni le nom du traducteur et ni celui du rédacteur. Il n'est pas exclu qu'à cette époque-là Frenkel et Djiveleguov ont été frappés de sanctions et il était dangereux de laisser leurs noms sur la page de titre. en outre, dans l'édition de 1938. A l'époque soviétique Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes paraît dans la traduction de Khayutine et Alekseev-Popov: Rousseau J.-J. Traités philosophiques (Moscou, les Editions Nauka, 1969) dans la série Monuments littéraires. La réédition de cette traduction du français a été publié à la fin des années 1990. Les plus célèbres interprétations de Rousseau par les écrivains russes.

S122 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Trade Companies & Trade Diplomacy

Drakenlordh, Rikard: *Diplomacy vs. Trade: The Diplomatic Problem of the Free Port Marstrand During the American Revolution 1777.*

This paper proposes to take a fresh look at the conflict between official Swedish diplomacy regarding trade with Great Britain in 1777 and private trade interests. In 1775 the port of Marstrand became a free port by decree of Gustav III. However, article IX in the decree stated that the free port had to follow Swedish laws and regulations. In 1777 an American brigantine arrived at Marstrand under false flag trying to buy gunpowder to be used by the rebels in North America against the British. Selling contraband to rebels was by Swedish law prohibited through article XIII of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce between Great Britain and Sweden, signed at Whitehall on 21 October 1661. British representatives in Gothenburg and Stockholm tried to stop the brigantine from buying contraband by official, diplomatic protests mainly directed to the minister in charge of Swedish trade, finance minister Johan Lagercrantz, and Chancellery President Ulrik Scheffer. In this particular paper I argue that Johan Lagercrantz intentionally delayed orders to impound the American brigantine because of personal interests in free trade. Liljencrantz was also interested in securing a trade treaty with the Americans, should they win the war. Interesting enough, it also seems like the Swedish East India Company might have played some part in trading with the rebels since the company directors were interested in breaking new grounds in America if the rebels won the war. This is most likely the reason why the Swedish finance minister deliberately tried to delay official orders sent to Marstrand

and Gothenburg. He was interested in strengthening the Swedish economy and to help the Swedish East India Company's directors to increase their profits. Thereby, Liljencrantz endangered the diplomatic relations between Sweden and Britain.

Ijäs, Ulla: *Consuls of the Imperial Russia. Negotiation, Knowledge and Social Skills instead of Lex Mercatoria*

In the eighteenth century Vyborg, as well as in other towns in Europe, the consuls were using their knowledge and experience when negotiating with other merchants, solving disputes and clearing out bankruptcies and wrecked ships. In this paper the focus is in Vyborg, a provincial town about 150 kilometres northwest from St. Petersburg. In the eighteenth century, the town was under Russian rule. Merchants did export trade with timber with European countries. Sweden, Denmark, England and Prussia had their consuls in Vyborg. The Prussian consul, J. F. Hackman, was the most prominent among this group. He was born in Bremen to a merchant family and apprenticed in Hamburg before arriving at Vyborg. There he started his own merchant house in 1790. In 1802, he became the Prussian consul in Vyborg. The consul's mission was to promote the trade with the country he was attached to. He collected information, solved problems and negotiated in disputes. He was supposed to be well aware with the conditions in his country, therefore gathering information was his main task. One part of his duties were representative and therefore social skills and outstanding uniform, which was essential especially in Imperial Russia, were necessary. The consul's status gave social prestige, which was highly appreciated in Russia, where the social order was based on the rank system. In this paper I highlight some preliminary ideas about consular services. Knowledge, negotiation skills and social status gained through the consul's status were important when merchant law was underdeveloped. The paper is part of the research project 'The Making of Commercial Law: Common Practices and National Legal Rules from the Early Modern to the Modern Period' (the University of Helsinki, professor Heikki Pihlajamäki).

Ter Brugge, Jeroen: *Commerce under threat; the seizure of the Dutch East India fleet in 1795*

On the 14th of June, 1795, Dutch commerce suffered a tremendous blow. Nine East Indiamen were seized at the sight of St. Helena by the English. They profited from the fact that the Dutch were not aware of the French takeover of the Netherlands, which made them enemies to their former ally. In Plymouth, at Cape of Good Hope and at sea thirteen other East Indiamen were taken as well and only eleven ships returned home safely. Overseas trade in Early Modern history was highly subject to the threats of international politics. War between nations was in many cases especially war at sea, in which not only navies were involved but the commercial fleets as well. Piracy, sanctioned by national governments, encouraged navies and commercial entrepreneurs to seize as much enemy vessels. Not only the national economies severely suffered from this practice but the supplying of the country in some periods was made impossible as a consequence as well. This paper focuses on the seizure at St. Helena, represented in a painting by the English painter Thomas Luny of this event, recently acquired by the Maritime Museum Rotterdam. Using the ship journals, the interrogation reports and sentences by the High Court of Admiralty, the Dutch and English East India Company archives and many other sources the events and also the aftermath can be reconstructed. The capturing had widespread consequences: -Economically, leaving the Dutch East India Company in distress and leading to its practical bankruptcy; -Diplomatic, the Dutch struggle to retain fleet and cargo and the repatriation of the Dutch and French (crew members of the *Récherche* and *l'Espérance*, a scientific expedition on the search of the famous *La Pérouse*) prisoners. -Financial, the lasting procedures to divide the prize amongst the participants in the seizure and corruption as a result.

S123 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)

Postsecular Genealogies of Enlightenment Reason

Organizer / Chair: David Alvarez

Diamond, David: *Reason and Grace in The Pilgrim's Progress*

Confronted by a religious hypocrite in Part I of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Faithful hits upon a question central to Calvinist theology: "How doth the saving Grace of God discover it self, when it is in the Heart of man?" (64). In keeping with his Calvinist orientation, Bunyan insists that outward signs of grace—markers of one's spiritual status or character—are accessible to "him that hath it, or to standers by" (64). But in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he presents the interpretation of such signs as a fraught and uncertain process. The inwardly focused subject traditionally associated with Calvinism gives way to a community of believers engaged in careful, collaborative authentication of claims to saving faith. Attending to the sociality of *The Pilgrim's Progress* also reveals that, in Bunyan's exegesis, Reformed theology demands a coordination of grace and reason usually attributed to more "progressive" (because rational) strains of Protestantism. Historians like Isabel Rivers see Calvinism in all of its iterations as a religion of "feeling" opposed to a religion of "reason," its displacement by Latitudinarian and Anglican Arminian thought as a precondition for the inevitable triumph of a secular rationalism. I argue that within Calvinist thought the mandate to cultivate assurance of one's own and of other people's salvific states begets an uneasy dependence on evidentiary reading and probabilistic reasoning. This paper complicates the familiar historical narrative by reading Bunyan's allegory alongside rather than against the works of Locke, Tillotson, et al. The surprising affinities between them don't make Bunyan a bad Calvinist or a closeted Latitude-man. Rather, they point to a vital but understudied feature of Calvinism itself: its entanglement with ostensibly secular systems of meaning.

Ebenhoch, Markus: *Religion and Enlightenment discourse in Portuguese fictional literature of the 18th century*

Religion was a source of discord in the European and American Enlightenments. On one hand, the 18th century was marked by religious skepticism and critique towards the church while, on the other, the period was also characterized by strong popular religiosity and new piety movements. This paradox existed also in Portugal, where the different positions can be detected, for example, in the public reactions to the Lisbon earthquake (1755). As yet, little research attention has been given to the ways in which debates about the status of religion (in politics, in cultural life, etc.) entered Portuguese and Brazilian fictional literature of the 18th century. Therefore, I would like to answer the following questions in my presentation: In which way do Portuguese and Brazilian authors discuss religious topics in their fictional writings? To which extent can we identify a postsecular genealogy of Enlightenment Reason in literature determined by a strong Catholic context? What are the intentions of these texts? Which literary sub-genres do Portuguese speaking authors use; for example, are typical religious genres such as confessional literature, sermons and aphorisms woven into the texts? Three canonical texts from Brazilian and Portuguese 18th century literature form the main corpus of analysis. Nuno Marques Pereira's "Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América" ("Narrative compendium of the Pilgrim of America", 1728) describes the protagonist's voyage which must be understood as a religious pilgrimage. Teresa Margarida da Silva e Orta's "Aventuras de Diófanos" ("Adventures of Diófanos", 1752) discusses central topics of the Enlightenment such as the question of the absolute monarch, the social role of women, religion, education and slavery. "O Feliz Independente do Mundo e da Fortuna" ("The happy independent from the world and the fortune", 1779) by the Portuguese priest and Enlightenment philosopher Teodoro de Almeida can be categorized as Christian devotional literature. Dr Markus Ebenhoch Department for Romance

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Kraayenbrink, Taylor: *Post-Secular Prophets: New England Puritans and the trans-Atlantic Temporal Configuration of the Public Sphere*

This paper studies the socio-religious imperatives governing the formation of a secular time-consciousness in transatlantic and Puritan-American texts in order to argue against the secularization thesis that posits the Puritan sensibility as the “other” of liberal modernity. The Puritans are in fact an important genealogical part of American secularity; I argue this by examining how John Winthrop and Increase Mather as Puritans collapse sacred time into pure chronological time. Collapsing these previously distinct categories, Winthrop (in “A Model of Christian Charity” and his journals and correspondence) and Mather (in his sermons and public commentary) shape an absolute linear time governed by the telos of worldly religious reform. I compare this Puritan conception of time with Roger Williams’s. Williams is known as the proto-theorist of toleration in an American secular public sphere, but his appeal to the Puritans for religious toleration is based on maintaining the Augustinian distinction between sacred time (the mystery of God’s plan for history) and secular experience that Puritan orthodoxy rejects. This rejection is an important enabling factor for American liberal modernity’s construction of the secular public sphere. A post-secular revision to Puritan-American historiography reconsiders the dominant narrative of Williams as proponent of American secularity in the public sphere over and against orthodox Puritans as its repressive other. I argue that eighteenth-century formations of American secularity adopt the Puritan configuration of purely chronological time-consciousness ordered according to a particular and immanent teleology. The eighteenth century replaces the Puritan organizing principle of absolute and worldly religious reform with Enlightenment goals of spiritual (Jonathan Edwards) and social (Ben Franklin) reform. These new ideals are introduced in terms of an appeal to culturally residual Puritan ideals of reform, and they likewise control the public sphere through a teleological ordering of its linear time.

Starr, George: *Gambling on God: The Wager Before and After Pascal*

Seventeenth Century arguments over the validity of belief largely turn away from a traditional focus on the ontological problem—that is, on finding proofs of the existence of God—to an emphasis on the prudential consequences of believing versus disbelieving, and on calculating the benefits and risks of either choice. The best-known example of an insistence on the necessity of making such a choice, and of the application of worldly thought-processes to the determination of an otherworldly theological question, is the Pascalian wager, which has provoked voluminous commentary by recent philosophers and cultural historians. They have been more concerned, however, with the emergence of probability theory than with the evolution of religious thought and discourse. Yet there was a considerable body of writing in England, both before and after Pascal, that approached the question of belief from a similarly prudential standpoint, and brought to bear arguments and images similarly drawn from gambling and other forms of worldly risk-taking, such as investing, insuring, and mercantile activity in general. Much of this writing took the form of sermons, on such texts as Matthew 16:26, “For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?” Distinguished preachers like Tillotson and philosophers like Locke had no compunction about making—as one recent scholar says of Pascal—“direct appeal to a calculating precautionary self-interest.” Shaftesbury and the Deists were to maintain that a preoccupation with good and bad bargains, gains and losses, exchange and profit, &c. vitiates these efforts. My own concern is not to vindicate the English defenders of faith, but to explore the ways they marshal the language and mentality of lotteries, stock-jobbing, hazard, and gambling of all sorts in the service of religious belief, and thus pursue traditional sacred ends by

modern profane means. My discussion will survey English precursors and contemporaries of Pascal, and will conclude with an account of Daniel Defoe's independent, often-reiterated version of the wager.

S124 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

Marchandes et Financières : L'Économie au Féminin Dans la Fiction et le Discours de Savoir au XVIIIe Siècle

Organisatrice/Président: Florence Magnot-Ogilvy

Goggin, Joyce: *Fortune and Finance au Féminin : Gendering the Market*

Pictured at the far left of Hogarth's famous comic etching commemorating the bursting of the South Sea Bubble is a devil brandishing a scythe in one hand. Frozen in the act of dismembering a naked Fortuna hung from a balustrade by her hair, the devil uses the other hand to toss bits of her mutilated body to an angry mob. Like her cousin Flora, to whom the Dutch began to refer as "the giant garden whore" [de reuze tuin hoer] by the end of the legendary tulip fever that swept the country in the 17th century, Fortuna here pays a much higher price for her ostensible role as the root of all this evil. In this paper I offer a reading of various texts published at or around the time of the South Sea bubble that illuminate women's role in finance at this early juncture in its history. By illustrating my argument with diverse sources such as Susanna Centlivre's "A Woman's Case: In an Epistle to Charles Joye, Esq; Deputy-Governor of the South Sea", Defoe's essays on Lady Credit, and Langendyk's plays on the bubble, my aim is to shed new light on how finance became gendered in ways that continue to exclude women from the trading floor today.

