

MONDAY / LUNDI, 27.07.2015

KN305 (09:00 – 10:30, Room: M1-12: Oxford: Van Der Goot Building)

Opening Ceremony / Keynote 1: Space Expanded and Filled Anew: Early Modern Europe

Keynote Speaker: Margaret Jacob

S001 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)

The Marketplace of Religion: Enlightenment Theologies and Prose Forms

Organizer / Chair: Sophie Gee, Sarah Rivett

Picciotto, Joanna: *Methodism and the Novel.*

Many historical processes have been identified with secularization. My paper will focus on two: 1) the spread of ascetic discipline beyond the cloister, analyzed by Weber as a condition of the spread of capitalism, and 2) the religiously-motivated assault on "the sacramental," which suggests that disenchantment can be analyzed as a variety of religious experience in its own right. It's not just the analytical category of the "post-secular" but the familiar paradoxes of secularization theory itself that challenge straightforward equations of secular modernity with the decline of religion. Examining the central role of writing in Methodist discipline, the paper explores how analyzing Methodism as a "secularizing religion" illuminates Foucault's "technologies of the [modern] self" and the literary genre most identified with the modern. Methodism began in highly organized routines of prayer, fasting, study, and self-interrogation, but as the movement grew and spread, writing became its most powerful instrument of spiritual discipline. Methodists wrote continually, producing a staggering archive of testimonials in the form of diaries, journals, and letters, in addition to the well-known poems and hymns. Eighteenth-century critiques of both religious enthusiasm and the upstart genre of the novel focus on the figure of the uneducated "scribbler," frequently female, whose compulsion to translate her personal experience into writing was uncontrollable and contagious. But from Pamela to the female Methodists surrounding Wesley—whom a hostile contemporary described as "enquiring about their sensation" and "coquetting in a song-o-Solomon way"—practitioners of this kind of writing were, in Mack's words, "as concerned to analyze the nature of their feelings as they were to experience them" and thus should be understood as part of the culture of sensibility: a culture in which the "religious" and "secular" were thoroughly imbricated.

Gee, Sophie: *Communion, Communication and Sacrifice in Tom Jones.*

My paper pays close attention to a scene from Henry Fielding's novel *Tom Jones* (1749). The heroine, Sophia Western, receives a letter from her beloved Tom Jones, from whom she's estranged. The letter is hidden inside a roasted pullet (fowl), and the bird is also stuffed with its own eggs. The fowl doubles both as a delicacy and an envelope for a letter: it's a literal vessel that is also designed as a symbolic conduit to re-engineer Tom and Sophia's intimacy. This sequence involving the stuffed pullet would have been legible to eighteenth-century readers as a parody of the Anglican Eucharist: an edible object freighted with symbolic meaning. (Fielding was indeed active in debates about reformed Eucharistic theology at the mid-century.) It's an especially interesting parody here because the logic of the Eucharist — sacrifice that enables identification between Christ and communicant — supplies a model for the romantic union Tom is hoping to engender between himself and Sophia. He hopes that the plot of salvation will also "work" for the marriage plot. This paper suggests however, that the failure of Eucharistic logic is essential to the account of martial sympathy in *Tom Jones*.

Fielding suggests that faithful marriages need modern commercial fiction, not religion, to sustain them. Yet enlightenment religion, commerce and fiction are simultaneously revealed to be interdependent, not distinct.

Schmidgen, Wolfram: *Metaphysical Realism*

This paper argues that the conservative backlash against atheism in the 1690s and beyond opened literary possibilities. Atheist writers—or what conservative commentators took for such—sought to erode divine power by equating it with nature or submitting it to necessary laws. In response, such Christian writers as Richard Bentley, Richard Blackmore, and Samuel Clarke asserted that God was not immanent in the world but hovered above it as an external and incomprehensible cause. They argued that God’s act of creation was utterly free and that the world’s order was, therefore, contingent and arbitrary. Daniel Defoe formed a similar response to atheism, and I contend that his fictions were shaped by it. I show that the syntactic and narrative structures of *Robinson Crusoe* make the world’s contingency and arbitrariness palpable. For all its preoccupation with physical objects and actions, *Robinson Crusoe* is a metaphysical novel that unsettles the structures of the given to foster an enlarged sense of possibility and transformation.

S002 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

Art Markets

Oracz, Marta: *The Art Market in the Eighteenth Century Britain - Teaching Arts as a Profession and Occasion to Circulate Ideas.*

In the Eighteenth century Britain practical knowledge of how to paint became a commodity for which demand seemed to be no smaller than the one for the works of art. Artists could count on regular income as they traded their knowledge. It became an occasion to “sell” both, the practical knowledge / teach manual skill/ and to spread the ideas on art. It became fashionable for the middle class women to sketch hence they employed drawing masters. One of such teachers was William Gilpin, a pre-romantic landscape painter. Apart from the amateurs, who took courses in drawing as leisurely activity, there were those who were taught art with an intention of becoming professionals: students of art took up education in the Royal Academy of Arts in London (started just in the Eighteenth century, in 1768). Its first President was sir Joshua Reynolds, famous British Eighteenth century painter. Art became in the Eighteenth century a subject in high schools. One of the high-school teachers was a pre-romantic British landscape painter Alexander Cozens. Gilpin, Reynolds and Cozens as the instructors in arts at schools or

private houses, described the basics for their students in theoretical texts (Gilpin – travel journals, Reynolds- Discourses, Cozens – “A New Method...”). Their texts proved to be more than just manuals with mechanical instructions, since their authors pass on to the future painters also their ideas on art: the relationship between nature, art and imagination, the conception of artist, the nature of the creative process. Hence teaching profession, taken up as a paid job, acted for the aforementioned artists a trigger for their public theoretical debates on art. art, teaching, drawing masters, idea of art, imagination, theoretical texts

Shih, Yi-chieh: *Chitqua: A Chinese Modeler's Business in London Rediscovered in Eighteenth-Century*

Chitqua, or sometimes written in ‘Chequa’, was a Chinese portrait modeler who travelled to London and worked directly for the British cliental from 1769 to 1772. Reaching the height of his success, and having exhibited in the Royal Academy of the Arts of London in 1770, Chitqua was the first Chinese

artist who was presented as an artist- sculptor like the other British artists in London, while in China, he was almost anonymous. It was during the time that the British admired the figures that inherited the French Rococo and la Chinoiserie. Small bronze replicas of famous antique sculptures made in Florence, too, were very popular for their domesticity use, as well as the portraiture from the local artists. Chitqua's portrait figures synthesize actually all of the above and were rapidly welcomed by the market for his highly personalized skills. Commissions from a tea dealer to the Royal Infantry show that Chitqua had been able to successfully run his business outside of China. One of his existent works is the portrait figure of Dr. Anthony Askew (1722-1774), now in the collection of the Royal College of Physicians in London. Unlike the one for his peer Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754) that he ordered from the French sculptor L.-F. Roubiliac (1702-1762), Askew had his own made by Chitqua too, who was 'a grateful Chinese patient' around 1771. My paper is attempting to inquire the main taste of the domestic decoration's market in London at that time. How was Chitqua able to fit in such a foreign market that was radically different from his Chinese origin? His encounters with local connoisseurs and entrepreneurs also gave us traces to comprehend his capacities to integrate this taste to satisfy the clients, and would be examined as well. Keywords: Portrait figures, Chitqua, Canton, The East India Companies, China Trade, The Thirteen Hongs

S003 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Trade, Markets and the Transformation of Philosophy

Organizer / Chair: Cinta Canterla

López-Sastre, Gerardo: *William Robertson: from India to Europe. Spice Trade and Dissemination of Ideas*

William Robertson, one of the most prominent figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, published in 1791 his *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients Had of India*. It is an extremely important work, especially because of the portrait of the Indian culture that it presents in its Appendix. According to Robertson, it is not to any peculiar excellence in the natural productions of India that we must ascribe entirely the predilection of ancient nations for its commodities (pepper would be an exception); we must search for this cause in the superior improvement of its inhabitants. As he writes: "Many facts have been transmitted to us, which, if they are examined with proper attention, clearly demonstrate, that the natives of India were not only more early civilized, but had made greater progress in civilization than any other people." Indian States have put into practice a system of balance of power that prevents despotism. Indian writers have produced works of the quality of Sacontala or the Bhagavad Gita. We are in the presence of a culture that has developed important ethical ideas and the belief on the unity of God (creating a philosophical system that we can compare with stoicism). The political conclusion of all these ideas is that the European nations must not repeat the practices they have incurred in their intercourse with other peoples of Africa and America. So, William Robertson finishes his work with these words: "If I might presume to hope that the description which I have given of the manners and institutions of the people of India could contribute, in the smallest degree, and with the remotest influence, to render their character more respectable, and their condition more happy, I shall close my literary labours with the satisfaction of thinking that I have not lived or written in vain."

Benítez, José Javier: *The Modern Doctrine of Oikeiosis in Adam Smith's Thought*

The most famous legacy of classic Stoicism to modern thought are the notion of natural law and the related conception of cosmopolitanism. These Stoic ideas are the most influential in the entire Western tradition, although have been transformed by new historical, political and ideological circumstances. This process of appropriation continues with the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith. Smith, among modern philosophers, rearticulates one of the most distinguished and valuable theories that explicitly follow a Stoic or Neo-stoic approach. Great efforts have been dedicated by contemporary scholars in ascertaining how to progress from the self-regarding instinct to regard for others in Modern thinkers. Specifically, this issue is discussed in the Adam Smith's thought. The interest for the members of one's own family, friends, compatriots, and so forth, are in relation with the notion of Stoic or Neo-stoic cosmopolitanism. Recently, Fonna Forman-Barzilai has studied that the sense of regarding for others in Smith's thought can be assimilated to the Stoic version of oikeiosis: the sense of similarity of relationship with all others human beings. For instance, Smith appropriation of the concentric pattern of sentiments regarding for all others human beings in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* is founded in the Stoic philosopher Hierocles. Like Hierocles, Smith examines the gradations of affection and care that emerged passionately from the first circle of the self, radiated outward further and further in circles of family, neighbourhoods, communities, nations, and the circle of humanity in the end. My purpose in this talk is to analyse the Adam Smith's exposition on 'neo-oikeiosis' rather than the discussions which usually arises from Smith's consideration about groupings such as family, ethnicity, nation, or class are contingent barriers between us and our fellow human beings.

Canterla, Cinta: *Free Trade: Tucker, Dangeuil, Hamann and the New Philosophy*

In 1756, Hamann translated into German the work by Tucker entitled *A Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which Respectively Attend France and Great Britain, with Regard to Trade* from the French version, the translation and personal annotations for which had been produced by Dangeuil. The aim of this translation of Tucker's work was to contribute to the spread in Germany of theses opposed to the preservation of trade monopolies, which because of their intrinsic interests were damaging to the Berens company in Riga. J. C. Berens had been a university colleague of Hamann's and had urged his friend, who at the time was working as a preceptor, to carry out the translation. Hamann took advantage of this opportunity to lay down the foundations of metacriticism of the Enlightenment in a brief appendix that he added, in which he put forward his own ideas extolling the usefulness to the public of political economics and free trade, whilst at the same time opposing any monopoly of knowledge and power. In this appendix he criticised the aristocracy and considered the bourgeois trading class to be the fabric of a new healthily republican society, but he would later on become disenchanted with this social group and call for a new German philosophy, led and upheld by the middle class, to guide the new generations towards action. This new philosophy was meant to denounce the collusion with power of the old philosophy, whether it were academic, erudite or courtly, which constituted an effective monopoly of knowledge from which the general public was excluded. It was also meant to contribute to the distribution of resources and the socialisation of dignity and welfare. The subsequent development of his work would consolidate his support for these ideas, which, passing through Herder and following the course of German philosophy, would lead, as I. Berlin correctly pointed out, to Marx.

S004 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

Economies of Nature

Organizer / Chair: Tili Boon Cuille

Wolfe, Charles: *(Conceptual) Mechanisms of Life: From Expanded Mechanism to the Vitalist Animal Economy*

Early modern antimaterialists, from the Cambridge Platonists and Leibniz to apologeticists such as Bergier, assert that materialists reduce living beings (especially humans) to automata. After all, isn't one of the most famous books of the time entitled *L'Homme-Machine*? But reality is more complex, more eclectic, more hybrid. For one, La Mettrie really employs the machine as an analogy, and never reduces 'organic' properties to 'inorganic' properties. Further, mechanist physiologies (Descartes, Boerhaave) and a fortiori micro-mechanist physiologies (Haller) never dispense with a functional explanatory dimension, seeking to account for the specificity of living beings without being strongly teleological; this can be seen even in mechanistic pathology, as Bertoloni Meli has suggested. In addition, in both the supposedly 'purest', Cartesian forms of mechanism and overtly in the more overdetermined forms (like Boyle's corpuscularianism), chemical properties creep into the matter theory inherent in the mechanism. Lastly, models of biological 'organization' including the 'animal economy' in its vitalist versions – where the metaphor of the beeswarm is crucial – open up a conceptual space which sometimes resembles an 'expanded mechanism', sometimes a heuristic vitalism which would remain compatible with mechanistic accounts of specific lower-level organs and functions (Bordeu, Ménuret de Chambaud). The animal economy is a model of organic order which is neither diametrically opposed to the machine (in favour perhaps of vital force or soul), nor a merely quantitative model. Our challenge then is to understand how (a) mechanical models of Life are not denials of vital properties but attempts to grasp such properties, analogically and otherwise; (b) there is nevertheless a shift towards a more ontologized sense of vital 'structure' with the animal economy concept (more physiological, less anatomical), yet (c) even this more ontologized sense of a vital unity or interconnection (sympathy, cohesion, consensus etc.) is not, per se, an anti-mechanism.