Perras, Jean-Alexandre: « *Industrieux chiffons* » : *Les représentations de la marchande de modes au XVIIIe siècle*

« La mode peut être considérée politiquement et philosophiquement », écrit Jaucourt dans son article Mode de l'Encyclopédie. Si la question des modes, en partie subsidiaire à celle du luxe, est prise au sérieux dans les discours économique et philosophique, il n'en va pas de même pour les principales agentes de leur fabrication et de leur mise en marché : les marchandes de modes. Figures de plus en plus importante à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les marchandes de modes troublent les esprits par l'ambiguïté de leur statut. en quoi consiste exactement leur pratique : s'agit-il uniquement de débiter les modes ou bien de les façonner, de les disposer toujours de façon nouvelle, de les inventer ? Une coiffe ayant passé entre les mains de ces ingénieuses commerçantes acquiert, sans qu'on ne sache trop comment, une valeur nouvelle : tel est le mystère de la mode, que ces femmes semblent maîtriser et orienter à leur guise. Les fluctuants agencements dépendent-ils simplement du caprice, répondent-ils à une folie généralisée, ou bien sont-ils régis par la mise en œuvre d'un véritable talent, d'une « prudence » spécifique et admirable ? Dès lors, la marchande de modes donne lieu à des fantasmes qui se reflètent dans les représentations littéraires, théâtrales et picturales du temps (Mercier, Tableau de Paris, Nougaret, Les jolis péchés d'une marchande de mode, Mme de Genlis, La marchande de modes, comédie en un acte, Boucher, La marchande de modes...) lesquelles ont en même temps contribué à façonner l'importance politique et économique. Cette communication s'intéressera particulièrement aux manières dont le siècle s'est représenté les qualités requises pour réussir dans ce qui deviendra « l'industrie de la mode ».

Wisniewska, Dorota: *Madame Geoffrin - Entrepreneur and Politician (1749 – 1777) / Madame Geoffrin – une entrepreneuse et politicienne (1749 – 1777)*

Marie Thérèse Rodet Geoffrin (1699-1777) became one of the most influential women at her times. Representative of bourgeois – an uneducated widow coming from growing middle class. Her literary salon was the most prominent among those functioning in French capital after Madame Tencin death in 1749. Geoffrin organized regular meetings gathering intellectual elite – artists, philosophers and writers. She established an interesting social network that allowed her to benefit from direct access to producers of arts. What is more, also diplomats and noblemen attended her house on rue Saint Honoré. She exchanged letters with Catherine II, Gustav III and Stanislaw August Poniatowski. In our paper, we would like to highlight a particular complexity of her role as a salonière in enlightenment society. Precisely, we aim to examine her correspondence with Stanislaw Poniatowski (published in XIX century) where we find different indices proving her either economic nor political engagement which remained a characteristic interplay. We will complete our image by reaching for her correspondence with other political figures like minister Choiseul or Catherine II and her private notes (National Archives in Paris). We will emphasize economic transactions that she was involved in, her interests, goals and her strategy of promoting definite goods outside France. We will draw our attention to the objectives of her clients, their motivation in establishing long-term contact with Geoffrin. It will be equally interesting to concentrate on the specific market of thoughts: on political events correspondents wrote about and their opinion regarding the reality they lived in. Finally, we will look for emotional sphere of these written conversations, trying to analyze gender-oriented differences as for perceiving on-going political events and examine their feelings, emotions pointing to the language they use in order to express them.

Bello-Vazquez, Raquel: *Commerce, entrepreneurship and class through the writing of a Portuguese noble woman. Public economy in the work of the Countess of Vimieiro*

In the epistolary writing of the countess of Vimieiro, Teresa de Mello Breyner, many references to domestic economy can be found. Yet more scattered mentions to commerce and entrepreneurship can be found as well. We will analyze in these paper those mentions as sings of a changing doxa (following Pierre Bourdieu's definition) for the noble class in Portugal during last quoter of the 18th century, struggling, by the end of the Ancient Regime, between the traditional vision of aristocracy as a passive class, not allowed to manual work or the pursuit of pro-profit ventures, and a new ethical pattern of behavior pointing to a direct involvement in public policy. We will explore here the connections between three specific examples: the founding of a public enterprise (the dam of Aveiro) by a group of noble people (including the countess and her husband among others in their circle of acquaintances); the reference to the impossibility for starting a cherished navy venture for doing business with the Brazilian colony, and, finally, with the declared constant struggles with the lack of money due to constant loans to the crown. Finally, we will try to connect this particular examples with the evolution of the aristocracy as a social class, and its strategies to survive to its own decline in the context of the emergence in Portugal of a stronger bourgeoisie since the end of the 18th century to the first decades of the 19th century. Noting, at the same time, the countess own perception of her role as a member of the aristocracy and as a woman, combining her political ambitions with the required discretion for a woman's behavior.

S125 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

Glocalization

Organizer / Chair: Sangita Ghodake

Ghodake, Sangita: *Healing The Scars Of Slavery: Reflections In Eighteenth Century Literature*

The main theme of the present paper is the socio-economic, religious and psychosomatic encounters in the literature written about the Slaves and the Oppressed. The paper is an attempt to explore psychosomatic and socio-economic consequences of the forced slave trade of eighteenth century through literature of the sufferers of Africa and America. Eighteenth century has been condemned for the scars and stigma of full-fledged slave trade. The European nations and the American States were the dominant players of the cruel inhuman but commercially motivated slave trade and socially and economically weak populace from the continents like Africa were the tragic sufferers. The present paper is divided into four parts: (i) origins of slavery, (ii) slave trade and its religious implications in Africa and America, and (iii) the survey of the slave narratives with illustrations of healing the scars of slavery and (iv) analysis and investigation of the theme through two selected texts namely Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845) and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Being the African American slave Frederick's biography would help to understand his struggle for survival whereas Stowe's fiction would investigate the point of view of her fictional character Uncle Tom. The paper attempts to elaborate socio-economic and religious interests of the masters and psychosomatic problems of the slaves of the eighteenth century. The concluding part will try to highlight the guiding principle and spiritual path of enlightenment that has shown by the philosophers and social reformers right from the ancient time to the present day.

Alfagali, Crislayne: *The circulation of knowledge in Angola (18th century): the village of Nova Oeiras and its iron factory*

The main goal of this paper is to analyze life and work conditions of the people who lived in the village of Nova Oeiras, especially those who worked with the iron transformation in the Royal Iron Factory of Nova Oeiras. On one hand, the factory installation was part of the Portuguese colonization project in Africa, and it was related to mineralogical and scientific studies that were growing in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the context of Pombal's policies to develop the manufactories. On the other hand, it involved workers from a diverse cultural, social and legal matrix: Europeans, Africans, deportees, prisoners. This research aims to discuss how this mosaic of individuals, which was united by the knowledge about the iron smelting and forging, was related to the most important interests of the colonial and metropolitan authorities. The study of African techniques that were employed in the iron smelting and forging will be used as thread of analysis, since it allows to understand the disputes, conflicts, customs and traditions involving both the Portuguese colonization strategies of domination, and also the forms of resistance articulated by Africans.

S126 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Gendering Plots and Narratives

Organizer / Chair: Dorothee Sturkenboom

Rodriguez, Argentina: *Novels and the politics of the mother-daughter plot*

By the end of the eighteenth century, novels by women about missing mothers and their suffering daughters were very common. I intend to analyze the literary and historical significance of this plot, suggesting that its very predictability marks a growing cultural interest with motherly duty and influence. Many historians argue that the eighteenth century witnessed the idealization of maternity that gave rise to modern motherhood. Literary critics situate the creation of the English novel in the same period. Viewing the prominence of the mother-daughter plot in the context of these concurrent developments, women's novels helped construct modern maternity, generating a literary tradition. Perhaps the single most important effect of feminist literary criticism has been the resurrection of female authors who would have otherwise remained invisible. As Nancy Armstrong in "Desire and Domestic Fiction" (1987) argues, the endorsement of domestic womanhood in women's fiction was instrumental in consolidating the modern middle class. Many women novelists privilege the mother's imprint on her daughter; even when the mother herself is missing. In Frances Burney's first novel "Evelina", the heroine looks so much like her dead mother that she seems to have been stamped by her image. In "A Female Quixote" by Charlotte Lennox, the influence of the dead mother is pivotal to the romantic eccentricities of Arabella. Some prominent details about maternity appear in earlier and now canonical novels by male authors, including Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne. This is not to say that maternal paradigms originated with the "fathers of the novel". But precisely because the male tradition has achieved such critical status, it is instructive to examine its attention to maternal problems. That motherhood provides an occasion for narrative in texts that help classify the genre suggests how important it was to the novel's canonization.

Schoenenberger, Petra: *Gothic Nostalgia and the Gendered Identity of the Criminal*

This paper explores the relationship between the narrative form and ideological content of Aphra Behn's *The History of the Nun; or, the Fair Vow-Breaker*, published in 1688. The final scenes of *The Fair Vow-Breaker* are unforgettable. The protagonist's dead husband is carried into her house. His closed eyes open and look at Isabella. While the people around her comment on the strangeness of this event, Isabella suffers a breakdown. In a Gothic tale, the reader would expect at least one party to be suspicious at this point. But none of the witnesses present at this scene conclude that Isabella may in any way be implicated in her husband's death. The Gothic tale comes to a conclusion, but it offers no closure. Instead, it is taken over by the idea of the criminal's gendered identity. Yet, the story is unthinkable without the moment of recognition. The recognition of guilt is re-cast by the recognition of responsibility which in turn is rendered in terms of a catalogue of virtues. Clearly, the Gothic tale is the dominant form, but it lives on the nostalgia for an earlier, more simple, time. This paper will analyse the tensions between form and content, and it will postulate nostalgia for a particular form as the vehicle of a criticism of ideals.

Passey, Joan: *You Sexy Thing: The Function of Voyeurism in Eighteenth-Century Erotic Object*

Narratives

While it-narratives were commonly circulated in the eighteenth century, and research abounds as to their function and distribution, there is a notable lack of criticism into a sub-group of it-narratives more titillating in tone. Examples of these include *The History and Adventures of a Bedsted* (1784), *The Adventures of a Rambler's Magazine* (1785), and *The Origins of Monsieur Thing* (1722). In asking why these it-narratives are eroticised, or why erotica is it-narrativised, it becomes apparent that the two modes of storytelling frequently employ the same basic tropes. Both erotic and object narratives struggle against eighteenth century restraint, straddling the tension between modernity and traditional values, with object narratives representing consumer indulgence and erotica expressing physical indulgence. As such, both are reliant upon the growing importance of defining and satisfying individual liberty, and the way in which this individualised self strains against a system of politeness and social control. Both, too, play upon sexual difference and changing concepts of femininity. This parallels the sexuality inherent in the marketplace, as the person becomes objectified in the same instant the object becomes personified. Thus, the novelty of it-narrative is the unique perspective of the object, and similarly, the titillation of the erotic narrative derives from the reader being privy to sexual encounters - looking upon something otherwise forbidden or scandalous. The inanimate object is given a privileged position as voyeur to these erotic scenes, and is thus capable of gathering information without being noted or perceived by its owners as doing so. Consequently, I will propose that the erotic object narrative is situated in a tradition of voyeurism in eighteenth century art and literature. The act of secret looking upon a hidden scene is reflective of a culture of emerging privacy, the threat of gossip to social reputation, and the sexuality underlying circulation.

S127 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Violence in the Writings of Rousseau and Diderot

Organizer / Chair: Maria Klimova

Orikata, Nozomi: *Vertu et/ou violence : problème de la virilité et la féminité dans la pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*

Jean-Jacques Rousseau est connu comme un penseur qui a fait l'éloge de la grande vertu patriotique, et de la "virilité" héroïque des Sparciates et des Romains. C'est l'une des raisons pour laquelle il a été ultérieurement "panthéonisé" comme étant l'un des "Pères philosophiques de la Révolution". Paradoxalement, cet écrivain genevois était également celui qui méfiait le plus le danger de la violence patente ou latente de cette même "virilité" héroïque, et rappelait dans ses écrits la valeur de la "féminité" qui en quelque sorte pourrait contrebalancer en adoucissant et en émasculant l'agressivité masculine par l'amour et la tolérance. Cette image qui risque d'être parfois excessivement "stéréotypée" nous aide pourtant à réfléchir aux relations complexes de masculin-féminin dans la pensée de Rousseau. En nous référant et aux grands ouvrages comme la *Nouvelle Héloïse* (la castration symbolique de Saint-Preux en sera l'un des thèmes cruciaux) ou *l'Émile*, et à ceux moins connus mais de même importance comme le *Lévite d'Éphraïm* ou *les Solitaires*, nous tenterons d'examiner la tension ambivalente et significative de la virilité et de la féminité dans la pensée politico-littéraire de Rousseau, et d'en dégager l'effort du genevois à réaliser dans ses écrits une société équilibrée par le règne des qualités de deux sexes. Ce point de vue qui paraît un peu "rêveur" ne peut être rejeté comme chimérique, car malgré ses propres limites philosophiques, il reste bien suggérant et riche d'idées pour considérer le problème de la "vertu" et de la "violence" dans la société actuelle.

Dela Bandera, Mauro: *Between nature and culture: the place of the prohibition of incest in Rousseau's Essay*

The theme of the transition from nature to culture can be found in three of Rousseau's works: the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* and the *Contrat social*. Each one of these texts focuses on different aspects of the issue: in the *Discours*, Rousseau describes in details the state of pure nature, and outlines only briefly the stages of human and social development; in the *Contrat*, the description of the social sphere becomes the philosopher's main focus; while in the *Essai* the passage from one sphere to the other takes a prominent role. The aim of our paper is to discuss the meaning of the prohibition of incest as an interesting interpretative key in order to understand the relation nature-culture in Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues*.

In this work, the philosopher of Geneva describes the brief moment in which man, not belonging anymore to the state of pure nature, yet far from society – neither a natural being nor a social one –, finds himself in the borderline space of difficult determination, at the same time *almost* nature and *almost* society. By referring to this ephemeral instant, the *Essai* states the fundamental question of anthropology: where does nature end, and where does culture begin? In a footnote, Rousseau recalls the moment in which the rule forbidding incest gets affirmed. I will try to show that this prohibition reflects the transition from nature to culture, and marks the beginning of the social processes, since it represents the moment man stops to follow the mere instinct of procreation, and begins to be guided by cultural principles.

McAlpin, Mary: *The Problem of Heterosexual Rape in Diderot's Tahiti*

I propose to speak on sexual violence in Denis Diderot's "Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville" (1772). That Diderot's imaginary island society is highly patriarchal, as many scholars have argued, does not satisfactorily explain away the tacit acceptance of heterosexual rape that I uncover in this "conte moral," as when the Tahitian host Orou explains to his French guest, the Almoner, that in Tahiti "la violence d'un homme serait une faute grave, mais il faut une plainte publique, et c'est presque inouï qu'une fille ou qu'une femme se soit plainte." A yet more revealing textual moment comes when B., one of the reader's extradiegetic French "guides," declares that rape is a false problem in France: "On a consacré la résistance de la femme; on a attaché l'ignominie à la violence de l'homme; violence qui ne serait qu'une injure légère dans Taïti, et qui devient un crime dans nos cités." As Tzvetan Todorov has argued, the New World provided Europeans with an immense territory on which to project anxieties about the effects of the civilizing process on their own culture ("Nous et les autres," 1989). It is in the restrictions placed on sexual autonomy in Diderot's Tahiti that I locate the particular cultural anxiety projected in the "Supplément." The leading medical theorists of the time were convinced that the French population was declining not only in numbers but also in physical and intellectual quality, and they connected this degradation to the status of France as a decadent, late-stage civilization. Hygiene was the proposed answer to this crisis, and in rewriting Bougainville's "Voyage," Diderot imaginatively realized the dream of any French hygiene specialist: a society in which no "false" moral concerns interfere with the pursuit of this goal, including the cultural assumption that rape constitutes, in most cases, an actionable offense.

S128 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)

Tea: Commodity, Knowledge, and Culture Between Britain and China in the Eighteenth Century

Organizer / Chair: Markman Ellis

Mauger, Matthew: *All the Tea in China: Tea's British Marketplaces*

For much of the eighteenth century, tea inhabited two very different marketplaces in Britain. The first, organised in London, directed the way in which tea was imported by its monopoly importer (the East India Company), taxed (via both a customs duty and an excise levy), categorised and evaluated (by professional tea brokers), sold on the wholesale market (within the theatre of the twice-yearly tea auction), and distributed to grocers both in the metropolis and beyond. Understood in terms of this supply chain, tea was an economic good, a source of revenue for the Treasury, an article of profitable international trade, the business of an elite class of London merchants and dealers. In practice, however, the East India Company enjoyed no effective monopoly on tea destined for retail in Britain. For tea, in its alternative regional marketplaces, was understood not as an officially-sanctioned article of national consumption, but rather as something much more clandestine, secretive, disruptive of the attempts of the London-based government (and the licensed tea-dealers) at policing and surveillance. From the mid-1720s to the mid-1780s, tea shipped from China by the East India Company's European rivals, and smuggled onto British shores by countless small ships plying their trade into ports along the long Channel and North Sea coastlines, or across the Irish Sea via the Isle of Man, became – by weight and value – the most significant contraband cargo carried into Britain. Although figures are notoriously difficult to ascertain, even conservative estimates suggested that the volumes landed illicitly on British shores at least matched those shipped by the East India Company through London. This paper will argue that drinking smuggled tea beyond the city's grasp was an act that by its very nature resisted the power both of the state, and of London's merchants, stock-brokers, and financiers. It will contend that tea demarcated a terrain on which the political and financial sovereignty of London confronted the independent desire and will of the country's wider population.

Coulton, Richard: *A Mysterious Exotic: Tea in Discourses of Natural History and Medicine*

This paper locates tea within British discourses of natural philosophy and medicine in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and is interested in exploring the ways in which tea remained curiously resistant to the methods, languages, and expectations of Enlightenment natural philosophy. Scientific attempts to locate and comprehend Asian tea worked with prevailing systems of classification that sought to order the natural world. These efforts were mediated by an engagement with field research in Asia, and a determination to comprehend the utility of global resources and manufactures to maximize commercial efficiency and profit. Three related disciplines of scholarly and professional endeavour were at the confluence of these desires: botany, medicine, and horticulture. Botanists such as James Cuninghame sought encounters with live specimens of the tea-plant, in order to locate its exotic anatomy within prevailing systems of Enlightenment taxonomy. Others, Carl Linnaeus included, struggled to understand that a single species of plant could yield very different dried preparations (black and green tea), and repeatedly divided tea into two distinct species until the end of the century. Physicians (Thomas Short and John Coakley Lettsom among them) experimented with tea's medicinal virtues – in the laboratory, and on their patients – in order to test traditional Asian (and newer European) claims concerning its panacean properties, as well as the range of counter-arguments positing its enervating and emasculating effects. Horticulturists, such as John Ellis and Linnaeus himself, dreamed of growing tea for themselves, of learning the secrets of its cultivation, harvest, and processing – even of inaugurating western tea-plantations that could capitalize on Europe's habit while undercutting Chinese suppliers.

Ellis, Markman: *Scripting the British Way of Tea*

This paper explores the sudden explosion in British discourse on tea in the period 1700-1740, inaugurated by John Ovington's 'Essay on Tea' (1699), which re-packages extant knowledge on tea from Dutch sources and his own research undertaken in Surat, India. In the following decades, tea information derived from field studies by travellers, merchants and missionaries was augmented by speculative British imaginative writing by poets and essayists, who sought both to describe the delicate flavour landscape of tea, and also to develop their own accounts of its origin, qualities, and the sociability it engendered. A series of 'invention' poems by Nahum Tate, Peter Motteux, and others, imagined diverse neo-classical, European myths of origin for tea, imagining tea not as an imported Asian leaf, but as a gift from the Greco-Roman pantheon. This reformulation of tea in a European mythic context encouraged the celebration of distinct British tea consumption behaviours, both in tea preparation, and in the social performance of the tea ceremony. Literary scripting of the British 'way of tea' remediated how tea was consumed in Britain and Europe as a prestigious beverage associated with women, elite culture and polite sociability.

S129 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Selling Old Master Paintings On the European Art Market in the Eighteenth Century

Organizer / Chair: Frans Grijzenhout

Aleksic, Branko: *Giacomo Casanova sur le marché des arts au 18e siècle*

Giacomo Casanova, frère de deux peintres, a entretenu les relations avec plusieurs marchands de l'art en Europe. La recherche des traces de ces liens - correspondance privée de Casanova, contrats et catalogues de vente de l'époque - permettent de cerner la circulation des oeuvres d'art à travers les échanges, achat, etc.

Grijzenhout, Frans: *Selling the Golden Age: the rhetoric of Amsterdam sales catalogues 1760-1780*

At the apogee of activities on the Amsterdam art market, between 1760-1780, Dutch auctioneers had to compete with their colleagues in Paris, London and elsewhere to appraise their lots. This contribution analyses the rhetoric of Amsterdam auction catalogues as compared to those from Paris.

Korthals Altes, Everhard: *Caroline Louise von Baden's Collecting Activities and the Dutch Art Market. The Sale of the Willem Lormier Collection in 1763.*

In a timespan of only 12 years, between 1761 and 1773, Caroline Louise von Baden acquired 57 paintings on the Dutch art market, which constituted a substantial part of her outstanding art collection. She bought 34 paintings at public sales and another 23 directly from dealers and collectors, using an extensive team of agents, informers and advisors in the Republic, with whom she regularly corresponded and from whom she received auction catalogues. Arguably the most important and largest auction of those days was the sale of Willem Lormier's collection (1682-1758), which took place in The Hague on 4 July 1763. At the sale, her agent Treuer purchased six paintings for Caroline Louise for a total price of 1,206.10 Dutch guilders. In my lecture I will focus on this spectacular event in order to investigate the supply of paintings from which Caroline Louise could choose, and to find out who her fiercest competitors were during the auction. Comparison to her rivals' acquisitions will allow us to judge Caroline Louise's acquisition more accurately. Remarkably, some of the buyers at Lormier's auction were selling paintings to Caroline Louise occasionally. Even more remarkable is the fact that a number of competitors belonged to the circle of her informers and advisors in the Republic.

Vermeulen, Ingrid: *Art brokerage and knowledge production. The dealings of Pieter and Jan Yver in Amsterdam with Carl Heinrich von Heineken in Dresden*

Pieter Yver (1712-1787) and his son Jan (1747-1814) were art dealers and brokers in Amsterdam in the second half of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century. Lugt's Répertoire online lists no less than 154 auctions entailing some of the most notorious art collections, such as Braamcamp's. Although the Yvers were dealing in a wide variety of objects ranging from paintings to natural-historical objects, prints held a prominent place within their trade. This is explained not only by Pieter's original training in the printmaker's studio of Bernard Picart, but also by Jan's assembling of an exquisite print collection during his lifetime. Moreover, Pieter was the much-appreciated author of the supplement to Gersaint's seminal catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's prints (1756) which was based on the collection of Pieter Cornelis Baron van Leyden, the later founding collection of the Rijksmuseum Print Room in Amsterdam. In this paper I aim to shed light on the ways in which the international print trade of the Yvers contributed to the production of artistic knowledge, and that about Dutch art in a European context in particular. I will do this by analyzing the as yet unpublished international correspondence of the Yvers with Carl Heinrich von Heineken (1707-1791), which extended from 1768 to 1786. Heineken had been director of the print room of the Saxon rulers in Dresden and had contributed substantially to the acquisitions of their picture gallery. He seems to have initiated lifelong contact with the Yvers when he travelled to the Netherlands in 1768. To him the print trade was instrumental not only in selling and acquiring prints, but largely also in obtaining information about the foremost collectors and artists in the Netherlands. This information was directly processed for his publications on artists, art and print collecting.

S131 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Saint-Lambert : de L'Économie Rurale au Commerce Colonial

Organisateur/Président: Sakurako Inoue

Menant, Sylvain: *Poésie, morale et société: l'idéal économique de Jean-François de Saint-Lambert*

Dans son grand poème des Saisons (1769), récemment réédité, Saint-Lambert développe sur le mode lyrique et sentimental un idéal économique fondé sur le primat d'une agriculture modernisée et la collaboration étroite de l'aristocratie et des paysans. Chemin faisant, il propose des vues novatrices et problématiques sur le commerce national et international, sur les modalités du développement industriel et sur le développement des transports.

Charara, Youmna: *Le poète et le laboureur dans les Saisons de Saint-Lambert*

Dans son poème des Saisons Saint-Lambert met en scène un "je" que l'on est tenté d'identifier à un sujet lyrique séparé, dans une large mesure, de la collectivité, entièrement voué à chanter son amour de la nature. Toutefois il apparaît assez vite que ce "je" est le théâtre d'une tension entre deux figures, le "je" du poète et le "je" du citoyen ; pour l'homme social, la nature n'est plus un objet de contemplation, mais un moyen de subsistance, une source de richesse économique et le l'espace de travail des paysans - classe dans laquelle manifestement le poète ne s'inclut pas. Cette communication a pour but d'analyser la manière dont coexistent les deux voix dans les Saisons. Nous nous demanderons si le poète peut, sans renier la poésie, prendre en charge les problèmes économiques de la cité - et, sans excessive dissonance, mêler à son chant le cri de l'intérêt .

Sjödin, Alfred: *Saint-Lambert en Suède et l'unité du genre "géorgique"*

Le poème descriptif est généralement censé commencer avec les *Seasons* de James Thomson en Angleterre, et avec Jean-François de Saint-Lambert en France. Chez le poète suédois Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, auteur d'un vaste poème encyclopédique sur l'économie rurale, *Skördarne* (les Moissons, en deux versions de 1773 et de 1796), ils sont tous les deux présents en tant que modèles. Pour Oxenstierna, Thomson et Saint-Lambert étaient les deux grands renovateurs de la poésie "géorgique" – une appellation de genre souvent utilisée à l'époque mais rarement définie. On a eu tendance de ne voir en les *Saisons* qu'un imitation du poème anglais, mais les différences de fond aussi bien que de forme ne sont pas pour autant négligeables, et reflètent les conditions sociales, économiques et culturel des deux sociétés. En étudiant le genre géorgique du XVIII^e siècle du point de vue de la réception suédoise, je me propose de discerner les rapports entre idéologie (au sens large de ce mot) et forme littéraire. La Suède, proche à la littérature française aussi bien que anglaise, et où les idées des physiocrates avait un grand résonance sous le règne de Gustave III, est un cas intéressant pour étudier la fortune littéraire de Saint-Lambert dans son siècle et l'usage qu'on a pu faire de son oeuvre.