Vila, Anne: *Perturbing the Animal Economy: Psychophysiology and the Passions, from the Encyclopédie to the French Revolution*

"Exact knowledge of the animal economy sheds great light on the physical aspect of moral actions [...] It may be true that to be a good moralist, one must be an excellent physician." (Ménuret de Chambaud, "Oeconomie animale," *Encyclopédie*, vol. 11, 1765). One of the basic principles of eighteenth-century medical discourse was that understanding the moral side of human nature required expert understanding of the physical side. That idea fueled both a renewed medical interest in the passions (understood as one of the six "non-naturals," or things necessary to health) and a proliferation of medical works devoted to disease syndromes related to moral actions, like overstudy, onanism, and the nervous/digestive ailments that were loosely grouped under the label of "vapors." Starting with selected *Encyclopédie* entries and ending with Marc-Antoine Petit's *Discours sur la douleur* (1799), this paper will explore the ways in which the passions were held to perturb the animal economy, either as the underlying cause of disease or as a force that, if deployed with care, could effect a therapeutic, health-restoring crisis. It will pay particularly close attention to the perturbing powers attributed to the passions by the Lausanne physician Dr. Samuel-Auguste Tissot and the patients and practitioners who sent him consultation letters--a group that included a good number of medical magnetizers, for whom the act of shaking up the moral/physical interrelation had very particular (and often controversial) meanings. The central focus of this section will be the ways in which passions figured in the treatments prescribed for nervous ailments, as narrated both by Tissot and by those who consulted him (in the letters now available online at

<http://tissot.unil.ch/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=Tissot&-loadframes>). If time allows, I will also consider literary representations of cures for the vapors, like those found in Diderot's writings and in Marsollier's 1782 comedy *Le vapoureux*.

Cuille, Tili Boon: *Organic Analogies in the Ossian Epics*

I examine how the economy of nature was represented not in treatises of natural history presided over and published by Linnaeus and Buffon in 1749, but rather in the Ossian epics, purportedly discovered by James Macpherson in the 1760s. The depiction of the natural world in the Ossian epics differed significantly from previous portrayals in European literature. In *De la littérature*, Germaine de Staël contrasted the Ossian epics' atmosphere (northern) and attendant affect (melancholy) with those of the Homeric epics. In the Ossian epics *Fingal* and *Temora* (1762-63), the natural, human, and spiritual realms are interconnected via an elaborate series of metaphors and analogies. This organic understanding of the universe, including the cycle of life and death (warriors and ghosts), was particularly appealing, I contend, to natural and moral philosophers steeped in Enlightenment vitalism. Recent publications, including Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère's edited collection and Catherine Packham's monograph, have explored connections between natural history, vitalistic experimentation, and aesthetics in Scotland and France. I analyze the economy of nature at work in the Ossian epics on the levels of language and networks of associations (memories of the past, visions of the future), before turning to their favorable reception in France. Le Tourneur's 1777 translation of the epics into French was the first in a series of translations that spread their fame throughout Europe before they were exposed as a hoax. Napoleon declared Ossian his favorite poet and had the blind bard immortalized in the paintings and operas he commissioned. I consider why the Ossian epics appealed to French philosophers interested in physiological and moral sensibility from Diderot through Staël. The appeal, I contend, lay in the relocation of the metaphysical within nature, a tendency that Peter Reill attributes to Buffon and his followers.

Moscoso, Javier: *The Moral Economy of Political Observation: Goya, Palafox, Larrey, and the Disasters of War*

The moral economy of modern passions took place within the dramatic setting of modern theatricality. It demanded not just the presence of victims and offenders, but also the attentive eye of an "emancipated spectator", a figuration very similar to what the philosopher Adam Smith referred to simply by the name of "the spectator", the "bystander" or the "witness". Confronting the outburst of violence, these witnesses shared with the victims their thirst of vengeance and their desire of justice. Without being the mainly affected persons, they assumed as their own the circumstances and disgracefulness of others; they sympathized with the bitterness of others. In this presentation, I will approach the interplay between sympathy, objectivity and humanitarianism, by means of the letters, autobiographical reports and graphic work of three main characters: Dominique Larrey, the famous surgeon of Napoleon's army; José Palafox, the Spanish General in charge of the defense of Zaragoza during the French siege of 1808; and Francisco de Goya, the Spanish painter, whose *Disasters of the War* are widely recognized as one the first graphic representations of a modern military conflict. Though involved in the same cultural setting, each one of these three characters will provide us with a different strategy for turning the singularity of events into accounts and stories.

S005 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)

Art Markets: Publisher's and Collector's Policies

Chair: Renata Schellenberg

Carlino, Andrea: *Trouble Printmakers. Remondini's Giudizio Universale and the Persecution of a Roman Print-seller (1772-73)*

April 21st 1772: Antonio Samonato the owner of a little shop in Rome was put in jail by the pontifical "birri" and questioned by the Governor Court during the next few days. He was accused to sell a satirical print bearing the title *Giudizio Universale*, where the coat of arms of the Bourbons and the name of Charles III, King of Spain, appear in the lower portion of the image where the Hell with devils and damned is represented. This print, commissioned by Bonardel, a French merchant based in Cadiz, was printed by Remondini, a publishing house in Bassano, probably the biggest editorial enterprise in Europe at the time. The Spanish Ambassadors in Rome were convinced that the *Giudizio Universale* was part of the virulent anti-Spanish campaign led by the Jesuit (as a response to the expulsion of the order from Spain and all territories governed by the Bourbons), a campaign that – they suspected - could count on the collaboration, among others, also of the well-connected Remondini family. The affair involved the imprisonment of two other printsellers (in Turin and in Madrid), the exile of Remondini and endless diplomatic negotiations throughout Europe, until the Court of Spain acknowledged that a misinterpretation of the scene of the print occurred, due to the political turmoil generated by the expulsion of the Jesuits. This paper aims at pointing out the articulation of the microhistory of print selling with the larger frame of political and religious tensions in 1770s' Catholic Europe. The archival material concerning Samonato and Remondini court-cases also provides the occasion to have an insights into the role played by different "market experts" (print seller, big merchant, publisher and typographer) in the selection of themes and singular details to be represented in prints destined to a wide European public.

Parisian, Catherine: *Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* and the Economics of Publishing*

When Frances Burney published her fourth novel *The Wanderer: Or Female Difficulties* (1814), she and her publishers, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown were optimistic for economic success. This novel, however, has gone down in literary history as an artistic and financial failure. As the story has been told, the first edition sold out before it hit the booksellers' shops, and a second was immediately ordered. In the eighteen days between the two editions, reviewers' and readers' responses were negative. Critics complained that the plot was improbable, the characters stock, and the prose inflated. As a result, most of the second edition was wasted. This much one learns from Burney's own letters. In the 1980s, critics like Margaret Anne Doody, Janice Farrar Thadeus and others began to reassess this novel, finding in it more complex characters, more mature themes, and a more intriguing plot line. Such critics have also drawn attention to misogynist, ageist, and political biases in some of the early reviews. Yet questions Burney raises in her letters remain unanswered, questions such as how many editions the publishers actually printed, whether the publishers properly advertised the novel, and whether they paid Burney fairly in accordance with their contract. I draw on original archival research to answer these questions, bringing together evidence from relevant correspondence, printing house ledgers, and publisher's records, to consider *The Wanderer* in the context of London's 1814 publishing industry. I calculate how much Burney and her publishers profited from *The Wanderer*, and I consider the economics of publishing this novel in relation to other new novels published the same year. This approach to *The Wanderer* not only demonstrates more precisely its success as a financial endeavor, but it also supports a reconsideration of its place in literary history.

Pietrabissa, Camilla: *Painting for Amusement and Distraction: Landscape Pictures by Jean-Baptiste Oudry in the Marquis de Beringhen's Cabinet*

In 1744, Jean-Pierre Mariette complained about the lack of landscapists among French painters. He criticised contemporary artists for creating landscapes mostly for their 'amusement and distraction', following a classic trope on the genre that circulated since the Renaissance. However, Mariette also noted that landscapes by old masters and contemporary artists were sought after as decoration for the richest cabinets. These remarks reflect the double nature of the discourse on landscape representations during the period: while critics increasingly considered landscape as a fundamental talent of any artists and as an important feature of any picture's composition, they still looked down on the genres that did not have a strong narrative or a clear morale. Under this light, Henri Camille de Beringhen (1693-1770), the son of a major collector of prints, can be considered as the prototype of the collector specialised in landscape pictures, bought or commissioned from contemporary artists such as Lancret or Boucher. Within his collection, a special position should be given to the series of seven landscapes commissioned to Jean Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755). An academicien specialised in hunting pieces and the portrayal of animals, Oudry painted Beringhen's portrait in 1722, and became the official painter of the royal hunts after the collector introduced him to Louis XV. The series of landscapes is exceptional in the painter's production and received unprecedented public exposure: two paintings from the series were shown in the Salon of 1739, and all of them appear in the livret of 1743. Finally, Oudry himself engraved the *Vue de Dieppe* with a dedication to his patron. The paper asks what was the impact of such commission on the career of the *peintre animalier*, and proposes that landscape pictures constituted an alternative market for academicians at times of diminished interest in classic genres.

S006 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Opening Central Asian Markets By Russia in the XVIII Century: Geopolitics and Economic interests

Organizer / Chair: Sergey Lyubichankovskiy

Lyubichankovskiy, Sergey: *Formation of the New Center of Russian-East Trade in the Orenburg Province in the Middle of the XVIII Century*

In the XVIII century there is a shift of ways of Russian-East and transit trade. Beyond Volga a new center of trade relations of the Russian Empire with her southern neighbors was appeared - Orenburg. It was favored by political conditions. In the early thirties of the XVIII cent. into citizenship of Russia turned part of Kazakh tribes. It opened new opportunities for development of trade of Russia with east states. Since the beginning of the 1740th we had continuous contacts between dealers of neighboring states through Orenburg. To involve east dealers in the Orenburg trade, the imperial authorities made the decision on introduction of preferential duties: 3% against 5% under the Trade charter. Within some first years a trade in Orenburg was carried out in the form of an exchange. However in 1750 trade in Orenburg was equated by the decision of the imperial government to fair that meant removal of a ban from retail trade. This decision promoted expansion of Russian-east trade through the Orenburg region. Twice a year to the Orenburg region there arrived caravans from Central Asia, Iran, India. Caravans of 1000-2000 camels were not a rarity. The range of brought goods was wide: skin, wool, cotton, furs, fish, caviar. In a large number to Orenburg delivered bread and cattle. Thus, the Orenburg became the center of enormous commodity exchanges and riveted attention of dealers and buyers of several large regions of the country: Volga region, Urals, Siberia, Kazakh steppes, also as khanates of Central Asia and other states. The range of realized goods in certain cases even was richer and more various, than at leading fairs of Russia due to specifics of a consumer demand and uniqueness of the offer from indigenous people of the Urals, Siberia and the Central Asian region.

Godovova, Elena: *Southeast Direction of Russian Customs Policy in the Second Half of XVIII Century*

Frontier territories in a southeast of the country, having the name « the Orenburg region», became the center of propagation of the Russian influence in Kazakhstan and Central Asia in XVIII century. In 1752 the Orenburg custom duties with a fiscal character has been approved. According to the government opinion, it should lead to increase of customs incomes of treasury. As a result the custom charges were reduced by 2,5 times. In 1753 – 1757, in connection with a cancelling of the internal customs duties and gathering, duties from the foreign trade operations have been raised. Willing to find a way out of this position, the Orenburg governor D.V.Volkov addressed the empress Ekaterina II in 1763 with the request to make lower or to cancel at all the grain duty for ten years. His request has been satisfied. This step is explained not only as a desire to distribute bread-cultivation in this area, but also as an aspiration to achieve positive foreign trade balance due to an increase of grain export to Asia. In 1778 Ekaterina II has signed the decree about introduction of the new Orenburg tariff which was developed by the Commission on commerce from 1770. Introduction of this tariff has led to commodity circulations growth as the Asian merchant class stirred up the activity on import of the goods to Russia. And though the main objective concerning the creation of positive foreign trade balance has not been reached, the aim to attract «Asian people» to trading has been fulfilled.

Smolarz, Elena: *Slave Trade in Central Asia in the 18th Century and Russian Imperial Policy Regarding its Limitation (based on documents of Russian imperial institutions in Orenburg)*

In contradistinction to Transatlantic or Mediterranean slave trade is the intercontinental slave trade in Central Asia widely uninvestigated. This paper aims to contribute to the research on slave trade in Bukhara, Khiva and in the Kazakh Steppe and on the imperial policy of Russian Empire regarding its limitation. The analysis of archival documents of Russian officials from Orenburg enables the reconstruction of slave trade practice. Memoirs and reports of escaped and ransomed Russian slaves represent a unique source for the perspective of the subordinates that have not been carved out till now. These reports were partly published in the Russian press of the 19th century and partly stored at the State Archive of Orenburg (Russian Federation) and at the State Archive of the Republic Kazakhstan. Spatial dimension of the slave trade practice will be analysed by examining circumstances of enslavement, transport routes and conditions, slave trade places as well as working spaces. The study on networks of involved actors and on their strategies allows the reconstruction of the social dimension. The next analysis level plays a part in contributing to mobility of knowledge. The slaves as actors for the transfer of knowledge conduce to the exchange of expert knowledge (e.g. military know-how for Khiva and geographical, political and economic information for the Russian Empire). Finally, the imperial measures and strategies regarding the limitation of ‘the shameful trade in human beings’ will be covered. By examining spatial and social dimensions of this phenomenon, the paper provides a deeper understanding of slave trade practice in Central Asia. The study of imperial policy clarifies the interaction patterns of state and economic actors as well as potential influence of these measures on the established slave trade processes.