Inoue, Sakurako: *La pensée économique de Saint-Lambert : de l'article « Luxe » aux Saisons*

L'article « Luxe » rédigé par Jean-François de Saint-Lambert est un des articles d'économie politique les plus importants dans l'Encyclopédie (le tome IX, daté de 1765). Inutile de rappeler que, participant au grand débat qui a traversé le XVIII^e siècle, Saint-Lambert y fait l'apologie du luxe. Pourtant, son poème en quatre chants, *Les Saisons* (publiées en 1769), célèbre la simplicité de la vie champêtre. Ici se pose une question : la cause principale des *Saisons* ne contredit-elle pas la thèse présentée dans l'article de l'Encyclopédie ? Or, les notes qui accompagnent ces quatre chants nous montrent que Saint-Lambert se réfère à divers articles de l'Encyclopédie dans la création des *Saisons*. De plus, dans les pages conclusives de ce poème, il se fait avocat de l'entreprise des éditeurs de l'Encyclopédie qui « ont rendu un service immortel au genre humain ». Cette communication examine les idées de Saint-Lambert sur le luxe présentées dans *Les Saisons* dans l'espoir de dégager les liens entre l'article de l'Encyclopédie et ce poème de la nature.

S132 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)

Polite Circles: Performing Gender in Social and Sexual Practices

Organizer / Chair: Claudette Baar-de Weerd

Clark, Katelyn: *Behind the Venetian Screen: Female Gaze, Male Musicians, and the Downfall of London's Anacreontic Society*

London's Anacreontic Society was a gentleman's musical club, a venue for refined sociability that served as the key point of entry into the city's professional music world from 1766 to 1793. The final decade of the Society meetings provides an inimitable setting for viewing the evolving concept of sociability for the sexes during the Enlightenment, encapsulating the involvement of women in political matters, issues of masculinity in professional artistic practice, and the gender divide in free-market commerce. Exemplified by the presence of the Duchess of Devonshire as an audience member, the contentious admittance of women to the concert portion of the Anacreontic meetings in 1787 demonstrated the shifting public role of women. As McVeigh notes (2012), this included a rare example of female gaze, with the employment of a concert gallery lattice screen for ladies' viewing pleasure, the female audience consequently compared to 'a seraglio of Turkish beauties' in *The Times* (1791). This paper examines the role of women as audience members at the Society events, focusing on controversial ideas of progressive masculinity that supported female involvement, and the divide between professional and semi-professional musicians for both sexes

attending the concert portion of the meetings. Contributing to current research on the Anacreontic Society (Achilleos 2008; Salwey 2004) and eighteenth-century gender and sexuality (Head 2013; Berry 2013), this paper argues that the development of an educated and elite masculinity provided a brief opportunity for English women to participate in public artistic and political events through concert meetings and social alliances. Drawing from contemporary images and reports, the Duchess of Devonshire's involvement with the Society together with her provocative political work will be discussed, with the impact of public attacks in the form of lewd caricatures and critiques of the female gaze considered as contributing factors to the Society's dissolution in 1793.

Ghezal, Hajer: *Le libertinage mondain ou la maîtrise au féminin*

Au XVIII^{ème} siècle, la femme est le pivot de la société polie et plus particulièrement de la vie mondaine. Presque tout le mouvement de cette société est porté vers elle et est centré autour d'elle : rencontres, conversations, dîners, plaisirs, spectacles, fêtes, concerts, bals... Cette forte présence dans l'espace public et ce rôle prépondérant qu'elle joue dans la société lui permettent d'infléchir les mœurs. Cependant, il faut souligner que c'est souvent par la seule loi du désir et du plaisir qu'elle réussit de disposer d'un pouvoir quasi absolu et d'inverser le sens des forces mises en place par la société, plus particulièrement par l'homme, qui visent à son asservissement moral et juridique. En effet, c'est en elle-même que la femme trouve ses instruments de domination. La réflexion, la connaissance de soi et la maîtrise de son propre corps lui permettent de multiplier les ressources et de déployer tout un arsenal particulièrement puissant forgé d'attributs, accessoires et armes typiquement féminins, spécifiquement érotiques. Jeux de dissimulation et de séduction, artifices, ruses, travestissement, stratagèmes, etc. sont des armes très redoutables avec lesquelles la femme peut triompher de l'homme et, par conséquent, le maîtriser. Tout splendide que soit ce triomphe au XVIII^{ème} siècle, il est plutôt transgressif que subversif parce que, loin de renverser les valeurs et les principes du système social, la femme ne fait que les refuser, rejeter tout en les défiant, animée par un goût immodéré pour la provocation.

Jones, Emrys: *'A Man in Love': Sex and Politics in Walpole's Britain*

In the early 1720s, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote 'A Man in Love', a poem gently mocking the adulterous affair being conducted by her friends, Sir Robert Walpole and Maria Skerrett. Though the poem was not published during its author's lifetime or that of its subjects, it nonetheless presents us with an intriguing example of private scandal's currency – or lack of currency – within political discourse in the period. Wortley Montagu offers little sense of the affair as a source of threat to Walpole's high-flying career. Where we might expect there to be a common understanding in eighteenth-century life of the value of scandal and of the continuities between private and public reputation, the light-hearted poem on the contrary points to a literary environment in which such questions were often fraught with ambiguity and uncertainty. This paper will examine Wortley Montagu's work alongside other British texts of the 1720s and 1730s, many of these likewise relating to Walpole's love life, but others focusing on similarly high-profile political figures. I will build on my previous work examining the role of personal friendship in political discourse, asking instead how sex and sexuality were employed within partisan debate and contributed to political celebrity. Ultimately, we might need to refine our ideas of eighteenth-century scandal in order to take account of the full spectrum of responses to privacy and intimacy in public life. By reassessing this subject, we will be better placed to chart how the emerging, factional public spheres of the time either traded on or circumvented concepts of interiority and the private self.

S133 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

Mmf2.0 Meets Fbtee2.0 - integrating Databases of the Novel & the Eighteenth-Century Book Trade

Organizer / Chair: Simon Burrows, Paul Arthur

Burrows, Simon: *From French Book Trade Database to Global Resource - Simon Burrows*

Simon Burrows will discuss the evolution and development plans for the FBTEE databases and the preliminary findings of work currently in progress. He will outline some of the key findings, challenges and methodologies used in the original FBTEE project, which created a unitary database of the book trade of the celebrated Swiss publisher the Societe typographique de Neuchatel and made it available to the scholarly community online. He will also discuss some of the uses made of the database by its 9,000+ users to date. Now regarded as one of the leading and most cutting edge online resources available to historians of the enlightenment, and described by Robert Darnton as a 'prodigious achievement and a joy to use', the original FBTEE database does, however, some significant limitations. The version currently available on line is restricted in scope to the trade a single publishing house whose representative value is open to debate. It also focuses on a single measure of the influence of books - their distribution among an international trade network. As a result, as this paper explains, efforts are now well advanced to expand the ambit of the database to include records covering some 3-4 million copies of the books that circulated in francophone Europe - including bibliographic data on every French novel - drawing data from a rich variety of sources balancing various sectors of the book trade. The paper will also present some preliminary analysis of data from these sources, and their implications for our understanding of the 'literary field' of the enlightenment.

Martin, Angus: *The MMF2 database of Enlightenment French prose fiction, 1699-1800, and its Integration with FBTEE - Angus Martin and Richard Frautschi*

The genesis of the MMF2 database lies in the decision made in the early eighties by Angus Martin, Richard Frautschi and the late Vivienne Mylne to amplify their bibliographic study of Enlightenment French prose fiction, entitled 'Bibliographie du genre romanesque français', 1751-1800, published in 1977. Since then, the authors have transposed into digital form some 2500 titles first printed between 1751 and 1800. At the same time, Martin and Frautschi have extended their focus to French language fiction published from the beginning of the century through 1750, including earlier works that were republished after 1699. The MMF2 material offers bibliographical parameters for first editions and numerous re-editions within the century, as well as brief analyses of content and library locations primarily in Europe and North America. The result is a comprehensive database of well over 4000 first editions. In 2013, having examined each other's databases and run a pilot to compare their bibliographic structures, MMF2 authors, Martin and Frautschi, and the FBTEE team of Burrows, Ensor and Hiribarren were able to establish that, in spite of the very different types of software used in each case, the two databases were structurally compatible and could be merged. The merger offers scholars new opportunities for research in the thematic content and geographic distribution of Enlightenment French prose fiction. Linking MMF2 to the FBTEE bibliometric and mapping technologies will considerably extend the latter's range and create a much clearer map of the production and dissemination of the genre. At the same time, MMF2 authors aim to generate a print version of their work designed as a canonical base to be updated electronically as new hard data are confirmed by an editorial panel.

Ensor, Jason: *Distant Reading, Deep Mapping and Data Landscapes: The Challenge of a Fecund Marriage of Databases ... or How to Do Book History as Digital Humanities.* - Jason Ensor

An aim of the original FBTEE project was to develop a transferable technology capable of facilitating historical bibliometrics spanning not only the enlightenment but also other historical print culture period. Whilst many of the building blocks of that ambition were laid in phase one of the project, considerable conceptual and practical challenges remained unresolved at the publication of the original FBTEE database in 2012. This paper describes and reflects upon the technical and analytical measures taken to augment FBTEE in partnership with multiple stakeholders, following the 2013 transfer of the database from its base at the then Electronic Text Centre at the University of Leeds (United Kingdom) to the Digital Humanities Research Group at the University of Western Sydney (Australia). It demonstrates the step-changes in conceptual thinking about the data gathered in FBTEE and the scholarly challenges linked to merging a number of new datasets, notably MMF2, with an existing highly-structured data landscape. But these challenges are more than offset by the rewards which emerge when, as this paper seeks to demonstrate, it becomes possible to cross-reference multiple forms of bibliometric information. Such findings not only provide new and radically different answers to important existing historical questions, they also open up new questions as well.

S134 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

Sailors and Privateers

Moree, Perry: *To drown without water. Memoirs of an 18th century career making Dutch East India sailor*

Jan Ambrosius Hoorn (Gouda 1741-Kampen 1821) was of humble background when he secretly boarded a Dutch East India ship in 1758. When Hoorn published his memoirs in 1819 he could however look back on a remarkable career in Batavia (where he ended up as assistant judge advocate) and Holland, where he became a banker, after his return from the East. Hoorn's memoirs are full of exaggerations, mistakes and even lies, but what remains is a fascinating story of a young Dutchman taking opportunities that only 18th century Batavia could offer.

Ennis, Daniel: *The Sallee Rovers and British Moral Economy*

My presentation will trace the British characterizations of the activities of the "Sallee Rovers," an eighteenth century Moroccan privateering cartel that captured European merchant vessels and profited through ransoms and the slave trade. This exchange generated a great deal of writing, both in the form of formal diplomatic correspondence and popular "captivity narratives" written by British subjects who escaped Morocco. Of particular interest is the characterization of the Rovers by British writer, which was more nuanced than might be expected. Whereas there were many accounts of the Rovers that labeled them barbaric and bloodthirsty pirates, there was also a tone of commercialism in many depictions, with the capture and ransom of Europeans characterized as a routine part of the mercantile activity of the western Mediterranean. The presence of Moroccan Jews as key interlocutors in the ransom processes also added an element of Christian typology to the discourse, as writers of captivity narratives often read their experience through a Biblical lens.

S135 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Women Reading and Writing History

Organizer / Chair: Dorothee Sturkenboom

Dalton, Susan: *Giustina Renier Michiel's History of Venetian Festivals as Multimedia Practice*

Since the publication of Alberto M. Banti's *La nazione del Risorgimento* (2000) shifted historical interpretations of the Risorgimento towards political culture, many historians have uncovered the centrality of both history and gender to the discourse of regeneration. Women, the mothers at the centre of family life, had to be protected from foreign invaders, an imperative exemplified in historical episodes such as the Sicilian Vespers. In addition to being represented in historical narrative, Ilaria Porciani and Maria Pia Casalena have shown that women intersected with history as authors in the period, generally preferring biographies, with the notable exception of Cristine di Belgiojoso. But while some were looking forward to political unification, others were looking back to a mythic past, certain that the time of liberty was over. Such was the case with Giustina Renier Michiel (1755-1832), member of one of the leading families of the fallen Venetian republic, former dogaressa and author of *Origine delle feste veneziane* (1817-1827), a five-volume history of Venetian festivals reedited five times in the nineteenth century. Instead of bolstering future political action, her history was closely linked to the aesthetic of ruins, evoking a past that could not be recovered. If her tone was despairing rather than hopeful, meant to console rather than galvanize, her work was just as popular and open to multimedial intersection as histories written in support of the Risorgimento. But instead of visiting historic battle grounds popularized in the historical novels of Guerrazzi and D'Azeglio (Alessio Petrizzo), Renier Michiel's readers were invited to immerse themselves in her account of republican festivals, animating a city that was but a shadow of its former self. This paper will investigate how Renier Michiel negotiated gender expectations that influenced both the form and the framing of her historical writing in its attempt to represent the past

Towsey, Mark: *'A serpent under a bed of roses': Gender, Politics and Religion in Female Responses to Hume's History of England*

History was amongst those traditionally masculine genres routinely recommended to women readers in late 18th-century Britain, with Hume's *History of England* commended as both 'useful and entertaining' by conduct writers such as Lady Sarah Pennington and Hester Chapone. Hume himself acknowledged privately and in print the growing significance of female readers in the literary marketplace, and Mark Phillips has argued influentially for the pivotal role played by the 'ideal' female reader in reformulating Enlightenment historiography. This paper will turn from the 'ideal' reader to the real reader, assessing commonplace books, diaries, letters and other reading notes in which female readers wrote about their encounters with Hume and other bestselling historical writers of the late eighteenth century. What did women look for in their history books? In what settings and circumstances did they read history? What did they learn from historical literature, and how did they talk about history – either in intimate all-female conversations with female friends, or in mixed settings with male relatives, neighbours and associates? In addressing these questions, I will reflect more broadly on whether gender was a factor in the choice and interpretation of historical literature in late eighteenth-century Britain, asking how far conventional pedagogical advice was enacted in women's encounters with history books. After all, Hannah More warned that Hume's *History* was 'a serpent under a bed of roses' – suitable for only the most able and well-prepared female readers. Reading history was a tightrope walk for women readers; on the one hand, it opened up the pleasures of polite conversation and allowed women to help shape the political and religious values of those around them; on the other, it could provoke angry responses that took women well beyond the accepted boundaries of propriety.

Zuroski Jenkins, Eugenia: *Sex and the Limits of History in Haywood's Adventures of Eovaai*

Eliza Haywood's 1736 *Adventures of Eovaai: A Pre-Adamitical History* frames a fictional oriental tale with mock-scholarly editorial footnotes that constitute a second order of narrative: the story of the tale's translation, interpretation, and integration into an official historical record by various editors and "commentators" over time. Haywood uses this fictional apparatus to joke about men's ignorance of female sexual desire. In mocking a "Cabal" of male scholars' egregious ignorance of women's sexuality, Haywood's tale also exposes the limits of conventional history, calling attention to fields of personal erotic experience that constitute blind spots to the historian's gaze. Is the solution to narrating sexuality thus something like the "secret history," written from the perspective of one privileged to penetrate and observe private lives, to expose the hidden and add it to a public record? I argue that *Eovaai* offers a more complicated response. A later fictional footnote describes the likelihood that *Eovaai*'s sexual escapade made its way into the historical record by being overheard by other pairs of lovers, emphasizing that sexual feeling or activity is hardly a "private" or secret phenomenon—it is the most open of secrets among anyone with any order of sexual experience. Would revising historical methodology to privilege a more diverse range of experience and forms of collective knowledge over the authority of the "Cabal" make sex less mysterious to history? Would a cosmopolitan strategy of representing history that decentres authority make the passions of particular sexual subjects become more recognizable, legible, addressable, satiable? Or is the figure of *Eovaai* stranded at the height of her desire a figure for desire itself suspended in representation—a thing universally perceived, contingently experienced, and never fully known by any discursive means?

S136 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

Herméneutique des Lumières

Organisateur/Président: Martin Rueff

Rueff, Martin: *Pour poser et résoudre le problème de l'herméneutique en général*

Soit une hypothèse de travail : les temps forts de l'histoire de l'herméneutique correspondent à des moments où une communauté interprétative trouve dans un texte le fondement de sa tradition, le sens de son histoire, le secret de son destin. Il n'est pas difficile de faire de l'antiquité grecque ce premier temps fort où l'herméneutique était réservée aux maîtres de vérité, et encore moins difficile de faire de la culture juive une tradition herméneutique soudée par l'autorité à longue portée de la Torah : guère plus difficile enfin de faire de l'exégèse chrétienne une tradition soudée par la puissance des Testaments offerts à répétition et à méditation. Si la Renaissance fut un moment fort de cette histoire, c'est parce qu'elle renforça les prestiges du texte en les dédoublant dans un système d'analogies, de similitudes et de ressemblances qui fit la grandeur de ses poèmes et des images. Écho redoublait ainsi la puissance d'Hermès, inventeur de la lyre d'Orphée. Dans cette histoire on voudrait que les Lumières fussent un temps faible : c'est qu'elles affaiblirent les prestiges de l'autorité des textes. Mais c'est commettre une double méprise : d'une part, c'est ne pas comprendre comment s'articulent si bien herméneutique et critique qu'on pourrait compléter la formule de Kant – « notre siècle est vraiment le siècle de la critique » par : « notre siècle fut vraiment le siècle de l'herméneutique »; d'autre part, c'est ne pas comprendre le rapport des Lumières et des romantismes et s'interdire de comprendre ce que les unes et les autres entendirent par herméneutique. Et si l'herméneutique moderne naissait moins de la canonisation de la littérature dont l'autorité remplacerait celle des Textes sacrés, que d'un nouvel horizon de la compréhension moins lié à l'autorité, mais à sa critique et au jeu des significations qu'elle permet d'ouvrir ?

Jacob, François: "Voltaire en scène : prolégomènes à une édition critique de son théâtre"

Offrir à la collectivité des chercheurs et au public cultivé une édition savante des grands textes des Lumières est, paradoxalement, une entreprise assez récente. Paradoxalement parce que, les Lumières ayant développé les principes philosophiques et politiques sur lesquels s'est bâtie notre société contemporaine, on aurait pu penser que la simple édition selon des critères scientifiquement fiables d'écrits aussi fondamentaux que *Du Contrat social* (Rousseau), *la Lettre sur les aveugles* (Diderot), *De l'Esprit des lois* (Montesquieu) ou les *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (Voltaire) eussent constitué un indispensable prérequis à toute glose critique. Ce manque, dont il semble qu'une prise de conscience ait eu lieu au croisement des vingtième et vingt-et-unième siècles, s'explique tout à la fois par des raisons idéologiques, archivistiques et méthodologiques. Parmi ces manques éditoriaux, celui d'une véritable édition philologique et critique du théâtre de Voltaire est un des plus criants. On essaiera d'exposer les principes d'une telle édition, ses enjeux et sa portée. On prendra pour exemple précis le manuscrit d'Irène.

Boccardo, Brenno: *La synthèse ramiste et son destin*

Au départ de l'aventure encyclopédique, l'épistémologie des Lumières se concrétise paradoxalement par une nouvelle synthèse : la tentative de Rameau de réduire tous les éléments du système harmonique à un seul et même principe. Un projet analogue - mutatis mutandis - avait été caressé par les auteurs de la Renaissance. Et les critiques que ce projet suscite en marge de l'Encyclopédie pouvaient revendiquer l'antécédent des querelles « fin de siècle » qui marquent la crise de l'unité stylistique de la Renaissance (Galilei-Zarlino, Artusi Monteverdi...). Mais en 1722 le rêve d'une nouvelle synthèse entre art et science avait retrouvé une vigueur toute nouvelle dans le programme formulé par Rameau dans le *Traité de l'Harmonie* qui consistait à conjuguer théorie harmonique, mathématique et physique en un seul et même principe, plus « naturel », plus « scientifique » et plus « cartésien » que tout ce que l'induction des siècles précédents avait pu laisser imaginer de mieux en matière de théorie musicale. En moins de trente ans, trop démesuré et édifié sur des fondements scientifiques trop fragiles, le nouvel édifice finit par s'effondrer sur ses fondations, victime de l'action corrosive du même esprit de système dont il s'était nourri. En 1755, dans les *Erreurs sur la musique* dans l'Encyclopédie, Rameau s'en était pris à Rousseau pour ne pas avoir écrit que l'accompagnement harmonique « représente le corps sonore ». Mais dans les écrits de ses adversaires encyclopédistes le mariage « de raison » imaginé par Rameau entre harmonie, mathématique et physique, se soldera par un irrémédiable divorce, qui, dans les décennies successives, finira par livrer à une dérive définitive des continents scientifiques toutes les disciplines gravitant traditionnellement dans l'orbite de la *musica speculativa*. La musique se passera de la science, l'oreille de la raison, la théorie de l'harmonie.

Spallanzani, Mariafranca: "Entre la lumière et l'ombre. Les Lumières de Hans Blumenberg"

Si la Révolution française marque l'aube de l'âge moderne, elle a aussi engendré un affrontement radical portant sur la légitimité de ce nouvel ordre et ce qui a impliqué en retour une interrogation radicale sur les Lumières. La question fondamentale de cette légitimité sert de point de départ au philosophe allemand Hans Blumenberg dans son ouvrage majeur *La Légitimité de l'âge moderne*. Selon cette vaste enquête, il faut questionner la thèse selon laquelle la modernité accorderait à l'immanence et à la raison la place que le monde ancien accordait à la transcendance et à la religion. Si la défense de la modernité par Hans Blumenberg est aujourd'hui moins connue en France que sa critique par Carl Schmitt, on tentera de comprendre comment le philosophe justifie l'âge moderne et tente de le protéger contre le malentendu d'un immanentisme absolu. Blumenberg conteste l'idée centrale du théorème de sécularisation, qui affirme la continuité cachée d'une substance théologico-politique à l'âge post-religieux et qui déduit de cette constellation une prétention absolutiste de la

raison. Pour Blumenberg, la modernité a précisément besoin de s'affranchir d'une telle pensée absolutiste ; la place d'une transcendance absolue libérée par la religion ne doit pas se trouver occupée par une quelconque immanence. C'est donc bien à une nouvelle interprétation des Lumières que Blumenberg nous invite. C'est à interpréter cette interprétation, à la mettre en perspective dans une variété de contextes que nous nous emploierons.

S137 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)

Marketing Religion, Religious Markets

Organizer / Chair: Lina Weber

Blosser, Jacob: *A Commerce in Happiness: Latitudinarian Virtue, the Sermon Trade, and 18th century Anglican Identity*

This paper examines the widespread, transatlantic circulation, via oral homiletics and written sermon books, of a religious understanding of the “pursuit of happiness” that came to define Anglican identity in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic World. In the years following the Stuart Restoration, the Church of England embraced latitudinarian theology. Weary from internecine confessional conflict, the post-Civil War latitudinarian church emphasized the pursuit of virtuous behavior over strict creedal conformity. Widely disseminated from pulpits and printing presses, the latitudinarian message maintained that virtuous behavior – and not conformity to esoteric theology – was the essence of enlightened religiosity. Importantly, latitudinarian divines directly connected their appeals to virtuous behavior to less-altruistic promises of temporal human happiness. Virtue, they argued, was not only the lifeblood of a new, enlightened, ecumenical Christianity, but it was also integral in the pursuit of human happiness. For latitudinarians, virtuous behavior resulted in the tangible and temporal benefits of a happy life. Thus, in the century following the Civil War, the theological voice of the Church of England equated the cultivation of Godliness with the pursuit of temporal human happiness. This paper elucidates the previously unstudied concept of a “virtuous pursuit of happiness” and demonstrates its widespread dissemination through Britain’s prolific transatlantic trade in sermons. Examining the circulation of a common understanding of “virtuous happiness” within both metropolitan Anglicanism and its iterations in colonial British North America, my paper places special emphasis on orally-delivered sermons as a form of widespread dissemination. Week after week, ministers on both sides of the Atlantic preached the latitudinarian “virtuous pursuit of happiness.” In looking at both orally-communicated sermons and the trade in sermon books, my paper describes both the exchange of ideas and the development of a common religious identity in the eighteenth century British Atlantic World.

Franke, Viktoria: *The Public Market Place, Democracy and Early Ideas on the Public Sphere in the Thought of the 17th-Century Religious Radical Enlightener Friedrich Breckling (1629-1711)*

In this paper, I shall shed a light on the ideas of the German religious radical enlightener Friedrich Breckling (1629-1711) on the public market place, democracy and freedom of speech and trace back the beginnings of the public sphere into the second half of the 17th century. Breckling was a religious refugee from Northern Germany, who spend his life, from 1660 onwards, in the Dutch Republic, where he was caught by the wind of freedom that blew through the country. He published many tracts for a wide reading public, build a large correspondence network in the German lands, and in the 1680s, he became involved in the publication of the German Böhme-Edition in Amsterdam. In his writings, Breckling criticized openly Lutheran orthodoxy, but also the economic exploration by the elite in Central Europe. He was an opponent of religious persecution and advocated tolerance and freedom of the press in his *Religio libera persecutio* (1663) and other writings and promoted the idea

of a public market place (“offentlichen Markt”), on which everyone can ‘buy’ and ‘sell’ his or her ideas on religion and society, thus being an early promoter of a public sphere in Europe. Though the commercial aspects of this virtual public market place faded into the background in the 18th century, the spirit of this idea, that of a democratically shaped public sphere survived the early modern period.