S007 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Retail Trade, Castile, 1670-1830

Organizer / Chair: Máximo García

Bartolomé, Juan Manuel: *The Secondhand Consumption in Leon (Spain). 17th - 19th*

The maintenance of the 'secondhand markets' inside the Spanish still at the end of the Ancien Régime is a fact that shows the delay of the development of consumption of more modern 'semidurables' products.

Muñoz, Daniel: *Buy, Sell, Consume. 18th - 19th*

In the Spanish peninsular periphery (the case of the city of Valencia is very representative) developed an active trade in stable stores that combined their modern activities with other more traditional techniques.

Pérez-García, Manuel: *Vicarius Consumers? 18th Century*

The flourishing commercial and consumerist Mediterranean Spanish area of Cartagena could characterize within the theories of 'vicarius consumption'?

García, Máximo: *Secondhand Beside the New Consumptions. Castile. 1670-1830*

Novelty could also reach urban and rural buyer through auctions: those cheapest traffic slowed Spanish commercial and consumerist development all through the Modern History period?

S008 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)

The Picaresque Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century

Organizer / Chair: Maryam Khan

Labádi, Gergely: *Translating the Picaresque*

The second half of the long eighteenth century is the first period of the rise of the Hungarian novel. Since the Hungarian culture belongs to the periphery, these early Hungarian novels follow the literature of the European centre's cultures. The texts are mostly west European translations and adaptations. There are many attempts to fill the foreign forms (chiefly the ancient and picaresque novels, and the heroic romances) with Hungarian contents. My proposed presentation would examine the questions of the picaresque novel through the example of some Hungarian translations. I'm interested in both the linguistic and bibliographical codes of the genre. On the one hand, the analysis of the ways how the translations try to reshape their sources (some of Voltaire's novels, for example) shows the traditions of the genre followed by the translators. According to the data of the Hungarian book-trade of the second half of the 18th century, the number of the non-Hungarian texts is much more higher than the Hungarian ones. Thus the translations and the nationalizations have mainly the same consumers as the original ones. Consequently, not only the authors but also the consumers of the Hungarian texts might be familiar with the literary traditions, which enables them to observe the changes of the genres. On the other hand, the examination of the format of the books, the categories used in the catalogues, and the texts of the advertisements provides important insights into the cultural-social context in which these novels were read and interpreted. These sources reveal the strategies of the legitimization of the novel, and show how the contemporaneous knowledge perceives and describes the texts we label as picaresque, for example.

Khan, Maryam: *Original Letters from India: Eliza Fay and the English Picaresque*

One of the most unlikely figures to engage with picaresque tropes in the eighteenth century is the bourgeois Englishwoman. The enterprising Moll Flanders, of course, has been counted as a picaresque, but that still begs the question as to how women themselves crafted narratives of survival and adventure during this period. The landscape of the picaresque for the bourgeois Englishwoman perhaps, then, lies outside of England itself, in the direction of and in the colonial territory. In this paper, I want to examine Eliza Fay, whose *Original Letters from India*, till very recently remained largely understudied by scholars of the eighteenth-century. Fay, whose father according to E. M. Forster, “was perhaps a sailor,” writes a travel narrative that is rife with robbery, kidnapping, manipulation, abandonment, and heavy debts as she travels from the Continent to India, via Egypt. I will argue that Fay’s narrative provides us with a new category of English picaresque, one that is both feminine and dependent on the imperial space. We are forced, then, to understand the picaresque in eighteenth-century England by working through the terms provided by Anne J. Cruz: far from a narrative of equity, the English picaresque depends on the inequalities of the metropolis and the fantasy of the colony.

Charles, Katie: *Interrupting Women: Interpolated Tales in Joseph Andrews and Peregrine Pickle*

In *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel*, Leah Price argues that literary criticism takes as its operating premise “a gentleman's agreement to take the parts of a work for the whole”—but how binding would any such “gentleman’s contract” be for the picaresque novel, with its signature collection of rogues and episodic plot structure? This paper attends to two famed picaresque novels whose interpolated tales flout the part-for-the-whole gentleman’s contract and frame their transgression in gendered terms: “The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality” that constitutes Chapter 88 of Tobias Smollett’s *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751) and “The History of Leonora, or, the Unfortunate Jilt” that appears in Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* (1742). In both cases, the interpolated tale’s assertion of a gender-bending new tone, style, and brand of content is so extreme that many critics discern the feminine hand of a distinct author, with Sarah Fielding put forward as collaborator with her brother and Lady Frances Vane put forward as her own autobiographer rather than Smollett’s biographical object. In these disputes, the interpolated tale becomes a contracted ground upon which readers test their notions of gender and its hermeneutic role in narrative. What is at stake when a male-focalized picaresque novel cedes its point of view to a female narrator? What is the effect of embedding Lady Vane’s tale of “uniquely female” distress within a novel brimming with the male prerogative of sexual libertinism, pranks, and rape? How does the interpolated tale emerge as a space for mediating the novels’ relationship to their literary predecessors in the picaresque tradition?

S009 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

Markets and Military Monarchies’: Enlightened Reflections On the Threat of Despotism, Pufendorf to Mandeville

Organizer / Chair: Robert von Friedeburg

Klerk, Marianne: *Reconstructing Rule of Law and Reason of State in the Age of Louis XIV*

From the late sixteenth up to the end of the seventeenth century Europeans experienced a crisis of the rule of law. The intensification of warfare forced early modern Europeans to reconceptualise civil order. The Reformation and the subsequent brutal religious civil wars led to a growing need for alternatives to divine law and divinely-inspired natural law as ordering principles of society. Contemporaries increasingly claimed that coercion and sovereign authority of government were necessary to prevent society from falling apart. Often these claims were verbalised by the

terminology of reason of state. In the last third of the seventeenth century, however, authors began using this terminology in defence of the rule of law that seemed threatened by confessional strife, the European arms- and war race, coercive princely politics, and despotism, all embodied by Louis XIV. This paper will discuss this transition within the use of reason state arguments, from a justification of coercion and sovereign authority to an defence of the rule of law .

Von Friedeburg: *The Transformation of Reflections on Tyranny into those on ‘Despotism’ under the Threat of Military Monarchy*

Between the later sixteenth century and the mid seventeenth century, with enormous effect on later intellectual development, reflections on tyranny transformed into those on ‘despotism’ . Rather than focussing on the heretical ruler as threat to the divine order, reflections on ‘despotism’ constructed the image of a rule systematically designed to rob subjects of their property and found examples of this kind of government not least in the Ottoman and Christian Moscow. This transformation introduced new standards of legitimacy, for example with regard to the public nature of government and the status of subjects under legitimate rule.

Becker, Evaldo: *L’idée de Commerce Comme Facteur Pacificateur et les Critiques de Rousseau à Grotius et Saint-Pierre*

Notre objectif dans cette communication est de présenter certaines des critiques de Rousseau à l'idée que le commerce est un facteur pacificateur des relations inter-étatiques. Pour y arriver on confrontera les textes du genevois avec les arguments de Grotius et de l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre qui voient dans le commerce un lien d'approche et d'apaisement des relations internationales. Tant dans le *Mare liberum* que dans *De jure belli ac pacis* Grotius plaide en faveur du libre-échange et de son rôle civilisateur. En outre, suite à l'avis d'auteurs tels que Plutarque, il insiste sur le fait que la mer a été créée par Dieu pour rendre « sociable et traitable notre existence, qui sans cela, eût été farouche et sans commerce, en suppléant par une assistance mutuelle ce qui manquait, et en faisant naître, par l'échange des biens, la société et l'amitié. » Le commerce est également un élément fondamental de la réflexion de l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre qui, dans le *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe*, argumente que l'usage de celui-ci et l'expansion des profits qu'il apporte sont un facteur de réduction du bellicisme entre les peuples. Cependant, cette idée sera critiquée par Rousseau, qui voit dans le commerce un facteur de tensions et de conflits. Le problème, selon Rousseau, c'est que les objets de désir ne déclenchent ni le commerce ni même la guerre, mais l'avidité et la violence. C'est ce que nous lisons dans ce passage des *Principes du droit de la guerre*, où l'auteur écrit : « La terre, l'argent, les hommes, toutes les dépouilles qu'on peut s'approprier deviennent ainsi les principaux objets des hostilités réciproques et cette basse avidité changeant insensiblement les idées des choses, la guerre enfin dégénère en brigandage, et d'ennemis et guerriers on devient peu à peu Tyrans et voleurs ».

Ma, Li: *Le gouvernement Chinois dans Despotisme de la Chine de François Quesnay*

Publié pour la première fois en 1767, dans les *Éphémérides du citoyen*, *Despotisme de la Chine* est un texte d'une centaine de pages entièrement consacré à la Chine, ce qui est assez rare à l'époque, même s'il est vrai qu'au XVIIIe siècle, « l'empire de la Chine est devenu [...] un objet particulier d'attention, d'étude, de recherche et de raisonnement ». De plus, l'image chinoise présentée par Quesnay est fort admirable, ce qui n'est pas souvent le cas dans la seconde partie du XVIIIe siècle. Il faut donc s'interroger sur les motivations de Quesnay. Pourquoi s'intéresse-t-il à la Chine ? Cet intérêt est-il lié à sa théorie politico-économique et aux préoccupations de l'école physiocratique ? D'après la version imprimée de 1767, c'est dans le dernier chapitre du texte que l'auteur, pour la première fois, expose systématiquement sa philosophie politique et sociale. Ce qui nous donne

l'impression que Quesnay s'est inspiré du gouvernement chinois à former sa propre théorie. Cela est-il vrai ? À part la présentation du gouvernement chinois, de ses fondements moral et économique, on s'intéresse également aux questions suivantes : Pourquoi Quesnay a-t-il rédigé ce texte ? Quels sont ses objectifs ? Comment a-t-il fait pour les atteindre ? Comment ses collègues physiocrates et d'autres philosophes ont-ils reçu ce texte ?

S011(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-06: Luxemburg: Van Der Goot Building)

Church Discourse as an Instrument of the Cultural Translation: Enlightenment and Beyond (I)

Organizer / Chair: Ekaterina Kislova, Denis Sdvizkov

Kislova, Ekaterina: *European Sermons in Russian Orthodox Seminaries*

After Peter the Great's reforms there was a complex and radical change in Russian orthodox church. In my presentation I will speak about widespread of new type of sermons - "scholastics" or "European", based on new rhetoric tradition and - that is more important - on a modern language. Main source of this process was new "post-petrine" seminaries, where the course of rhetoric was studied on manuals, used all across the Europe. But the most interesting processes began in the second half of 18th century, then the teaching of French and German languages spread in orthodox seminaries. Collections of the most popular European preachers such as G.J.Zollikofer, Saurin, Bossuet, Fléchier were widely used as a texts for rhetoric analysis in classes and as "home reading" for students. Some of these sermons were translated by teachers and students of seminaries and published. But the question of ideological influences of these texts is still opened and even the precise list of the European preachers whose books were used in seminaries and kept in libraries has not been composed. My research bases on the archive and published materials of Slavic Greek Latin Academy, Troitskaya theological seminary and some provincial seminaries: lists of books in their libraries, reports of the teachers of French and German, some private documents. I also analyse lists of translations, made and published in 18th century, and educational background of their authors. So we can maintain a base for the further study of cultural influences through the sermons.

Schierle, Ingrid: *Russian Orthodox Sermons in European Context*

Printed collections of sermons were used as reference and teaching material for the clergy in the Russian Empire from the second half of the 18th century. Some of these homiletic texts were translations or adaptations of sermons originally given in French or German. The lecture will consider the sermons which were chosen for translation, how they were translated and adapted for the target language and how the contents and form of Catholic and Protestant sermons were transformed for a Russian Orthodox context. The focus throughout will be on the concept of the "good citizen and true Christian" used in the sermons. Finally, the lecture will outline the dissemination and reception of sermon collections right up to the 19th century.

Sdvizkov, Denis: *When Russian Clergy Learned to Read*

The paper is based on personal documents of the Russian clergy from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—diaries, autobiographies, and letters. Despite its lag compared to the nobility, the Russian clergy in the post-Petrine era was becoming increasingly literate thanks to the development of religious institutions of education. The spread of the modern form of reading—with its emphasis on individual and silent consumption of texts—acted as a powerful tool for the formation of the clergy estate's collective consciousness and individual identities. Translated ethical-theological literature emerged as an important addition to standard church and church-influenced texts. Revivalist Protestant and Catholic texts (François Fénelon, Madam Guyon, Johann Arndt, etc.) began to play an especially important role, as did Western mystics, such as Karl von Eckartshausen or

Louis Claude de Saint-Martin. Secular texts also appeared with increasing frequency in the documents—like Daniel Defoe, etc. By the end of the eighteenth century, the educated clergy began to read increasingly in foreign languages—French and German, in addition to Latin. The paper will explore: - The establishment and evolution of the Russian clergy's reading canon over a century from the middle of the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries and the amount of translated and foreign literature in it. - The differences and peculiarities within the estate—between the white (parish) and black (monastic) clergy as well as the practice of the Western clergy's reading habits. - Comparisons with the reading habits of other estates—the nobility and the little that is known about the merchants and the tax-paying groups. The similarities and differences in interpretations of the same texts by members of different estates. - Conclusions about the influence of reading habits and materials on the formation of the clergy's collective and individual identities.