Pritchard, Penny: *The Eye of a Needle : Commemorating Wealthy Merchants in the Early Modern Protestant Funeral Sermon*

Christ’s well-known lesson to his disciples in Matthew 19 (‘it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God’) presented a profound challenge for Protestant ministers seeking to commemorate affluent and influential merchants who died in the earlier half of the long eighteenth century. Most Protestant ministers had made strenuous efforts to avoid any undue praise in funeral sermons, particularly concerning their subjects’ material or noble status, since the time of the Reformation. This was in direct response to what was widely viewed as the Roman Catholic practice of exchanging public spiritual endorsement for material reimbursement. It was therefore common for Protestant ministers to celebrate, foremost, the piety and Christian virtues of those who enjoyed material wealth in life, while attempting to avoid any biographical detail regarding the means by which their subjects had gained public recognition in the first place. This paper will consider the published funeral sermons of two wealthy merchants, Sir Thomas Bludworth (d.1682) – now better remembered as the infamous Lord Mayor of London during the Great Fire of London - and Bank of England Governor and dissenter Samuel Holden (d.1740). The diverse modes of characterisation and commemoration employed by the author-ministers concerned, Church of England divine Samuel Freeman and Congregationalist Benjamin Colman, exemplify something of the complex spectrum of writing techniques deployed by early modern Protestant ministers during a period in which funeral sermons served as a strikingly successful aspect of the burgeoning print market in popular religious literature.

Laborie, Lionel: *Marketing the Millennium, or the Economics of Prophecy in the Age of Reason.*

The long eighteenth century is generally associated with the Enlightenment, an intellectual golden age widely regarded as the origin of our modernity. Accordingly, the advent of rationalism marked the intellectual emancipation from religious beliefs and popular superstitions. Yet the eighteenth century was also the age of evangelical missionaries and of the ‘Great Awakening’. These “enthusiasts” were first and foremost driven by millenarian beliefs in Christ’s imminent Second Coming. They endeavoured to reconcile Judaeo-Christian denominations into a Universal Church ahead of the millennium. As they challenged political and religious authorities, millenarians introduced new ideas –the abolition of primogeniture, of capital punishment and slavery, universal suffrage, female preaching, the education of women, freedom of conscience, philosemitism...– that were eventually integrated by the Enlightenment. Despite the large scale of their irenic and ecumenical activities, scholars of the eighteenth century have paid relatively little attention to the intellectual contribution of millenarianism. Recent studies have shown that enthusiasts not only pioneered modern ideas, but also that Enlightenment and millenarianism could sometimes even go hand-in-hand. For millenarians enjoyed a considerable audience of listeners and readers and, more importantly, the support of benefactors, promoters and protectors. Behind every itinerant prophet therefore lies a network of publishers, translators and financiers, including clergymen and magistrates and intellectuals, who enabled them to broadcast their predictions and conduct their missionary activities. This paper seeks to explore such connections by delving into the economics of millenarianism. Looking more specifically at the overlapping networks of the Quaker merchant Benjamin Furlly in early eighteenth-century Rotterdam, it aims to shed new light on the circulation of apocalyptic literature and the financing of evangelical missions between Britain and the continent. In

so doing, it aims to make a case for the emergence of an international spiritual market in the Age of Reason.

S138 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

The Dawn of Modernity

Organizer / Chair: Ivo Nieuwenhuis

Feiner, Shmuel: *Age of Conflicts and Inventions: New Perspectives on the Jewish Eighteenth Century*

If there had been in the 18th century Jewish daily newspapers the future historian would no doubt be amazed by the variety of the dramatic events and changes. Throughout the entire century, among the approximately 700,000 Jews in Europe at the beginning of the century and 1,700,000 on the eve of the French revolution, an underground messianic movement provided religious-radical legitimacy to rejecting the Jewish law and to erotic freedom and incited endless scandals; a religious revival movement developed rapidly among Polish Jewry; the debate about the Jewish question was gaining ground in public opinion; the acculturation of the wealthy elite in the urban communities was moving ahead; and the Jewish Enlightenment was challenging the hegemony of the rabbinical elite. This was a century of high hopes and great spiritual and political expectations, but it was also a century of great anxiety in the face of various changes that threatened to overturn the familiar and stable world. The Jewish 18th century was a complex and dynamic century for the Jews in Europe, rich with ambiguities, bitter conflicts and divisive crossroads. By delving into this century we can find the keys needed to decipher the code of Jewish modernization. To gain a revised understanding of the transformative trends leading Jews from the old world to the modern world, the historian needs to survey a broad, multi-voiced and synchronic picture that covers the entire scope of the processes the Jews underwent in the 18th century. The voices of the modern experience in the 18th century emanate from many texts, some of them are expressing contradicting views, but all of them share this experience of change, and not a few the sense of conflict. The paper would discuss six trends of change in 18th-century European Jewry: cultural inventions, a new discourse, the emergence of individualism, conflicts, contradicting modes of consciousness, and secularization. The distinction that grew sharper throughout the 18th century between Jews of the “old world” and Jews of the “new world,” drew the boundaries of the internal split and gave the members of the different camps a new identity.

Provenzano, Timothy: *Chamfort and Disillusionment: A Modern Crisis*

18th century European literature represents one point when the distinctively modern mood of disillusionment came to clear expression, after centuries of being stifled or denied in various religious and philosophical dogma. While European literature’s discontents had isolated voices before, the modern sense of it, birthed through a combination of political upheavals, scientific advances and weariness with the failures of organized religion, had yet to be born. The paper will explore the advent of the modern mood of disillusionment through the writings of one of its most brilliant expositors, Sébastien-Roch Nicolas, known as Chamfort. Building upon the tradition of the short saying brought to prominence by La Rochefoucauld, Chamfort’s biography and character were perfectly positioned to summon forth a new art that transformed the inchoate misgivings of his predecessors into a stylized, fragmented casting of human existence. While many writers expressing this sentiment both of Chamfort’s time and after have been too easily dismissed as expressing the misfortune of their personal circumstance, his case offers a unique example of a man straddling many contradictions: Progeny of royalty, yet brought up in a plebian household; favored guest at aristocratic gathering, yet a staunch believer in democracy; one who lived all the contradictions of

the revolution, through to its grotesque denouement. This paper will consider the conditions necessary to both produce and circulate, however precariously, a new cast of mind that could take in the convulsions of scientific materialism, the bankruptcy of aristocratic rule, and the collapse of traditional authority. The paper will examine how Chamfort's life can be seen as a miniature of this genre's career as a whole- in particular the struggle to articulate a lasting and emotionally resonant response to this crisis, which has only deepened since 'le siècle des lumières.'

Carvalho dos Santos Lopes, Maria-Helena: *AULA DO COMMERCIO- 1756 - La Société et le Commerce au Portugal et au Brésil*

Dans l'Histoire du Portugal au XVIIIe siècle, il faut mentionner un événement important qui est la fondation d'une école scientifique et commerciale appelée AULA DO COMMERCIO – l'École du Commerce. Celle-ci va donner aux commerçants et à leurs fils l'opportunité de bénéficier de la période d'administration dynamique et moderne initiée par le Marquis de Pombal. L'École de commerce va inculquer les idées du Marquis et permettre d'inaugurer un capitalisme d'Etat très progressiste et productif, au moment où les équilibres sociaux évoluent au Portugal. Une partie de la noblesse est sensible aux nouvelles idées économiques, tandis qu'une bourgeoisie savante émerge, formée dans les écoles. Le Marquis de Pombal, Secrétaire d'Etat auprès du roi Joseph 1er, était véritablement un homme des Lumières. Il avait d'ailleurs passé dix ans de sa vie hors du Portugal, moitié en Angleterre et moitié en Autriche, avant d'acquérir des fonctions politiques importantes dans son pays.

Geerlings, Jordy: *How enlightened was Enlightenment sociability? Reassessing eighteenth-century associational life*

Historians often assume a close relationship between the rise of new associations during the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment as an intellectual movement. Societies, salons, and Masonic lodges are believed to have constituted platforms where enlightened ideas were discussed and where these ideas exercised a genuine influence on those present. On the other hand, the expanding Enlightenment discourse is often said to have inspired the rise of a sociable movement, as well as to have shaped the highly democratic and cosmopolitan internal atmosphere cultivated in these societies. Recent scholarship has questioned this close interrelationship of sociability and Enlightenment. Foremost among the critics is Jonathan Israel, who recently proclaimed that the attempt to trace the spread of radical thinking to the effects of salon sociability are a 'gigantic red herring'. Other scholars have also pointed out the extent to which 18th-century sociability diverged or operated separately from the culture of the Enlightenment. Peter Clark, in his large survey of British associational life, links the rise of societies in Britain primarily to socio-economic factors rather than to the Enlightenment. Antoine Lilti, Eric Saunier, and others have shown that salons and Masonic lodges were not by definition cosmopolitan, tolerant, or progressive platforms. Drawing on my own research into the participation of religious minorities in Dutch societies and Masonic lodges, as well as on the results of recent work by other scholars, I will argue for a more nuanced understanding of 18th-century sociability in relation to the Enlightenment. The purpose is not merely to limit the conceptual overstretch from which the Enlightenment has suffered over the past decades, but also to show avenues of research into sociability that have remained unexplored because of the tendency to link 18th-century sociability to the Enlightenment.

S139 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Panel Emotions in Politics

Organizer / Chair: Inger Leemans

Packham, Catherine: *Cottage Economics: Mary Wollstonecraft, Political Economy and Agrarianism*

In her *Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), Mary Wollstonecraft links architectural critique with an attack on the 'commercial spirit', and especially the argument from convenience at the heart of Smithian political economy. Christiana's "large square wooden houses", she asserts, despite their size, have an "emphatical stamp of meanness, of poverty of conception, which only a commercial spirit could give" (Letter 14). A political economy founded on an argument from convenience fails, in Wollstonecraft's eyes, to address mankind's larger moral and aesthetic concerns, which she implies are more adequately addressed by the form of critical judgement known as taste. This paper addresses Wollstonecraft's architectural 'taste', specifically her preferences for cottages and farms, as manifested not only in the *Short Residence* but throughout her writings, in the context of her on-going critique of the emergent discourse of political economy, which received new prominence both in British Parliamentary politics and radical political debate in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Whilst the cottage is a well-recognised trope in the late eighteenth-century picturesque, and its deployment as a "thoroughly politicised" image in the loyalist-radical propaganda wars of the 1790s has been investigated by John Barrell ('Cottage Politics', in *The Spirit of Despotism*, 2006), this paper argues that Wollstonecraft's cottages need to be seen in a distinct light: as embodying a critique of a particular form of economic modernity and as offering the possibility of an alternative. It discusses the figure of the cottage in Wollstonecraft's writings from *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* onwards, as part of an on-going engagement with political economy as theorised by Adam Smith and promulgated by Edmund Burke, and links Wollstonecraft's 'taste' for the cottage and farm to agrarian economic alternatives proposed by her radical contemporaries.

Park, Mikyung: *Miscarriages of Justice and Transactions of Moral Economy in Godwin's Caleb Williams*

This paper seeks to explore ways in which miscarriages of justice urge readers to critique the transactions of moral economy, focusing on William Godwin's novel, *Caleb Williams* (1794). Godwin's work presents the possibility of reconciling the failure of justice with the potent performance of feelings, in particular, sympathy for Caleb Williams, who is victimized by Ferdinando Falkland. Narrated in the first person, the novel elaborates upon the contradiction of legitimacy that national law and the established social order conspire to shore up, precisely because of the limitations of the narrator's perspective. Despite the seemingly transparent subjectivity, the first-person narrative unconceals the very opacity of legal and ethical judgment. Insofar as the law entails power, the novel reveals the corruptibility of juridical institutions as opposed to justice, which always remains yet to be realized in Jacques Derrida's sense. The moral value of sympathy is equivocal as Caleb's sympathy for Falkland accounts for his uncontrollable curiosity about the impenetrableness of the latter's mind and thus blurs the borderline of criminality. Caleb Williams defers political justice and thus undermines its foundation, while it circulates the excess of feelings such as resentment, sympathy, frustration, guilt, anxiety, not only Caleb's own but also the reader's. Among those feelings, sympathy serves as a useful vehicle for the protagonist to elicit poetic justice from readers' responses. Nonetheless, the novel challenges the construction of a community constituted by definitely moral actors due to the instability and limitations that both the legal institutions and the narrative technique entail. Therefore, Godwin demands his readers to sustain a critical stance on the dominant ideology of moral and political economy, questioning the violence of legal rhetoric and the autonomy of private judgment that the novel endorses. Keywords: justice, moral economy, sympathy, law, Godwin, violence, narrative, criminality

Maslan, Susan: *Equality as Emotion on the French Revolutionary Stage*

Studies in the history of emotion have paid careful attention to large affective categories such as love or cheerfulness. William Reddy's pioneering book on the subject examined affective practices, such as the shedding of tears, during the French Revolution. I would like to pursue the history of emotion in the Revolution but I will be guided as much by Edmund Burke as by recent scholarship. Burke asked famously, and doubtfully, how abstract principles, formerly embodied in kings and queens, could generate emotional attachment to a state. I would like to explore a particular case in which, I argue, revolutionary writers set themselves exactly this task. I study popular plays that stage the problem of equality as a lived emotion during the Revolution. These plays show how difficult but crucially important it was, for example, for masters and servants, to incorporate equality into their daily lives. Equality is the explicit, named subject of the plays I study. Consider, for example "Les tus et les tois, ou La parfaite egalite." The plots of these plays all revolve around the acceptance or rejection of a new practice of grammatical equality: the universal use of the "tu" and the rejection of the "vous" when addressing an individual: whether a servant or a master. But the grammatical practice—and the equality it seeks to both recognize and create—also proves critical to the foundation for affective ties within the family, the household, and ultimately, the nation. Those who adopt the new practices of equality find their hopes for marriage and friendship fulfilled, even as they come to feel themselves part of the greater community that is Republican France. Those who retain their commitment to practices of inequality (those who insist on being addressed as "vous"), on the other hand, prove unable to form marriages and create households. I trace the debate over the meaning of the universal "tu" in newspapers, political debate, and literary revolutionary criticism as well as on the stage. This paper is thus a contribution to the history of political emotions and an attempt at a cultural history of equality.