S011(II) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-06: Luxemburg: Van Der Goot Building)

Church Discourse as an Instrument of the Cultural Translation: Enlightenment and Beyond (II)

Organizer / Chair: Ekaterina Kislova, Denis Sdvižkov

Pogosjan, Jelena: *Russian Iconostases in the Reign of Peter I*

The reign of Peter I was a period of westernization, secularization and the ubiquitous regulation of the arts in Russia. In a number of scholarly works, religious art often had been pushed to the periphery of this emerging cultural space, because it was perceived as being traditional and conservative by nature and, therefore, not in line with the new trends of the period; it did not belong to the “revolutionary” paradigm. Many art critics also see state-regulated religious art as being a product of Peter I's “corrupting” church reform, and even consider icons and iconostases from this period to be incorrect and improper in relation to the Russian Orthodox dogmata and previous tradition and, therefore, of little or no interest. Icon painting during this period was not, however, an obscure or perishing form of art; it was a booming artistic field, where artists were enticed by more influential and wealthy customers. Additionally, every year more and more iconostases were required for churches in the newly conquered Baltic cities and in Saint-Petersburg, Russia's new capital. The “unconventional” iconostases constructed during Peter I's reign should not be seen as second-rate corrupted productions. Instead, this cultural phenomenon should be understood as resulting from the artists' attempts to cope with new strict state regulations and, at the same time, a very high demand. It is essential to treat the iconostases of this period as attempts to find a compromise between new westernized forms and traditional Orthodox values. Therefore, religious art in the early 18th century should be studied as a set of strategies employed by artists for adaptation, translation and yet, at the same time, resistance to church reform in Russia. The proposed paper will examine new Saint-Petersburg iconostases constructed between 1715 and 1725.

Silina, Alina: *The Mid 18th Century Seminary Poetry of Russian Province*

The Russian theological seminaries of the 18th century had courses which were based on Baroque principles similar to ones of Western European Jesuit Colleges and involved studying of Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric as well the standard poetics. Versification was obligatory practice for the seminarians. The Seminary Poetry of the 18th century is a bright and distinctive phenomenon in the Russian historical and literary process. Nevertheless, the obvious immature and unprofessional nature of school lyric poetry moves it aside to the periphery of literature and consequently - to the periphery of scientists' interest. The least explored works are the provincial seminarians' endeavours. The present report is to introduce to the audience the seminarians' lyric poetry from Volga-Vyatka region and Northwestern region of Russia. Poems from the scripts will be examined from the point of view of the versification system, genres and teaching the subject. A lot of attention will be paid to the poetry program. It should be underlined that the research will be dedicated to the seminary lyrics of

the mid 18th century. In the 1750s the baroque theory of poetry is replaced with new classicism settings, models and authorities, but a lot of baroque elements still remain in the seminarian poetry for some time, due to which a peculiar synthetic theory of theological poetry is formed in the middle of the 18th century. The main language of the baroque theory of poetry is Latin, but the new versification tradition considerably increases the role of the Russian language. It is the students' poems in Russian that will be the object of my research in the future report. The given report is aimed at showing the originality of the Russian seminarian poetry in spite of the fact that this poetry has mainly educational meaning and does not have a significant artistic value.

Petterson, Christina: *The Eucharist and Socio-economic Transformation*

This paper examines how the real presence of Jesus is produced in a number of unpublished speeches held by Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to his community of Moravian Brethren in 18th century Eastern Saxony. This real presence is crucial to the ongoing production of community and self. While these everyday experiences of the body and blood of Jesus are seen to enhance the significance of the Eucharist I will consider to which extent this daily experience of Jesus extends the Eucharist into the everyday lives of individuals. The French philosopher Louis Marin has suggested that the Eucharist can be seen as 'a particular instance of the problem concerning signs and words in their relation to things and ideas'. This observation gains significant momentum when we consider the shifts in the production of meaning that took place in the 15th and 16th centuries and which are embodied in struggles over and engagement with the Eucharist by, e.g., Luther, Leibniz, and the Port-Royal Logic. If the Eucharist is a prism for the production of meaning and exploring the relation between sign and presence, then the displacement of the presence of Jesus to the everyday is momentous. It would therefore be worth examining how this presence serves to refract ideas of sacredness and spiritualism from Jesus to the individual, producing a new understanding of a human being and its relation to the world. While the contribution of Radical Pietism and Pietism to modern individualisation and secularisation have long been recognised, this paper examines to what extent the evocation of presence contributes to these developments, focusing on specific signification practises and concrete uses of affective language and christological symbols. It thus goes beyond individualisation and secularisation and examines the conditions which make these changes possible.

S012(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Pierre Bayle and the Enlightenment: Pierre Bayle et les Lumières (I)

Organisateur/Président: Anton Matytsin, Sébastien Charles

Paganini, Gianni: *Pierre Bayle Interprète de l'hétérodoxie Juive à l'aube des Lumières*

Dans quelques articles importants, Richard H. Popkin a mis en lumière la contribution apportée par la culture de provenance hébraïque à la naissance de l'incrédulité moderne, mais il est indubitable que Pierre Bayle fut l'un des relais les plus importants pour une interprétation qui réactualisa la dissidence juive dans la perspective de l'hétérodoxie moderne. Nous nous pencherons surtout sur la lecture que Bayle a fait du Colloquium Heptaplomerum de Bodin comme l'ouvrage d'un crypto-juif, mais aussi sur des articles importants du Dictionnaire historique et critique comme « Acosta » et « Sadducéens ». Le cas de Uriel Da Costa fut pour Bayle le paradigme exemplaire d'une dynamique intellectuelle et religieuse qui aurait amené ce juif, persécuté tant par l'Inquisition portugaise que par ses coreligionnaires, à être « ni Juif, ni Chrétien, ni Mahométan », en devenant plutôt l'adepte d'une « religion naturelle » (de souche biblique mais universaliste : « les sept préceptes de Noé et de ses descendants »).

McKenna, Antony: *Bayle et le Scepticisme: un Écran de Fumée*

Dans l'article «Zénon d'Élée», Bayle démontre que nous n'avons aucune conception certaine de l'espace ni du temps. Bayle donne là une force formidable à la philosophie pyrrhonienne de l'incertitude. Mais la question du pyrrhonisme – de l'incertitude de nos connaissances – doit être distinguée de celle des rapports entre la raison et la foi. C'est dans l'article «Pyrrhon» du Dictionnaire que Bayle aborde le pyrrhonisme du point de vue de la foi, en montrant que les mystères chrétiens détruisent nos notions élémentaires sur le plan ontologique comme aussi sur le plan moral. La doctrine chrétienne nous réduit au pyrrhonisme et le pyrrhonisme nous réduit à douter s'il existe un corps et un esprit et à admettre que nous n'avons que des idées relatives du juste et de l'honnête. La foi dans les mystères chrétiens implique donc le pyrrhonisme, qui serait son seul fondement philosophique «solide». Cependant, avant de projeter cette conception de la «foi pyrrhonienne» sur l'ensemble de la philosophie – et surtout sur la philosophie religieuse – de Bayle, il importe de suivre attentivement la chronologie de ses prises de position pour en saisir la cohérence. En effet, on le tient en général pour un sceptique pyrrhonien et on projette ce pyrrhonisme sur l'ensemble de ses écrits. Cependant les premières publications de Bayle témoignent d'un rationalisme qui, à ses yeux, va de soi et qui entraîne un rejet péremptoire de l'«exécrable» pyrrhonisme. La simple chronologie impose de constater les contradictions entre les différentes prises de position successives de Bayle sur le statut de la raison dans le domaine de la morale et sur les rapports entre la raison et la foi.

Junqueira Smith, Plinio: *Hume's Debt to Bayle with Regard to his 'Logic'*

Hume considered Bayle one of the greatest skeptics ever, second only to Berkeley. Since Kemp-Smith, some main areas of influence have been pointed out: space and time; skepticism (both in the more historical articles on types of skeptical teachings and through his use of the skeptical method of arguing); on substance; animal intelligence and religious questions. Kemp-Smith, however, did not throw much light on any of these topics, sometimes merely translating Bayle and hoping that the similarities would strike the reader. Subsequently, commentators have tried to determine those topics in which Hume makes use of Bayle's works and to clarify the relationship between the two thinkers. Popkin, for instance, reduced these five topics to four (leaving animal intelligence out of the picture), and offered two interpretations of Hume and Bayle on skepticism, both of which emphasized the continuities between them. More recently, Paganini has made contributions in this area, suggesting further affinities between Hume and Bayle, especially with regard to localization and perception, and on religious questions. Todd Ryan also saw only four topics of similarity (following Popkin), but questioned Popkin's interpretations on the affinities between Hume's skepticism and Bayle's skepticism. For him, Hume's skepticism is of a different kind than Bayle's. However, Ryan was content with this negative thesis and offered no positive characterization of Hume's skepticism. I propose to investigate those topics of Hume's "logic" that were influenced by Bayle's Dictionary. I would like to side with Ryan's interpretation: though dealing mostly with material furnished by Bayle, Hume developed a new kind of skepticism, quite different from the kind developed by Bayle. I would also like to offer a positive description of Hume's skepticism in comparison to Bayle's. I shall have to consider Hume's discussions of space and time, the skeptical method of doubt, and substance.

Ryan, Todd: *Hume, Bayle, and the Problem of Evil*

One of the philosophical preoccupations that dominated the later works of Pierre Bayle was the question of evil. Throughout the *Historical and Critical Dictionary* and in his final works, Bayle examines every attempt to reconcile theism, and more specifically, orthodox Christian teaching with the existence of physical and moral evil. In the *Dictionary*, this investigation takes the form of an imagined dialogue between a modern defender of Manicheism and various theistic philosophers. Whoever the opponent the result is always the same: orthodox theism lacks the philosophical resources to respond effectively to Manichean objections. Consequently, the existence of evil cannot be rationally reconciled with the orthodox account of the deity, and so religious faith is ultimately fideistic. In his last works Bayle defends these claims against a host of philosophical opponents, while also raising important and influential objections to the theodicy offered by William King in his *De Origine Mali* (1702). Among Bayle's eighteenth-century successors, none was more acutely interested in the question of religion than David Hume. I examine the influence of Bayle's discussion of Manicheism and the problem of evil on Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. In Parts 10 and 11 Hume draws heavily on his French predecessor in treating such issues as the predominance of evil over good in the world, the viability of a Manichean solution to the problem of evil and the question of the univocity of human and divine goodness. I shall argue that reading the *Dialogues* in the light of Bayle's discussions helps to shed light on several crucial features of Hume's work, including Philo's strategic alliance with Demea in deploring the wretchedness of man and the pervasiveness of evil, Demea's departure from the discussion at the end of part 11 and Philo's final profession of scepticism at the close of the *Dialogues*.

S012(II) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)

Pierre Bayle and the Enlightenment: Pierre Bayle et les Lumières (II)

Organisateur/Président: Sébastien Charles, Gianni Paganini

Matytsin, Anton: *The Many Lives of Bayle's Dictionary in the Eighteenth Century*

It is difficult to overstate the immense popularity of Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697) in the Enlightenment. Despite the expense of publication and censorship measures, Bayle's enormous work would become the most widely owned text in French private libraries in the second half of the eighteenth century. The *Dictionnaire* was immensely complex in its own right, generating numerous commentaries and refutations, but it also contributed to the rising popularity of the dictionary and encyclopedia genre. While some thinkers, such as Prosper Marchand and Jaques George de Chauffepié attempted to compose additions, updates, and corrections to Bayle's text, others, such as Charles Merlin and Philippe-Louis Joly, fearful of the inaccuracies and the subversive messages of the popular work, composed so-called anti-dictionaries to refute the errors they found in the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. This paper will describe the influence of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* on the scholarly controversies in eighteenth-century France. It will explore the evolution of various competing dictionary projects and explain how their authors sought to substantiate, correct, or refute Bayle's arguments. It will pay particular attention to the issue of scholarly accuracy and exactitude, in so far as these methodological concerns are related to the more general epistemological questions posed by Bayle's skepticism. Finally, it will attempt to explore the connection between the religious and philosophical controversies of the period and the increasingly popular dictionary format.

Hickson, Michael W.: *Pierre Bayle and the Emergence of Enlightenment Conscience*

Pierre Bayle's *Commentaire philosophique* (CP) (1686-88) is widely recognized as one of the most important treatises on behalf of religious toleration. The influence of this work's plea for toleration on Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire has been well-documented. However, less attention has been paid to the significance of Bayle's work for the history of the development of the idea of moral conscience. In this paper I argue that the CP was influential in bringing about a radical shift in the dominant Western understanding of moral conscience. In particular, the CP gave rise to debates about conscience which ultimately saw the complete divorce of conscience from theology. To show this I first demonstrate the ways in which Bayle altered his earliest conception of conscience (as found in his *Cours* taught at Sedan) in order to ground a theory of universal toleration in the *Commentaire philosophique*. I then show how Bayle's first critics, Pierre Jurieu and Élie Saurin, offered rival theories of conscience in order to ground opposing accounts of the nature, desirability, and limits of religious toleration. Bayle's CP not only inspired these and other treatises for and against religious toleration (as many have already noted), but also a number of treatises on the nature and rights of conscience (an influence of the CP that has been neglected). The result of this intense period of reflection on conscience which took place in the Dutch Republic between 1686 and 1700, and which was largely a reaction to Bayle's CP, was the emergence of a completely secular understanding of conscience. Traditionally a theological concept, conscience was now rendered fit for use by Enlightenment moral theorists. I conclude the paper by exploring in particular Voltaire's adoption of the secular concept of conscience that emerged from these debates, but also his wariness of using conscience-based arguments on behalf of toleration.

van Bunge, Wiep: *Bayle and Eighteenth-Century Scepticism*

During the 18th century philosophical scepticism acquired a particular poignancy, once it was directed towards Theology and once fideism started to lose much of its original appeal. In this paper the role played by Bayle's writings in the High Enlightenment assessment of fideism will be traced.

Charles, Sébastien: *Bayle au Siècle des Lumières : du Pyrrhonisme Radical au Scepticisme Mitigé*

Que reste-t-il de l'héritage de Bayle au siècle des Lumières ? Si sa critique des systèmes est en règle générale louée par les penseurs du 18e siècle, qui partagent une même distance à l'égard des réponses dogmatiques en métaphysique, reste que la radicalité de son pyrrhonisme pose problème. en effet, les philosophes des Lumières se satisfont mal d'un pyrrhonisme généralisé qui toucherait aux domaines théologique, politique ou moral, domaines dans lesquels le doute ne leur paraît plus possible et où il faut prendre un parti. À ce niveau, la figure de Bayle leur paraît encombrante, et nombreux ont été ceux qui lui ont reproché sa radicalité au nom d'un scepticisme mitigé qui cadrerait mieux avec les enjeux de leur siècle. Sur ce point, l'analyse de la position d'un Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, lui-même passé d'un pyrrhonisme universel à un scepticisme raisonnable, nous permettra de mieux comprendre le sort réservé au scepticisme de Bayle par les Lumières.

S013 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)

The Bubbles of 1720: New Economic and Cultural Perspectives

Organizer / Chair: Catherine Labio

Condorelli, Stefano: *The 1720 Financial Bubble: A European Perspective*

This paper proposes a partially different history of the 1720 financial bubble. It starts by arguing that speculation and stock euphoria involved many more countries than what historiography had thought until now. Secondly, comparing all the new joint-stock companies that were promoted around that year, the paper highlights patterns and trends that had not been identified and that shed new lights on the bubble.

Labio, Catherine: *The Sounds of the Mississippi Bubble*

This paper retraces the various sounds associated with John Law's System and the Mississippi Bubble, from the debates that opposed various participants in the Conseils de Régence to the circulation of anonymous pamphlets, songs, and satires in various social contexts, to the noise of crowds on the Pont-Neuf and the rue Quincampoix and in the Fair and other theaters. I argue that the Mississippi Bubble and Law's System gave rise to new "cries of Paris" and to a dialogic, pre-revolutionary culture.

Yamamoto, Koji: *Homo Bulla: Young Students' Responses to the Bubble in 1721*

Westminster School boasted a tradition of election dinners whereby students competed themselves in improvised Latin poetry. The theme of 1721 was 'Homo Bulla' - man is but a bubble. This paper presents a newly-discovered pile of Latin manuscript poems. It tells a new story about how humanist traditions informed educated responses to the Bubble of 1720 and to the emerging capitalism more generally.

S014 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)

For the Greater Glory of Portugal: Cultural Policy and Artistic Trade in the Age of Joao V.

Organizer / Chair: Pilar Díez del Corral Corredoira

Spila, Alessandro: *Lusitanian Rome: Portuguese Diplomats and the Colonna Family*

The crisis that hit the Papal States in the eighteenth century led organs curial the urgency of specific strategies in foreign policy for the conservation of papal supremacy on the latest Catholic monarchies. Since Pope Clement XI, the first measures to halt the decline were concentrate to effort diplomatic relations with the monarchs of Spain, Portugal and the Kingdom of Naples. Within such strategies, the great interest in the Roman culture demonstrated by John V of Braganza in the early eighteenth century started an intense artistic exchange with the Lusitanian court. The Colonna family, which lineage boasted more than any other relationships with Braganza and Bourbon of Spain, played a crucial role in this context, especially through the cardinals Carlo and Girolamo II, elevated at different times to the office of Maestro of the Apostolic Palaces, and most powerful referents to foreign ambassadors: the court of the Stuart (Catholic pretenders to the throne of England); the Spanish ambassador Medinaceli and the Portuguese dignitaries also. Already in studies on Bernardino Ludovisi, sculptor of the Colonna family and at the same time active in Mafra palace and in the chapel of St. John the Baptist to St. Rocco in Lisbon, emerged the close relations between the noble Roman family and the Ambassador Sampajo. The project intends to present some new

source emerged from the Colonna archive relating to Roman residences of Portuguese representatives at Colonna palaces and villas in Rome, as a privileged occasion of artistic exchange between the two cultures. Sampajo lived from 1746 in the Pilotta palace (among the famous ruins of the temple of Serapis) restored for the occasion by Nicola Salvi, and obtained a summer residence in Marino. To these must be added the famous residence of the Bishop of Oporto near Palazzolo.

Diez del Corral Corredoira, Pilar: *The Portuguese Academy in Rome. The King's Trading Point or a Proper Academy?*

This paper explores the brief and unknown life of the Portuguese Academy in Rome. It was opened following the lead of the Académie de France in the early 20's and on 1728 it was closed as a result of a breakdown in the diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The article will address how it was founded and how political events provoked its sudden closure. With this approach, it will become clear the particular essence of that institution, a place to get an artistic education and at the same time a trading point for the Portuguese monarchy. This paper will also consider how the academy met the political, cultural and artistic aspirations of the King of Portugal, who seek to display his project of international recognition as a catholic monarch with a strong presence in Rome.

S015 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Local Literary and Intellectual Networks

Organizer / Chair: Lia van Gemert

Wdowik, Agata: *Love and Money. On the Transfer of Enlightenment Ideas in Health Resorts (Spa and Bath)*

My presentation will consider the problem of how the high class meetings in the 18th century health resorts influenced the circulation of cultural ideas in the Europe on that time. A common knowledge is the fact that watering springs visitors belonged to the high European society. The results of my research show some new directions providing the answer how the relation between them developed the commerce of the new ideas: interchange opinions, exchange progressive thoughts or trendy modern theories. Fortunately there are documents which reveal who simultaneously had been visiting Spa or Bath. Moreover some of these people left testimonies which show that after the spring threatment new books, thoughts contained in poems or even art ideas written in the correspondence were brought by them to their indigenou countries across Europe. Usually these testimonies come into being as consequences of more or less emotional but always international relationships taken place in the watering places. In my paper I will present some of these testimonies. What's important self class-consciousness of the 18th century elite allowed people to meet in Spa or Bath not only by the coincidence. Their desires - love and money - became important cultural factors which supported the transfer of the intellectual ideas and helped to spread the Enlightenment philosophy, literary books and art across countries. This transfer process is the process of building the European heritage.

Delogu, Giulia: *The Poetry Road. Trieste 1780-1799*

In 1719 Charles VI made Trieste a free port within the Hapsburg Empire. Hence the city enjoyed a nearly miraculous growth, becoming a vital trade hub. 18th century Trieste was a prosperous trading city and melting pot of people and cultures, thus the best place for the circulation not only of material good, but also of less tangibles ones, such as ideas and poems. Studying the activity of local literary academies (Arcadia Romano-Sonziaca and Società di Minerva), the flourishing multilingual publishing industry and the press (chiefly the «Osservatore triestino»), I reconstructed the 'Trieste Poetic Network', namely the extensive cultural network which united Trieste to cities all over Europe.

Poetic texts, in fact, circulated to and from Trieste in many different directions. The study, based on more than 1.500 poems, highlighted a few interesting facts. Firstly, the multilingual character of the Triestine literary production, which counts texts written in Italian, French, Hebrew, German, Latin, Ancient Greek, Slovenian and Venetian dialect. Secondly, the importance of French influence over Triestine authors, despite their staunch loyalty to the Hapsburg Empire. Thirdly, the political commitment of many texts, which were published throughout the Empire, in order to spread politically-oriented messages. The analysis of the Triestine poetic corpus unveiled the centrality of Trieste in the 18th century European cultural panorama. It underlined also the importance of poetry itself as political and communicative media. Especially during the Napoleonic wars, in fact, the circulation of poems became an actual 'Battle of Ideas', which opposed Napoleon's supporters to Hapsburg's loyalists. Both for the abundance of unedited archival documentation and for its character of 'marginal land', 18th century Trieste represents an intriguing case study from which it is possible to reconstruct the parallelism between merchant and cultural roads, and also the interconnections between politics, economics and poetry.

Artukka, Topi: *High Society, Social Networks and Consumption in Early Nineteenth-Century Turku*

Turku was the center of Finland and the most important town in 1810s. After the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808–1809 it became the capital of the newly founded autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. Consequence of this was an active high society and social life with all the sociable gatherings, balls, dinners and other public events. This kind of urban high society was new in Turku and in Finland, and it was vital in constructing the new administration and political order to the Grand Duchy of Finland, which made the character of societies political as well as social. In this paper I aim to discuss high society's life in Turku in the 1810s. I will explore how the high society was structured, organized, how it operated and particularly how the members of high society consumed. Wealthy nobility was an essential part of the high society in Turku, but the social circles included also high civil servants, officers, non-noble landowners and professors of academy. I will study the role of high society in Turku and discuss the significance of gender, because it is widely known that women's role for the function of high society was seminal. My paper draws from the diary of senator Johan Winter, describing everyday life in Turku 1812 onwards meticulously, thus offering us a lens through which explore the role and place of high society in early nineteenth-century Turku.

S016 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Russia and the Enlightenment

Chair: Maria Baramova

Andreev, Vladimir: *Les origines de la Russie dans l'historiographie Française dans la Seconde Moitié du XVIII Siècle*

Le sujet de l'exposé est le développement du thème de l'histoire de Russie dans l'opinion publique, dans la France de la seconde moitié du XVIII siècle. Les plus importants travaux français sur l'histoire russe sont les "Histoires de Russie" de Pierre-Charles Levesque et Nicolas Gabriel Le Clerc. L'objet principal est la comparaison des opinions des savants français et russes du XVIII siècle des problèmes de l'histoire ancienne russe. "L'Histoire de la Russie" de Levesque, dont six volumes ont apparu en 1782, est imprégnée des idéaux rationalistes du Siècle des Lumières. Il y avait le premier papier étranger de l'histoire russe décrivant la période des origines de l'ancien État russe au règne de Catherine II. Le catalogue raisonné des sources, joint à toutes les éditions de l'Histoire de Levesque, était destiné à témoigner de l'authenticité et de la fiabilité des informations qu'elle contenait. Levesque y énumérait les chroniques et les recueils législatifs (pour leur plus grande part publiés), les

oeuvres des historiens russes, les écrits des étrangers sur la Russie. "L'Histoire de la Russie" (1783) de Le Clerc était la deuxième oeuvre française qui était fondé sur les sources russes. Son travail est plus philosophique que tel de Levesque. De nombreuses comparaisons des événements et des personnes de l'histoire russe, français, allemand et byzantine sont indicatifs de la perception de l'histoire dans le siècle des Lumières. Les opinions historiques des auteurs français du Siècle des Lumières sont considérées comme une des étapes les plus importantes du développement de l'historiographie française de la Russie. Dans cet exposé une place substantielle est attachée aux critiques russes formulées relativement les écrits d'auteurs français sur les questions de l'histoire de la Russie.

Artemyeva, Tatiana: *Ivan Ertov: A Small Russian Merchant in the Great Intellectual Market of the Enlightenment*

Academic career was an important social elevator in the Enlightenment in Russia. Children of soldiers, small merchants, peasants, servants, poor clerics like Mikhail Lomonosov, Stepan Krasheninnikov, Stepan Rumovsky, Ivan Lepyokhin, and others became academicians. It gave them not definite, but quite honorable status. Ivan Ertov (1777-1842), a small St. Petersburg merchant from old believers circle decided to repeat the path of ascension of those eminent persons. He was going to create an intellectual product and then to exchange it into the honors and awards at Petersburg Academy of Sciences that he understood as an 'intellectual market'. Being overconfident and ambitious, but also talented and hard-working he hoped to be included into the academics. He wrote and published several cosmological treatises, philosophical and historical works, among them "The Picture of Enlightenment of Russians..." (1799), "A Description of the Natural Laws of the Origin of the Universe" (1798-1800), "Thoughts on the Origin and Formation of the World" (1811), etc. Self-publication of his works cost him a fortune. He lost all his money expecting public recognition and an academic status. Later he told his life history in the book "Russian Candide" (1833). The social elevator did not work from any level, but only 'from the very beginning'. To be an academician in Petersburg Academy or to be supported by that institution one should enter the quite closed academic network step by step. Ertov was going to be part of the intellectual elite due to his talents, but in Russia the academics was more an 'estate' than a professional group. There were three intellectual networks in Russia: the system of academic institutions, theologians from the Orthodox Church schools, and the enlightened noble elite. All of them were closed for people from other social groups.