S170 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Satire and Enlightenment: Comparative Perspectives

Organizer / Chair: Paddy Bullard

Tadié, Alexis: *Satire and Quarrels*

This paper looks at the satirical modes deployed in a variety of eighteenth-century querelles.

Bullard, Paddy: *Moralizing Satire, Ethical Thought*

Two of the most important roles for satire during the eighteenth century were the framing of moral codes and the attempting of a 'reformation of manners' – the latter a project that attained briefly to a kind of fashionableness in the days of *The Spectator* and Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*. But British perspectives on satire were never narrowly British (still less English): authors looked back to precursors, models and/or rivals in France (especially Boileau) and, of course, to the ancients (with Horace and Juvenal being mentioned especially frequently). This paper explores the moral positions adopted in the most important (and now often neglected) formal verse satires of the period, together with commentaries on satire written in prose. It also considers the statements of satirists and others on the psychological pragmatics of satire – on questions of if, when and how satire changes minds or manners, and of what cognitive and personal materials (or objects) it must work on. It proceeds primarily by tracing echoes (be they avowed or disavowed, approving or hostile) of Horace and Boileau; the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns and the Battle of the Books also provide points of reference. The piece finishes with a brief consideration of Diderot's Rameau's Nephew, originally entitled 'Second Satire', a dialogue which owes a debt to Horace (cited in the

epigraph), and also, less obviously, to Boileau and Shaftesbury; at the same time, it is seen by many as characteristic of late-Enlightenment thought, poised ambiguously between confidence and despair concerning manners, morals and ethics in an increasingly secular society.

Fowler, James: *Gulliver and the Art of Travel*

Gulliver's Travels represents the highpoint in a long tradition of early modern satire on the practice of travel. This paper situates Swift's contribution against a long *durée* of interventions pointing out and castigating abuses, appropriating travellers as an object of satire, and subjecting them to parody in different literary forms. The range of works in this vein extends back to the sixteenth century in the writings of Thomas More (both in prose and verse) and Rabelais's *Quart Livre* (1552), before flourishing in the seventeenth century in the work of Ben Jonson and Joseph Hall, the genre of 'characters', and Restoration drama. Swift was well-aware of these precedents and transformed them on a grand scale. The second tradition on which he drew developed over a similarly extended period in the genre of advice literature on travel known as the *ars apodemica* (distinguished by contributions from Sir Philip Sidney, Justus Lipsius, and Francis Bacon among many others). This body of material, composed in the form of essays, epistles, orations, prefaces, and treatises formulated a set of recommendations on the conduct of travel, emphasizing the need to maintain a coherent identity in the midst of journeys and to observe protocols of truthfulness. The satiric potential apparent in this material is clear, for example, in the work of James Howell, who noted in his *Instructions for Forraine Travel* (1642): Some kind of Travellers there are, whom their gate and strouting, their bending in the hamms, shoulders, and looking upon their legs, and frisking and signing do speake them Travellers. Swift transformed this resource by taking it to new extremes. *Gulliver's* endlessly transformed identity is at the centre of Swift's critique, completed by his identification with members of another species and revulsion at his own in Part Four.

Alliker Rabb, Melinda: "*Little Snarling Lapdogs*": *Satire in the Domestic Sphere*

This Paper considers the emergence of the domestic sphere as a subject for satire in the later half of the eighteenth century. It focuses particularly on satirical writings concerned with the precarious lives of dependents, servants, spinsters, illegitimate offspring, and other persons of socially ambiguous standing. The paper assesses the implications of such figures for understanding the relationship of satire to a changing cultural milieu. Why should figures of no significant or obvious authority such as Collier's household help in *The Art of Ingeniously Tormenting*, Austen's disenfranchised women in *Mansfield Park*, and Smollett's maiden-aunt and illiterate bastard in *Humphry Clinker* become crucial to a literary mode traditionally expressing indignation at the empowered? According to influential thinkers like Habermas, the glory days of satire during the Restoration and early eighteenth century were owing to the establishment of a public sphere where matters of widespread communal interest could be debated and, when appropriate, attacked and ridiculed. Many of the most famous satiric targets are figures of high rank or entitlement or success, such as Dryden's scheming Achitophel, Swift's arrogant Peter, Pope's aristocratic Sporus, and Gay's ruthless Peachum. These characters have become critical touchstones, and it would strain the imagination to picture any of them enjoying a cup of tea by the family hearth. *Gulliver's* nausea at the dining table is iconic. As Lord Chesterfield remarked retrospectively at mid-century, "An English minister shall have resided seven years at a Court . . . without being intimate or domestic in any one house."

S181 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

Vitalism

Organizer / Chair: Anita Guerrini

Wolfe, Charles T.: *From substantival to functional vitalism and beyond, or: from Stahl's animas to Canguilhemian attitudes via the animal economy*

A first point I want to make is to distinguish between what I would call 'substantival' and 'functional' forms of vitalism, as applied to the eighteenth century. Substantival vitalism presupposes the existence of something like a (substantive) vital force which either plays a causal role in the natural world as studied by scientific means, or remains a kind of hovering, extra-causal entity. Functional vitalism tends to operate 'post facto', from the existence of living bodies to the desire to find explanatory models that will do justice to their uniquely 'vital' properties in a way that fully mechanistic (Cartesian, Boerhaavian etc.) models cannot. I discuss some representative figures of the Montpellier school as being functional rather than substantival vitalists. Time allowing, I will make a second point regarding the reprisal of vitalism(s) in 'late modernity', as some call it; from Driesch to Canguilhem. I suggest that in addition to the substantival and functional varieties, we then encounter a third species of vitalism, which I term 'attitudinal', as it argues for vitalism as a kind of attitude. A question which arises with regard to these three forms of vitalism is the extent to which they are contributions to a history of science (of medicine, of biomedical thought, etc.). For our way of drawing these distinctions is itself dependent on our conception of scientific validity, which can itself be a danger (e.g. positioning Stahl as further away from a norm of science, and Bordeu as closer), but if we seek to eliminate the danger we then have the problem of distinguishing between a Glisson and a Haller (however much such polarities are themselves historically contingent, as Giglioli has nicely shown). In sum, the challenge is to arrive at a conceptually articulated picture of eighteenth-century vitalism.

Guerrini, Anita: *Vital Bones: Skeletons, Relics, and Therapies in the Long Eighteenth Century*

Bones, particularly skulls, were long used in various therapeutic preparations for a variety of ailments. What was the peculiar vital quality of bones that gave them such healing power? This paper will compare the medical uses of bones to therapeutic uses of skeletal relics in an attempt to find commonalities between them. Although the medicinal uses of bones declined in the eighteenth century, they did not disappear, and among those who believed, relics, old and new, retained their powers.

Hendriksen, Marieke: *Metals and gemstones: vitalist natural bodies in eighteenth-century medicine?*

From my research on the use of mercury as an injection mass in eighteenth-century anatomical preparations, it emerged that mercury was understood as a 'vital matter,' a living substance associated with resurrection and the lymphatic fluid by many anatomists and medical men. In this paper, I explore whether other metals and gemstones too were understood as substances with vital powers in eighteenth-century medicine and chemistry, and particularly in the work of Boerhaave and his followers. I argue that although Boerhaave by the end of life understood metals as possible vitalist substances with limited medical potential and gemstones as pretty much useless in medicine, the work of his students and admirers show that the understanding of metals and gemstones as vitalist bodies with therapeutic potential was still wide-spread in the eighteenth century.

S313 (11:00 – 12:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

Isabelle de Charrière in her European context

Organizer / Chair: Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau, Suzan van Dijk

Perazzolo, Paola: « *Le lecteur devient comme auteur lui-même de tout ce qu'il lit avec attention* »: *transmission et réception du savoir dans Les Finch*

L'intérêt pour l'éducation représente un fil rouge dans toute l'œuvre de Charrière. Les Finch et leur Suite, considérés par Lucia Omacini comme « la somme de la pensée de l'auteur et [le] probable apogée de son écriture », présentent une réflexion conclusive sur les possibilités de la formation et de la transmission de l'expérience et du savoir – questions fondamentales pendant la décennie révolutionnaire, ainsi que l'a déjà montré l'auteur – tout aussi qu'une invitation à remettre en question nos habitudes de lecture du point de vue thématique et formel. Malgré son scepticisme et les dérives récentes de l'Histoire française, à la fin de sa vie l'auteur réaffirme encore, à ce propos, la nécessité d'une position éthique et critique des destinataires aussi bien que des destinataires, en s'insérant par-là dans le discours contemporain sur l'éducation et, plus en général, sur le rôle de l'homme de lettres.

Isenberg, Nancy: *Beyond lovers and French: the cases of Isabelle Charrière, Giustiniana Wynne and Louise Stolberg.*

Isabelle Charrière (Dutch writer and “virtual salonnière” living mostly in Switzerland), Giustiniana Wynne (1737-1791; Anglo-Venetian author and salonnière living mostly in Venice), Louise Stolberg (1752-1824; Danish-born salonnière in Paris and Florence, and estranged wife of Charles, exiled pretender to the English throne) – three women culturally active in the second half of the 18th century, all three women of independence in spirit in thought. Their biographies have in common complicated love affairs, extensive travel, outsiderhood, the use of French as their cultural lingua franca. Compared data about their lives and writings reveals a similar intellectual drive – to participate in Enlightenment's debates, to promote social and political reform, to free their lives of gendered restraints. Revolution, exile, national and social identity are dots that connect their intellectual profiles.

For each of these three women, vast collections of letters have survived, in Charrière's and Stolberg's case, these are for the most part well published or well-studied, although 18 new letters by Stolberg have just recently surfaced; in Wynne's case, besides the hundred or so published letters written in early adulthood, there are hundreds of letters from her mature years waiting to be studied.

This paper proposes to look for connections between Charrière, Wynne and Stolberg, in conjunction with data collection and analysis, and thus to serve as a model for formulating new thoughts about the way we approach a gendered remapping of the intellectual networks of the past.

van Dijk, Suzan and Schouten, Maria: *Belle de Zuylen's correspondence: a European market place to be analyzed*

« Je suis quelquefois comme un port, un marché, où il arrive et d'où il part des idées ». Isabelle de Charrière se décrit ainsi le 26 avril 1800, dans une lettre à Caroline de Sandoz-Rollin. C'est sa correspondance – récemment décrite par Monique Moser-Verrey comme un « salon virtuel » – qui en témoigne.

Cette correspondance étant actuellement préparée pour être accessible en ligne, nous allons avoir l'occasion de décrire et de visualiser l'extension de ce marché d'idées, ainsi que l'intensité des échanges qui se poursuivaient à échelle européenne, autour du Château de Zuylen d'abord et autour de Colombier après 1771.

RT302 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-15 Forum: Van Der Goot Building)

Round table 3 – The Politics of Enlightenment

Organizer / Chair: Matthijs Lok

- Israel, Jonathan
- McMahon, Darrin
- Clark, Jonathan
- de Dijn, Annelien

E316 (9:00 – 10:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)

Narratives of Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment: Commerce, Culture and Society

*** Panel of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society**

Chair: Jane Rendall

Tonks, Paul: *Governance and Empire in Adam Anderson’s Origin of Commerce*

This paper examines the central arguments of one of the most important but historiographically neglected Scottish commentators on British commerce and empire in the eighteenth century. Specifically it will consider Adam Anderson’s historical and strategic understandings of British colonial relationships and modes of governance within the context of the emergence of Scottish political economy and stadial history. Although Anderson’s *Origin of Commerce* (1764) has long been recognized as one of the most important economic texts of the eighteenth century in Britain, particularly as the most used reference source for Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, there is relatively little modern historiographical discussion of Anderson’s thought apart from his crucial treatment of the South Sea Bubble. Whilst paying attention to Anderson’s key role and reputation as an analyst of financial history and the operation of credit and stock markets, this paper explores Anderson’s interests and influence in relationship to the key concerns of the Scottish Enlightenment with the role of commerce in shaping culture and the progress or improvement of society.