Smoliarova, Tatiana: *"Moonstruck": Lunar Society and its Russian Connections in the 1770s*

In this paper I will focus on one the most famous phenomena of the British Enlightenment, which can be regarded both as a metaphor and metonymy of the Enlightenment as such – the "Lunar Society" that emerged in the 1760s in the Midlands and brought together Josiah Wedgwood, Matthew Boulton, Erasmus Darwin, James Watt, and other outstanding people of the epoch. In the early 1770s Catherine the Great got successively interested in the activities of its various members: she commissioned an enormous "Green Frog Service" from Josiah Wedgwood, got a wondrous clock from Matthew Bolton, and also purchased "The Iron Forge seen from without" (1773) by Joseph Wright of Derby, who never was a formal member of the Society, but was very close to it. Starting with the "close reading" of this far-famed painting, a gem of the Hermitage collection, I am then going to proceed to discuss what important ideas, concepts, and metaphors of the European Enlightenment were transferred to Russia via the assorted "media" of the lunartics – countless porcelain dishes of the "Green Frog Service", Boulton's sophisticated mechanisms, the "Claire-obscure" of Wright of Derby's paintings and then, almost two decades later, didactic verses of Erasmus Darwin's "Botanic Garden."

S018 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)

Writing Commerce in Eighteenth-Century India

Organizer / Chair: James Mulholland, Claire Gallien

Mulholland, James: *The Problems of Translocalism in Late-Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Poetry*

This presentation focuses on the translocal poetry of Eyles Irwin, a late-eighteenth-century East India Company administrator and author. I examine a series of poems composed by Eyles Irwin, a late-eighteenth-century East India Company administrator. While stationed in Madras during the 1770s and 80s, Irwin crafted a posture as a writer and colonial administrator that crossed through imperial spheres and imaginatively coordinated overlapping colonial ventures. His carefully curated oceanic literary reputation and translocal poetics, rooted in India but drawing from and overlapping with highly mobile multi-lingual literary culture, reveal the degree to which the problems of translocalism, often associated with the post-national globalization of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, were pressing and well understood in the transcontinental literary culture of the eighteenth-century British empire.

Jokic, Olivera: *“Orientalism in Transit: Scholars, Clerks, and Other Handmaidens of Empire”*

The “transit” in the title of this presentation refers to the changing treatment of the concept of Orientalism in the study of European imperialism. I investigate to what degree the critical term has been able to determine the visibility of the historical process of the same name, and think about how political conditions and intellectual trends shape textual and historical interpretation for documents of colonial interaction. In order to focus on the relationship between colonial documentation and the shape of historical narratives this documentation can support, the essay takes the notion of 'archive' broadly, allowing it to encompass texts now classified as official archives, but also literary texts referencing colonial domains. Suggesting that there is a continuity of composition between the seemingly disparate domains of fiction and documentation, this work aims to investigate the 'double lives' of writers employed by a colonial outfit such as the East India Company who also participated in the articulation of political and intellectual rationales for the fields of inquiry such as comparative literature, law, and historical linguistics.

Cohen, Ashley: *“Lady Nugent and the ‘Art’ of Aristocratic Imperialism”*

During the closing decades of the eighteenth century, Britain’s hereditary aristocracy became increasingly well represented in colonial service. As East India Company affairs came under greater control by Crown and Parliament, lucrative positions in India were increasingly reserved by those in power as patronage for well-connected beneficiaries. The result was that the younger sons of Britain’s landed elite flooded the upper ranks of imperial service. These men—and women—whom CA Bayly has referred to as the “aristocratic imperialists of the Regency” remade the empire in their own image. In India, preceding generations of East India Company factors had developed their own culture and customs, including a scale of precedence that valued their own civil service hierarchy over the titular hierarchy of the British peerage. Yet this Company culture was increasingly challenged as aristocratic imperialists infused India’s colonial administrations with their values, carrying their intense loyalty to the Crown, their devotion to the minutiae of etiquette, and their appreciation for royally-inflected displays of nationalist pomp with them throughout the empire. This paper investigates the clash of cultures that ensued between entrenched commercial and emergent aristocratic styles of British imperialism. In particular, I document the controversy that erupted when Governor General Francis Rawdon Hastings sought to “elevate” the Government of India by introducing Court etiquette at Government House in Calcutta. Drawing on the diaries and letters of

Maria Nugent, wife of Gen. George Nugent (Commander-in-Chief of India, 1811-1814), as well as the journals of Lord Hastings and his correspondence with the Prince Regent, I reconstruct this episode and draw from it a larger story about the changing culture of British imperialism in India.

S019(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

L'Image de la Corée au Dix-Huitième Siècle (I)

Organisateur/Président: Jong Ho Chun

Reynaud, Denis: *L'image de la Corée dans quelques Documents Français du XVIIIe Siècle*

Quelle était l'image de Corée pour les européens du XVIIIe siècle ? Comment ont-ils obtenu les informations concernant ce pays qui se situe à l'extrémité de l'Asie, c'est-à-dire un des pays des plus lointains de l'Europe ? Le relativisme des esprits des Lumières de cette époque, soutenue par la méthode expérimentale, commence à s'intéresser la civilisation hors du christianisme. Mais malheureusement, il y a peu de document qui traite de la Corée et des Coréens jusqu'à cette époque. On peut dire la Corée était un pays presque inconnu par rapport la Chine et le Japon. Cependant, nous pouvons trouver deux auteurs de la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle qui écrivent sur la Corée dans leurs œuvres : L'abbé Prévost dans son Histoire générale des voyages ; et le fameux Voltaire, dans son Essai sur les mœurs et sa pièce presque oubliée, L'Orphelin de la Chine. Nous nous proposons d'étudier comment ces œuvres présentent la Corée. Surtout l'œuvre de l'Abbé Prévost. Et l'influence de cette œuvre sur Voltaire.

Mercier-Faivre, Anne-Marie: *L'invention du Ginseng*

« Si je n'ai jamais vu d'ours blanc, et que je ne puisse ni ne doive jamais en voir, en ai-je au moins vu la peau ? en ai-je vu le portrait, la description ? en ai-je jamais rêvé ? » (Tristram Shandy) Les textes sur l'Extrême-Orient écrits en Europe au XVIIIe s, nombreux et prolixes, reposent sur un nombre réduit de sources ; c'est particulièrement vrai de la Corée : une information très limitée est inlassablement ressassée, déformée, mutilée, réimaginée dans les traités, les dictionnaires et la presse. Notre propos sera de cartographier cette circulation des lieux communs coréens à partir de l'analyse d'un cas précis : le ginseng. Nous suivrons l'histoire l'acclimatation littéraire en France de la « racine qui se vend au poids d'or », grâce aux efforts consécutifs ou simultanés, conjugués ou contradictoires de Jartoux, Du Halde, Jouve, Pomet, Raynal, Savary, Prévost, les Mémoires de Trévoux et l'Encyclopédie.

Chun, Jong Ho: *La Corée dans la Fiction du XVIIIe Siècle*

Une étude sur Les Jammabos, ou Les moines japonais, tragédie dédiée aux mânes de Henri IV, et suivie de remarques historiques (1779). par Charles-Georges Fenouillot de Falbaire de Quingey

Cho, In-Hee: *From Ideology to Art: Aesthetic Characteristics of the Poem-based Paintings in the 18th Korea*

Poem-based paintings seek the unification of a poem's mood and painting styles. Poem and painting create a complementary relation in an idealistic dimension. The poem-based paintings of the early Joseon dynasty was mainly created for enlightenment of the people in the Confucian society of East Asia. When the 18 century started, it comes to has an aesthetic autonomy as an art genre in that it is made by a pictorial and creative reinterpretation of poem verses. The poetry-based painting is not a simple pictorial representation of verses. It opens up a new painting world in which poem and painting harmoniously meet and create a unique meaning greater than the simple sum of their two parts in the base of the oriental painting tradition of "painting and poetry are one" (詩畫一律). Chung

Sun(1676-1759) and Kim Hong-Do(1745-?) achieved individualistic and ingenious aesthetics in their works. They developed a new painting world qualitatively different from the Chinese style. The poem-based painting of the late Joseon period achieved its authentic style reflecting the expressional characters of the Joseon's painters who played an important role in indigenizing the literary originality of the Southern-School Literati paintings style seeking the unity of poem, letters, and picture. The late Joseon's painters established their authentic style which can be called "Joseon poem-based painting," which had grown from Chinese traditions and developed distinct characteristics in various periods, places, and classes, and for various themes and occasions. These painters did succeed in constructing a cultural sympathy through the unification of poem and painting in the late Joseon society.

S019(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)

L'Image de la Corée au Dix-Huitième Siècle (II)

Organisateur/Président: Jong Ho Chun, Ahn Dae-hoe

Ahn, Dae-hoe: *Three Ways of Reading Hanyang in the 18th-century*

The 18th-century Hanyang, now Seoul, was a mega-city with a population of approximately 300,000. The capital city of Joseon, it was a city that was comparable to any other mega-city in the world at the time in terms of the level of urban development, commerce, and cultural vitality. It was a cosmopolitan city with scenery, customs, and culture that were distinctly its own. In this presentation, I examine a particular series of poems written during this period. The poems were composed after the historical painting called Seongsi Jeondo (Comprehensive Drawing of the Capital City). The poems also provided its contemporaries a perspective with which to "read" the urban landscape as a whole. Subsequently, they prompted the cultural and literary trend of "reading" and "seeing" Hanyang.

Jung, Min: *The Brush Talk between East Asian Literaries at 18th Century*

This paper explores the space of communication among East Asian intellectuals by looking into the culture of 'brush talks' (p'iltam 筆談). It is significant that this distinctive mode of written conversation flourished in the eighteenth century. Just as European intellectuals built a common literary sphere of communication and cultural exchange based on the common linguistic methods of Latin, many East Asian intellectuals did so by using 'literary Chinese' — Hanmun. Intellectuals from China, Korea and Japan were able to communicate with each other by means of Hanmun even without foreign-language knowledge. Brush talks (p'iltam or p'irhwa 筆話) — using the brush instead of the tongue (ip'il-taesôl 以筆代舌) — provided a means for intellectuals who did not speak the same language to interact with each other by exchanging written communications, without participating in any verbal dialogue. In today's Korea, there are quite a few fragments of materials that deliver vivid scenes of non-verbal communication among East Asian intellectuals. On the basis of these brush talks, numerous records of Yonhaengnok (燕行錄), travelogues to Beijing, have been constructed, and also cultural exchanges between Korea and China or Korea and Japan took place. Depending on particular circumstances, several patterns of brush talks emerged: one-to-one, one-to-many, or many-to-many participants. Sometimes the participants in a conversation exchanged a single piece of paper and took turns writing responses; in other cases parties exchanged several pieces of paper and carried out consecutive dialogues. What were the circumstances that led to the rise of various forms of brush-talk dialogues? What sorts of conversations were carried out using this method? According to what process were various pieces of papers preserved and compiled? Questions such as these suggest that there is much to explore about this topic, but surprisingly there has been little scholarship that has examined the empirical details of this practice. While the extant material is

limited, many Yŏnhaengnok records provide highly valuable information that can shed light on the mechanics of brush talks. Drawing on my analytical research on these records on brush talks and other relevant texts, I will examine the practice of brush talks as a powerful means of communicating ideas and as an important method of intellectual exchange between Korea and China as well as Korea and Japan in early modern East Asia.

Lee, Jongmook: *Eighteenth-Century Chosŏn Intellectuals' Study Spaces and Taihu Stones*

Korean intellectuals in the traditional era built graceful study spaces and beautiful gardens from the early period. In addition to lovely flowers and trees, they constructed a small artificial mountain with rocks inside or beside the pond in the garden. They also arranged various flowers, trees, and shou stones 壽石 on the pot inside and outside of the study space. In particular, the concept of “nature stroll at home” 臥遊 that brought nature inside the house became prevalent and Korean intellectuals started to perceive the Qing culture positively around the eighteenth century. This trend enables them to import and cultivate Chinese flowers, including Narcissus, Begonia, and Chinese Viburnum. In conjunction with this phenomenon, Korean intellectual placed beautiful shou stone such as ch'imhyang stone 沈香石 in the garden or the study room from ancient times. The tendency to import taihu stones 太湖石 from China emerged in the eighteenth century. Because Korean intellectual pursued “fragrance of characters” 文字香 by displaying taihu stones inside the pot along with artwork and antiques on the desk in the study space, taihu stones regarded as “pure offering” 清供 that revealed the intellectuals' pure dignity. This trend related to taihu stone played an integral role in producing masterpieces, including Chisangp'yŏn to 池上篇圖 and Muhan'gyŏngnu ch'ŏnggongji to 無限景樓清供芝圖 by Kang Sehwang 姜世晃 as well as Sonyŏn chŏnch'un 少年剪春 by Sin Yunbok 申潤福.

Choi, Young Jin: *When Philosophy Looks so Political: on a Metaphysical Debate in the 18th Korea*

The Ho-Rak Debate(湖洛論爭) of Joseon dynasty in 18 century is metaphysical in its nature, yet it also has political meaning relevant to a critical issue of the era. The advocates of Horon(湖論) insisted that the human nature(人) and materials(物) is essentially different. In contrast, the scholars with Rakron(洛論) argued that two things are the same. To regard the two as the same means to recognize the materialist perspective and/or Darwin's theory of evolution. The traditional scholars who had firmly persisted the supremacy of the Chinese civilization against the Qing(清) Dynasty, which was regarded as a barbarian power, could have not accepted such a point of view in which a principle difference between civilization(small China=Joseon) and barbarianism(Qing) disappears. Although the Ho-Rak Debate occurred in the philosophical area, it seems clear that it is a kind of political debate and/or power struggle over which policy on the Qing is chose. This paper aims to provide some political implications of Ho-Rak Debate in that point.