Bow, Charles Bradford: *History of Progress: Lord Kames on American ‘Savages’*

This paper re-evaluates the significance of Amerindian culture in the writings of Henry Home, Lord Kames. The study of human and societal “progress,” known as “stadial” history, occupied an important part of Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy. Kames famously wrote “[s]ome nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages” (Kames, *Sketches*, vol.1, 39). In tracing the “progress” of humankind through different stages of society, prominent Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, such as Lord Kames, advanced controversial positions in the monogenesis/polygenesis debate. Colin Kidd’s *The Forging of Races* (2006) skillfully shows the ways in which this activity in Scottish thought affected transatlantic perceptions of race and, in particular, Anglo-Amerindian relations. And yet these competing ideas were not divorced from notions of improvement in enlightened Scotland. This paper explores Kames’s infamous treatment of natural religion and Amerindian culture as justification for his version of “progress” in the Scottish Enlightenment.

Mori, Naohito: *Another Story concerning the Civilizing Process: Hume’s History of England and its Divergence from his Political Discourses*

It is a widely shared notion, especially in the field of history of economic thought, that one of the core arguments of Hume’s *Political Discourses* is in his view of the overall improvement of society, led by progress in commerce, luxury, and mechanical arts. When we turn our eyes to his *History of England*, however, we find a more complicated picture regarding his ideas of improvement. Though commerce is still regarded as an important driving force, the *History* considers more diverse and

complex factors that triggered actual historical improvements. For instance, Hume at some points attributes the cause of improvement in several arts and sciences not to commercial development but to transplantation of those arts from superior civilizations. Though this point can be seen in his earlier *Essays*, his *History*, problematically, seems to favor even colonization of barbarous nations by more civilized ones, as some commentators have pointed out. This paper focuses on this more complex version of Hume's view of progress found in his *History*, and tries to assess to what extent it counterbalances his more abstract idea of improvement in his *Political Discourses*.

E317 (11:00 – 12:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)

Print, Artefacts and Scottish Urban Life

*** Panel of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society**

Chair: Richard B. Sher

Budd, Adam: *Broadside Printing and Town Politics: Andrew Millar, George Drummond and the Malt Tax Crisis, 1725*

Historians of eighteenth-century Edinburgh have charted the celebrated career of its greatest Lord Provost, George Drummond (1688-1766), founder of the town's pioneering Royal Infirmary and the visionary behind its medical school, North Bridge, and New Town. In similar ways, historians of the book have discussed the great achievements of the London-based Scottish bookseller Andrew Millar (1705-68), whose authors included James Thomson, Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, Charlotte Lennox, David Hume, Adam Smith, and of course Samuel Johnson.

This paper will discuss newly located manuscripts that reveal a formative episode in the early careers of both men. During the summer of 1725, Millar was in the fourth year of his apprenticeship under James McEuen, the celebrated bookseller in Parliament Square. George Drummond was a financially troubled town magistrate, deeply indebted to Duncan Forbes, the newly installed Lord Advocate, who was himself beholden to Lord Argyll and his clients in Glasgow.

When the violent Malt Tax riots broke out in Glasgow, with a mob destroying the home of Argyll's cousin Daniel Campbell, Forbes acted quickly to prosecute the entire Glasgow Town Council. Both Millar and McEuen had deep roots in Glasgow, and were threatened by Drummond against printing defenses of the Glasgow magistrates.

This new research shows that despite these threats, Millar brought the documents to Leith, which lay beyond Drummond's authority, printed them there, and circulated them within both Edinburgh and Glasgow. This instance of Millar's civil disobedience reflects important elements in the cultural history of censorship in eighteenth-century Scotland, as well as the political and religious elements that shaped the cultures of patronage and career-formation, both for Drummond and for Millar.

This paper will be of interest to those with interests in cultural history, bibliography, the book trade, and Scottish and urban life during the early eighteenth century.

Lewis, Anthony: *How to Display Georgian Glasgow and Its Business?*

Eighteenth-century Glasgow grew in wealth and significance through the mastery that its merchants had over the global market in tobacco and sugar. How can this dominance be described and understood through museum and archival collections and exhibitions?

This paper will demonstrate how Glasgow housed the "How Glasgow Flourished, 1714-1830" exhibition at its Kelvingrove Museum from April to August 2013. In it the processes of selection of objects and themes will be examined. PowerPoint slides will demonstrate how the well-known significance of markets, trade, and commerce to Glasgow's development were made clear to the general public through consultations, surveys, researching primary sources and archives, symposia and conferences. Beyond this, slides will also demonstrate the development of the exhibition

through partnerships with academic institutions and museums, private collectors, and family history groups.

The consideration of the Glaswegian merchants' knowledge of international markets can also be conveyed through presentations on the impacts and consequences of hosting the exhibition. These will include slides on the exhibition's performance and public program as well as showing how it led to the development of published and digital media about Georgian Glasgow and its world, and how museum collections will support these.

Jung, Sandro: *The Morisons of Perth and the Scottish Illustrated Book in the 1790s*

This paper builds on the author's earlier research on the Morisons and will introduce an unconventional illustrated serial the firm issued in the mid-1790s. This serial did not have a uniform title but consisted of distinctly named volumes, including *The Caledonian Bee* (1795), *Entertaining Extracts* (1795), *The Pocket Repository* (1795), *Miscellaneous Epitome of Entertainment* (1796), *Elegant Extracts in Miniature* (1796), *The Gleaner* (1796), and *The Hive* (1796), each constituting an anthology of material "selected from new publications" (as various volume titles note). It is the illustrated publications that the Morisons issued in the late 1780s and early 1790s that feed this venture: excerpts from these publications and the illustrations that originally accompanied the full-text editions enter a new textual dynamic as they are collected in the different anthological volumes of the serial. The illustrations and texts that make up the volumes in the Morisons' serial of anthologies serve as indices of the firm's publishing activities. At the same time, they reveal the varied range of illustrations that were commissioned for Morison editions which have since had their plates removed and have not been thought to have carried illustrations. Equally, some of the captions and credit lines of these illustrations invoke titles that have not survived but which are palimpsestically extant in the newspaper advertisements that first introduced them to the purchasing public. So, the volumes in the Morisons' serial not only recycle texts that the firm previously published in editions of different authors' works; they also include illustrations commissioned for these editions, thereby shaping these texts in ways that would make them cohere within the cultural-patriotic program that Robert Morison devised in the mid-1780s.

E318 (14:00 – 15:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)

Ideas of Commerce in the Scottish Enlightenment

*** Panel of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society**

Chair: Deidre Dawson

Hill Jack A.: *Adam Ferguson's Idea of the 'Commercial Arts*

This paper explores Adam Ferguson's conception of "commercial arts" within his larger moral concern. For Ferguson, modern commerce is not an unmitigated blessing, nor a necessary evil. It is an outgrowth of the progressive nature of man. But like all human activities, it is subject to the vicissitudes of interest and unforeseen consequences.

This paper argues that reading Ferguson's critique of commercial arts in terms of his account of "civil society" and his estimation of the benefits of commerce sheds fresh light on his overall understanding of the role of commerce. Ferguson articulates a complex view of economic processes in terms of a broad humanist ethical framework. Second, unlike Smith and Hume, who have tended to be viewed as apologists for the new commercial interests, Ferguson was not only less enamored by these interests but was more circumspect regarding the relative status of economic factors in the evolution of human society.

Finally, for Ferguson an appraisal of "commercial arts" is contingent on the nature and quality of social interaction in the broadest senses—economic, political and legal, but also aesthetic and moral. One implication is that Ferguson can be read as implying that "commercial nations" tend to

accelerate the creation of desires for products that humans do not actually require. In the process, the very nature of “desiring” itself becomes reconstituted in ways that compromise the moral life. For Ferguson, in a commercial nation where, in Smith’s words, “everyone is a merchant,” ardent exertions of freedom and passionate tones of the spirit tend to become devalued in favor of material well-being and security. One consequence is that while commercial nations foster enlightened activities such as “the liberal arts,” they also contribute to an ethos in which the performance of those very arts is undermined.

Carey, Toni: *The Butcher, the Baker and the Golden Rule: Adam Smith on the Nature of Commerce*

Commentators usually consider self-interest the central concept in Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, as gravity is the central concept in Newton’s *Principia*. Yet the Original Index for *WN* contains no entry for “self-interest,” and the term seems nowhere to be found in the text. The term “interest” does appear frequently, most famously in the comment, “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. (*WN* 26-27)

If Smith does not rely on benevolence, he does not rely solely on [self-]interest either. He posits a strong legal justice system (*WN* 610, 716, 910). And he takes almost for granted “the private frugality and good conduct” of ordinary people, which, along with their constant effort to better their condition, is the source “from which publick and... private opulence is originally derived” (*WN* 342-3). *WN* is a book about commerce, something that depends far more heavily than shepherding or agriculture on agreements, and therefore on *trust*. To be sure, commercial transactions typically take place between strangers. The butcher aims solely to reap as much as possible for his meat, and the customer to pay as little as possible to get it. But in order to do business and not merely go on wrangling, each must take the other’s needs and desires into account. Even in purely commercial dealings there is an element of trading places in the imagination, a key component of Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and even a modicum of treating others as one would like to be treated, “the great law of Christianity” (*TMS* 25).

Cairns, John: *Dealing in Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*

There was a small market in slaves in eighteenth-century Scotland. This paper will examine the evidence for it, exploring how it operated in a legal system in which slavery was neither explicitly forbidden nor explicitly permitted. Examination of the evidence throws light on the operation of slavery in eighteenth-century Scotland.

E319 (16:00 – 17:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)

Alternate Takes: Seeing Scottish Literary Men in New Ways

*** Panel of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society**

Chair: Laura Stevens

Purdie, David and Fosl, Peter: *Hume on Religion: A Modern Textual Revision*

David Hume is little read today in Scotland outwith academia. At the 2011 Hume tercentenary Conference at the University of Edinburgh, enquiries from the press and the publishing sector asked what, if anything, might be done to transpose the lucidity of his eighteenth-century prose into English contemporary usage.

This paper presents the results of a textual experiment within Hume’s central works on religion: *The Natural History of Religion* and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. With minimal emendation, we show how Hume’s grammatical, syntactical, and punctuational formats may be realigned to those current with his original readership: the educated general public.

First: one co-author (DP) carried out a full recension of the 1777 Edition, the last corrected by Hume's own hand. All words, phrases, and constructions not in accord with their meaning in contemporary English were abstracted. They were then compared with their mid-eighteenth-century significations in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), available to Hume as Keeper of the Advocates' Library. Where a significant shift of meaning had occurred, this was recorded. Sentence lengths and punctuation were aligned with current English usage.

Second: each proposed emendation was then examined (PF) *qua* professional philosopher, to ascertain if it did, or did not, detract from Hume's original intention and sequence of argument. Only emendations satisfying this process were accepted.

Throughout his life, Hume revised his texts to enhance their clarity and cogency. This work seeks to continue the process in elucidating his two central questions on religious belief:

What is its nature and origin; and does it have a basis in reason?

Sodano, Joel P.: *Sensitive Souls: The Passionate Deaths of Henry Mackenzie's Sentimental Protagonists*

In John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, Fanny Hill describes a moment at the height of sexual intercourse when she "dissolv'd and, breaking out into a deep drawn sigh, sent [her] whole sensitive soul down to that passage where escape was denied it." Besides describing an orgasm, Fanny's image of a "sensitive soul" also references a much older, and less salacious, philosophical debate over the nature and function of the passions.

This paper argues that it is no accident that the sentimental literary tradition invokes the earlier trope of a sensitive soul as the seat of passions, for it more accurately expresses the sentimental novel's concern for explaining affective experiences that cannot be empirically verified. A prime example appears in the work of the Scottish novelist Henry Mackenzie. Harley and Julia, protagonists, respectively, of *The Man of Feeling* and *Julia de Roubigné*, are both "sensitive souls." Not only do they epitomize the over-abundance of feeling that we have come to expect from sentimental heroes, their propensity for emotional excess allows them to experiment with what Susan Manning has identified as "a very different kind of idiom, which moves the reader onto quite a different plane of psychological intensity."

As Fanny Hill portrays it, the notion of a sensitive soul contains within it the possibility for sharing the essential quality of one's self with another, an essence that is at once full of meaning and incapable of being communicated in language. This theoretical paradigm epitomizes the narratives of Harley and Julia even as they are mirror images of each other. This paper will illustrate how, in each case, Mackenzie takes on a theoretical interrogation of the psychological intensity of passionate experience.

Kontler, László: *The Enlightenment Narrative in the Age of Liberal Reform: William Robertson in Hungary*

The late István Hont once proposed the Scottish Enlightenment as a comparative frame whose application might shed new light on the study of the Hungarian "reform age" of the 1830s-1840s. This paper will examine the possibility raised by Hont through an examination of the reception, via translations and other means, of the historical thought and writings of William Robertson (1723-1791), recognized as an important member of the canon of the Scottish Enlightenment, in Hungary in that period. What makes this reception theoretically interesting is that, on the testimony of the serial publications (periodicals) in which this "belated" discovery of Robertson took place, he was recognized as an intellectual contemporary of cutting-edge international thinkers of the "liberal" era, whose thoughts were found relevant to the issues of national and civil emancipation of a minor partner in a Central European composite monarchy.