S021 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Atlantic Market Integration During the Long Eighteenth Century

Organizer / Chair: Anne Sophie Overkamp, Emma Hart

Haggerty, Sheryllynn: *Liverpool's Trade with the West Indies, 1660-1720*

Liverpool has the dubious reputation of being the market leader in the provision of slaves in the Atlantic world between 1750 and abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807. However, very little work has been conducted on how Liverpool's merchants came to be in a position to take that leading role. Coming from a wider project on Liverpool and the West Indies before 1750, this paper provides a starting point for examining how Liverpool's merchants developed the various West Indian markets for themselves. Using the Liverpool port books, this paper will outline the range and quantity of

commodities produced in the West Indies being imported into Liverpool from the West Indies between 1660 and 1720. It will also highlight the number of vessels being used and the merchants importing those goods. In doing so it will highlight the early trends of products from the West Indies being imported into Liverpool's market, and the major players involved. Liverpool at this point was still relatively minor and small, but was to become the leading British out port in the second half of the eighteenth century. Therefore this paper will also provide a start point for thinking about the wider context and networks which Liverpool merchants formed in this early period as they tried to start their trade with the West Indies.

Buchnea, Emily: *'Spheres of Influence': The relationship between Port and Hinterland in a Transatlantic Trading Community, 1763-1815*

In the study of transatlantic economic history, it is essential to look not just across oceanic spaces, but behind to the landscapes which supported port economies. The literature on the importance of the 'hinterland' to urban spaces is vast; historical geographers have devoted much attention to conceptualising the space around market towns, cities and ports. As Christopher Dyer argues, 'English speakers have borrowed the German word 'hinterland' to describe... a more extensive district in which a wider range of goods are traded.' The aim of this paper is not to reformulate current definitions but rather to examine the way in which the development of a transatlantic community was shaped by its connection to its hinterland and vice versa. Importantly, it will examine the changing size of two specific hinterlands in the eighteenth century and to what extent, this was influenced by the existence of a well-connected merchant network. As a case study, this paper will examine the Liverpool-New York trading community. This community, which engaged in an increasingly frequent trade through the eighteenth century, relied heavily on its respective hinterlands. Their reliance was based on the need for goods to export (namely raw materials from the New York hinterland and manufactured goods from the Liverpool hinterland) as well as customers within these spaces to consume imports. The relationship between port and hinterland in both Liverpool and New York allowed for the creation of a mutually beneficial transatlantic relationship which facilitated a frequent and sustained exchange of goods. This paper will focus on how the extension or widening of merchant networks within this community through the last half of the eighteenth century changed not only links to the hinterland but the size of the hinterland itself. This will allow us to readdress the inclusivity of the Atlantic World and discuss alternative approaches to a history centred on a body of water.

Overkamp, Anne Sophie: *Markets and Hinterlands: Abraham Frowein from Elberfeld and Atlantic Trade, 1760-1790*

For a long time, historians reckoned that their lack of overseas possessions entailed a missed opportunity for German countries to participate in the early modern phase of Atlantic integration and globalisation. Recently, this view has become a subject under discussion as the focus shifted towards trade and merchant networks as well as the manifold links between proto-industries in the German hinterland and European port cities, showing that territorial possessions were not needed to ultimately profit from the growing interrelatedness of the Atlantic world. Special attention has been given to the presence of German merchants in Atlantic port cities such as London, Bordeaux and Cadiz. Many of these merchants came rather from proto-industrial regions than from important trading centers such as the Hanseatic cities, hinting at hitherto little studied connections between proto-industrial growth in Germany and Atlantic markets. One of the proto-industrial regions thus profiting was the Wupper Valley in the Duchy of Berg which specialised in the production of linen tape as well as cheap linen-cotton-fabrics. The overwhelming majority of these products was exported, mostly via the Netherlands and France but destined for the Spanish American market. By means of a case study, namely the merchant-manufacturer Abraham Frowein (active between 1760

and 1790), this paper aims to elucidate the links between a proto-industrial region in the German backcountry and the Atlantic economy. Taking as basis Frowein's extensive correspondence and account books, it looks in particular at the influence exerted by overseas markets on regional production and the means of reaction open to a hinterland merchant. The paper gives special attention to the elasticity of wages and prices on the one side of the Atlantic as well as consumer preferences on the other side.

S022(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Popular Medecine and Health Market in 18th Century : Press and Printing (I)

Organizer / Chair: Daniel Droixhe

Rouëssé, Jacques: *Les Anticancéreux au XVIIIème Siècle : Des Remèdes et des Recettes*

Au XVIIIème, en Europe, les médicaments anticancéreux sont aussi nombreux qu'inefficaces. En France leur mise sur le marché relèvera à la fin du siècle de la Société royale de médecine créée en 1776, délivrant une centaine de brevets par an et dont les préoccupations éthiques restent toujours d'actualité : indépendance, abord individuel des malades, liberté de prescription et interférence entre les devoirs de Santé Publique. Sous certaines conditions, l'hôpital, peut être un centre d'essais pour de nouveaux remèdes. A Vienne, les données des résultats des nouvelles médications font l'objet de présentations devant les étudiants. Le prix des médicaments est une préoccupation constante. Chers pour les riches, bon marché pour les pauvres et ce à efficacité égale ! D'où un nombre important d'ouvrages consacrés à la médecine et la chirurgie des pauvres. Ces remèdes peuvent être à base de végétaux, tels la ciguë la belladone, le fenouil aquatique, la digitale pourprée, le kinkina ou la carotte ! Dédié aux pauvres, le traité de la Carotte de Bridault consacre un passage au traitement des cancers. Considérée comme excellente prévention, elle ne convient pas dans les cancers occultes et ulcérés . Parmi les minéraux outre les eaux minérales ferrugineuses citons l'oxyde de cuivre vert, le muriate suroxygéné de mercure, le muriate de baryte et le carbonate ou le phosphate de fer. L'arsenic, toujours d'actualité au XXIème siècle, est préconisé par voie générale. On rattachera à cette liste, la décoction de cloportes à cause de sels nitreux dont on les croit imprégnés. Une des médications les plus extravagantes est, sans conteste, le lézard gris vivant. Son inefficacité fut confirmée par la Société royale de médecine. Pour les pauvres, outre la poudre de Cloportes, dans de l'eau de Charbon bénit, on recommande la saignée et la purgation, le tout accompagné de régimes alimentaires avec du lait clair, et les Eaux de sainte Reine, évitant les viandes salées et épicées et des bains d'eau tiède. Sans être de véritables médicaments, des produits naturels sont conseillés telle l'huile de fiente humaine. Face à l'inefficacité des traitements spécifiques, le recours aux soins palliatifs est une nécessité, le traitement de la douleur étant un souci constant. D'où les prescriptions d'opiacés soit par voie locale, soit par voie générale. Mais les progrès de la Science semblent tels que la découverte du médicament miracle paraît pour beaucoup une question d'argent ce dont témoigne un écrit de 1789. « le Roi pourrait charger d'habiles Médecins de se consacrer à cette recherche, en leur fournissant les moyens de s'y livrer uniquement. Sans cela, quelque funeste que soit cette Maladie, quelque important qu'il soit d'en délivrer le genre humain, il y a une grande apparence que nous n'y parviendrons jamais. » Deux siècles plus tard, la forme a changé, mais le fond reste le même.

Droixhe, Daniel: *Professional Therapies and Popular Medicine : Advertising, Marketing, Exchanging in the Gazette Salulaire*

In his *Professional and popular medicine in France, 1770-1830* (1988, 2002), Matthew Ramsey has described the parallel developments of the legally and practically organized « medical world », dominated by physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and the popular practice of « folk healers », « empirics », « charlatans », etc. If « the popular version of medical specialization contrasts strikingly to the professional specialties », we may ask to which extent the line between the two « medical worlds », from an internal point of view - as a « code » of practices – and an external one – for example, as the professional ways of advertising a « specialty » - have been crossed. The *Gazette salulaire*, provides in this outlook a favourable field of research, since it participates to the popular dissemination of up-to-date knowledge and new experiments. It gave « Observations » about various diseases and cures, where the scientific « code » of healing is smarmed by many « remèdes de bonne femme ». But the *Gazette* also took part to the marketing of remedies categorized as « empirical ». We intend to show : a) how the advertising of the latters tends to adopt the formal style and credential of « professional » products accredited by official or social authorities ; b) how they integrate « academic » knowledge and borrow new ideas to books like Vandermonde's « Dictionnaire portatif de santé ». We shall try to evaluate the role played by the *Gazette* in the « process of widening the markets for medical goods and services » stimulated by « newspapers and the periodical press », as related by Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones in *The medical world of Early Modern France*, 1997, 10, « Medical Entrepreneurialism in the Enlightenment », p. 643 sq.).

S022(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)

Popular Medecine and Health Market in 18th Century : Press and Printing (II)

Organizer / Chair: Daniel Droixhe

Collart, Muriel: *Climat et Maladies: les Tables Nîmoises du Docteur Razoux*

Quelles relations entretiennent climat et maladies? La question posée par Hippocrate cinq siècles avant notre ère prend une nouvelle résonance au 18^e siècle. Le perfectionnement des instruments météorologiques auquel on assiste rend possible l'analyse quantitative des facteurs atmosphériques (pression, température, humidité, direction et intensité du vent). La tentation est grande alors d'enregistrer ces données et de les comparer avec des observations sur les maladies recueillies au même moment et dans le même espace. Si les observations météorologiques supportent bien la mise en tableau, il n'en va pas de même des observations médicales. La difficulté centrale, écrit Andrea A. Rusnock, « réside dans le fait que maladie et météorologie ont des structures narratives différentes ». Plusieurs médecins du 18^e siècle tenteront de vaincre cet obstacle et proposeront des méthodes pour mettre en relation ces deux types de données. James Jurin, Francis Clifton, Roger Pickering, en Grande-Bretagne, Richard de Hautsierck's et Félix Vicq d'Azyr, en France, furent quelques-uns à s'essayer, sans succès, à l'analyse comparative et à l'interprétation de ces observations. Mais à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Nîmes, le médecin Jean Razoux eut l'idée de mettre côte à côte dans un seul tableau son journal météorologique et son journal médical basé sur la nosologie établie quelques années plus tôt par Boissier de Sauvages. Ces observations furent publiées en 1767, à Bâle, chez Im-Hof, sous le titre *Tables nosologiques et météorologiques très étendues, dressées à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Nîmes depuis le 1^{er} juin 1757 jusqu'au 1^{er} janvier 1762*. Elles reçurent un accueil enthousiaste de la presse, notamment du redouté directeur de l'Année littéraire, Élie Fréron. Tous saluèrent leur utilité pour le public. Le médecin nîmois réussit-il dans son entreprise ? Que peut-on dire 250 ans plus tard du climat et des maladies qui régnaient alors? Telles sont quelques-unes des questions que nous aborderons dans notre communication.

Pataki, Katalin and Romhányi, Ágnes: *The Medical Books of Apothecaries in Eighteenth-century Hungary*

My study sets into focus the shops of apothecaries as collection sites of medical literature in late eighteenth-century Hungary. First of all I enumerate available inventories of pharmacists' medical book collections and present the possibilities and limitations of providing a comprehensive picture of the quality and quantity of printed, professional medical works available for apothecaries. In the second part of my study, I am going to devote special attention to monastery pharmacies led by Franciscans, Capuchins and Pauline monks who also offered surgical services as itinerant healers of a certain region and crossed the borders between domestic and public, charitable and commercialized, professional and popular healing practices. They were gradually disappearing agents of the medical marketplace from the 1770's mainly in consequence of the strengthening endeavor of the state to control professional standards and business activity of the medical personnel. As the monks' healing activity was strongly embedded into a rural population's medical culture, their conflicts with state authorities could imply clashes between 'professional' and 'popular' medicine that reinforced their separation. Besides sketching up dividing lines evolving both in respect of the healers' knowledge and business strategies, I also trace the monks' ability to cope with and mediate between contradicting expectations. I assume that their "libraries" can mirror their pursuits to harmonize their knowledge with the local circumstances. I investigate the specific fields of medicine their collections covered and the presence of works written for a non-professional audience in the vernacular language of the region. Finally I set into focus the pharmacopoeias, dispensatories and price lists proliferating in consequence of legal regulations and providing a common base for communication and exchanges between professional and non-professional actors of the medical marketplace.

S023(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

The Political Economy of Fénelon's "Aventures De Télémaque" Through The Mirror of its Editions and Translations in the 18th Century and Early 19th Century (I)

Organizer / Chair: Marco E.L. Guidi

Sommovigo, Barbara & Calvanese, Alexandre: *Les Éditions des Aventures de Télémaque en France au 18e Siècle*

Quel serait le statut d'une œuvre littéraire qui, ancrée du côté des Anciens – elle se présente comme un enchaînement de l'Odyssée -- se place de celui des Modernes grâce à son auteur qui en fait un véritable programme de formation du futur monarque ? Un texte qui malgré sa nature profondément pédagogique et enraciné dans son contexte historique et culturel a connu une grande diffusion éditoriale.

Au cours du 18e siècle, les éditions du Télémaque de Fénelon sont en effet nombreuses, soulignant la transformation du texte d'ouvrage polémique vis-à-vis du Colbertisme et de l'absolutisme de Louis XIV à classique de la littérature sur la formation du prince.

Cette communication vise à établir un inventaire des éditions du Télémaque et de leurs paratextes, éditions qui serviront de base pour les traductions dans d'autres langues.

Lupetti, Monica & Guidi, Marco: *Translations and Adaptations of Télémaque in the Lusophone Area*

The paper examines and compares the four main translations of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* published in Portugal in the 18th century. In a country in which there was only a handful of translation of economic treatises, also on account of a severe control of the government and the Church on censorship, these translations were open opportunities for disseminating discussing political and economic ideas. The first of these translations was published in 1765 by José Manuel Ribeiro Pereira, who soon was to become the secretary of one of the chartered companies created by the Minister. That Pereira perceived the contradiction between Pombal's policies and the content of the novel is demonstrated by linguistic adaptation and by the addition, in the second edition, of an entire volume newly created, in which Ulysses dictates to Telemachus the sound principles of mercantilist policies. The second translation was published by the lexicographer and translator Manuel de Sousa in 1770, and was dedicated to the Marquis, whose policy seemed to Sousa perfectly in tune with Fénelon's recommendations. A third edition was published in 1785, amending Sousa's version, and a fourth, in verse, in 1788, dedicated to the Prince of Brazil. These editions mark the decline of Pombal's policies as a consequence of Queen Maria's "viradeira", introducing more agriculturist and laissez-faire policies. The paper also examines from the political point of view Teresa Margarida da Orta's *Aventuras de Diófanos* (1777), an imitation of *Télémaque*.

Flinz, Carolina: *Early German Translations of Télémaque*

The aim of this paper is to present an analyses of the German translations of Fénelon's masterpiece *La Suite du quatrième Livre de l'Odysée d'Homère ou les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*. Fenelon's book and his educational principles base on free choice: the youth should be educated showing them the possible errors without violence and with the help of stories and examples. Many are the explicit and implicit references at education like the famous passage "Ils appartiennent moins à leurs parents qu'à la république; ils sont les enfants du peuple, ils en sont l'espérance et la force; il n'est pas temps de les corriger quand ils se sont corrompus" (Book 11).

The analysis will concentrate on the main translations of the 18 th century:

- 1) The first translation done by August Bohse (1700) with the pseudonym of "Talander" published in Breslau as a political novel ("Staatsroman" in German). The political-pedagogical aspect is the central aspect (Schubert 1911);
- 2) The edition in verses of Benjamin Neukirch (1727) dedicated to the hereditary prince Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Ansbach;
- 3) The translation of Josef Anton Ehrenreichs (1732) which focused on the didactical aspect (Haider 1986) and remained one of the central translations until the end of the 19. century;
- 4) The translation of Ludwig Ernst von Faramond (1733) dedicated to all people independently from their rank (Just 1953: 45), with the title „Die seltsamen Begebenheiten des Telemach, in einem auf die wahre Sitten- und Staatslehre“.

Cini, Marco: *Les Traductions du "Télémaque" en Italie au XVIIIe Siècle et le Débat sur le Développement Économique du Pays*

Cette communication étudie les nombreuses éditions, adaptations théâtrales et musicales, imitations des "Aventures de Télémaque" en Italie au 18e siècle, jusqu'aux premières décennies du 19e siècle. Une telle richesse d'éditions demande une explication, qui peut être liée à leur statut. S'agit-il d'ouvrages purement littéraires, ou leur publication est parfois liée aux débats sur les politiques économiques à adopter pour le développement du pays, un débat dans lequel les positions favorables à une spécialisation agricole et au libre commerce s'opposent à une vision protectionniste et interventionniste visant à stimuler la naissance de manufactures.

S023(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)

The Political Economy of Fénelon's "Aventures De Télémaque" Through The Mirror of its Editions and Translations in the 18th Century and Early 19th Century (II)

Organizer / Chair: Marco E.L. Guidi

Carpi, Elena: *Les Éditions Espagnoles du XVIII^e Siècle des Aventures de Télémaque*

Les Aventures de Télémaque de Fénelon, œuvre littéraire sur l'éducation du prince, connu dès sa publication en 1699 un énorme succès et nombreuses traductions dans la plupart des langues européennes. Comme souligne Ferrand (2010: 405), le roman a été « tellement traduit en Europe que le décompte exact de ses traductions reste encore à faire ». Cette contribution vise à présenter les traductions du XVIII^e siècle de l'œuvre en espagnol, publiées soit en Espagne qu'à l'étranger. Une attention particulière sera accordée aux paratextes –introductions et censures– afin de comprendre les motivations des différentes éditions dans le cadre de la situation politique et économique du moment.

Bibliographie

Ferrand, Nathalie (2010) : « Les circulations européennes du roman français, leurs modalités et leurs enjeux », dans: Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire et Pierrick Pourchasse (dir.) Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680-années 1780, Rennes:Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Cappelli, Federica: *Nineteenth Century Spanish Translations of Les Aventures de Télémaque. A Bibliographic Essay*

Bishop Fénelon's 1699 'mirror for princes' Les aventures de Télémaque met with an immediate and lasting success all over Europe attested by a great number of new editions and translations in many languages.

The first Spanish translation was issued in Belgium and dates back to 1712; from then onwards we register a continuous succession of reprintings of the first translation and a numberless quantity of new versions, especially during XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. Despite of many essays dedicated to the Spanish fortune of Télémaque, up to today a general bibliographic study that shows the real panorama of its innumerable Spanish translations is still missing.

This contribution aims at reconstructing the situation of XIXth Spanish translations of Télémaque published both in Spain and in other countries.

Ghezzani, Alessandra: *The Circulation of Télémaque in Ispanic America*

In Ispanic America, the circulation of Fénelon's Les Aventures de Télémaque is closely connected to the spread of the Spanish translations of this text. In the "ultramar" provinces, while local translations are virtually nonexistent, there is an interesting adaptation in verse by the Peruvian writer Pedro Bermúdez de la Torre y Solier, entitled Telémaco en la isla de Calipso. This is a long poem composed in 1728 and left in the state of manuscript until 1998. The present paper aims to study the forms and systems of reformulation of the French model in the light of the deep change following the rise of Viceroy Marquis of Casteldosrius, the Catalan aristocrat don Manuel de Oms de Santpau Olim-Sentemenat i de Lanuza, appointed in 1704 by Felipe V. The Marquis represented a new type of specialised administrator, with strong commercial attitudes, acting in the Vice-kingdom of High Perou, which was the political and economic heart of Spanish colonial dominions. An able tradesman and businessman, Casteldosrius entertained tight commercial relationships with France, to the point of being accused of smuggling and corruption by the Court of Lima for the excessive amount of (both legal and illegal) importation of French goods. But the link with Europe did not only

rely on trade and finance. There was an equally fruitful cultural exchange: the importation of Versailles habits in the cultivated Limeño milieu turned into an encouragement to arts and letters. The Academy created by the Marquis in his palace in 1709 was assiduously attended by artists, musicians and writers like Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo and Torres y Solier (1661-1746). The latter was able to interpret the political and cultural initiative of the new Viceroy also through the revisitation of Homeric themes.

S024(I) (14:00 – 15:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

18th Century Russian Elites and the Transfer of European Knowledge and Ideas (I)

Organizer / Chair: Konstantin Bugrov, Nadezda Dorokhova

Bugrov, Konstantin: *The Translators' Prefaces to the European Moral and Political Writings in 18th Century Russia*

The question of European influence upon the Russian intellectual and political life is usually based upon the limited number of the presumed 'key works', like Pufendorf, Montesquieu or 'German cameralists' (Johann von Justi and the others); the mechanics of influence is typically explained as borrowing the ready-to-use political patterns from the books to be implemented on Russian soil. To challenge that view, we analyze the whole body of translated European treatises on morals and politics, with an emphasis upon the prefaces written by the Russian translators. That source of information allows us to understand how exactly Russian political thought was interacting with the European influences. It shows, first, that the political influence was inseparable from the broader influence of moral writings on dignity and virtue. Thus, the authors, whose influence upon Russian intellectual life of 18th century is usually underestimated or even neglected, are in the spotlight – like Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Augustin or 'marvelous' Albrecht von Haller. Finally, we analyze how the translators were interpreting the works they translated, explaining them in prefaces. At times, they were creating original texts which we could see as small treatises, and which naturally form the very important segment of Russian political thought of that time, given the importance of translations for the Westernizing country without strong tradition of studying foreign languages (though by the end of the 18th century Russian nobility had become Francophone indeed). The translators could be seen as part of Russian political thought; some of them are already there (like Shcherbatov, Radishchev, or Fonvizin), but most of them don't. By putting the translators' prefaces into the broader context of Russian political thought, where they rightly belong, we can advance in our understanding of the changes which the 18th century brought into Russia's intellectual life.

Polskoy, Sergey: *The Russian Manuscript Translations of European Political Writings from the Prince Dmitry Mikhaylovich Golitsyn's library*

Prince Dmitry Mikhaylovich Golitsyn (1665-1737) - known as "Russian Machiavelli" - created, according to historian V.N. Tatischev, "the best Russian library" of his time and he was the most active Russia's customer of political and historical translations in 1700-1720s. His library was used not only by Peter the Great, but by his supporters too. Moreover, Prince Golitsyn played key role in the political crisis of 1730 in Russia. In the library of Prince Dmitry Golitsyn there were translations of different political schools, traditions and movements of European thought of the 16th -17th centuries. Various books from his collection could serve as the best source for studying the formation of a new political language in Russia in the first third of the 18th century. In this paper, I will try to consider the following questions on the bases of a manuscript translation from the library Golitsyn: - How did Golitsyn selected the repertoire of translated works? - Who translated European political

treatises for Golitsyn? - What connection existed between the Russian translations and original political works of this époque, and how Russian political lexicon changed during the 1700-1720s?

Sokolov, Sergey: *Examples from Roman History as an Explanatory Strategy in the Russian Historical Writings of the 18th Century*

The purpose of the paper is to analyze how the new discourse changed the understanding of the key moments in Russian history. The history of ancient Rome (both republican and imperial periods) was a significant source of the explanatory examples and parallels for historians during the Medieval and Modern epochs. Meantime, for the Medieval Russia the Roman history was on the periphery of intellectual sphere, but the political centralization in the 15th century and establishing of the stable interaction with Europe opened the Roman heritage to Russian writers. However, during 16th and 17th centuries Russian historians almost didn't use the history of Roman Empire as a source of examples. Instead, they preferred to appeal to the Bible. The actual use of Greco-Roman context began in the 18th century. Russian historiography borrowed the Roman discourse from contemporary European texts. The 18th century Russian historians (such as M. Lomonosov, F. Emin, V. Trediakovsky, V. Tatishchev, M Scherbatov and others) started to write civic and secular history out of sacred history of Muscovite era. Examples from Greco-Roman history were used mainly in political issues. An important problematique concerned the issue how to describe the power. The Russian Medieval concepts had lost their relevance by the end of the 17th century. An old-fashioned way of thinking about the Tsar's power as sacred was replaced by the discourse of the form of government (monarchy, aristocracy, democracy). That provided a number of novel explanations and new understanding of Russia's past. That was the kind of modernization in understanding of Russian history, from the old chronicle-style to European one with the extensive use of the classical political concepts. Thus, a whole new conceptual apparatus and explanatory models appeared in the historical writings of the 18th century Russia.

Bernard, Sarah: *Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna and the Cultivation of Sentimentalism in the Rationalist Reign of Catherine II*

The paper will discuss how, why, and with what consequences Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna, born Princess Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg in 1759 and married to Grand Duke Paul in 1776, cultivated sentimentalism within the context of Russian court life in the reign of her mother-in-law, the rationalist Empress Catherine II. In a first step, the analysis of Maria Feodorovna's unpublished private correspondence will allow to reveal her deep commitment to sentimentalism, this philosophical and literary movement that arose in 18th-century Europe and asserted the importance of feeling over reason. The Grand Duchess's letters to her family and friends therefore abound with expressions of her emotions and with passionate protestations of her solidarity and affection. In a second step, it will be important to explore the experiences and readings that contributed to Maria Feodorovna's adoption of sentimentalism. In further examining the private letters of the Grand Duchess, the paper will thus show the importance of Maria Feodorovna's upbringing at her warm and loving family home in Montbéliard and of her thorough knowledge of sentimental literature, such as Richardson's and Rousseau's writings. It will also be shown that after her marriage to the heir to the Russian throne, Maria Feodorovna consciously chose to cultivate sentimentalism in order to set herself apart from her mother-in-law Catherine II, whose rationalist politics and imperious character she thoroughly disliked. Finally, the paper will disclose the consequences of the Grand Duchess's promoting sentimentalism at the Russian court – that is to say the creation of her own faction despite the umbrageousness of her mother-in-law and, ultimately, the legitimization of her political action as well as her wielding of influence without having to renounce the 18th-century ideal of the apolitical woman.

S024(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)

18th Century Russian Elites and the Transfer of European Knowledge and Ideas (II)

Organizer / Chair: Konstantin Bugrov

Vladimirsky, Irena: *Education for the Emperor: the Legacy of Yakov Grot*

Enlightenment epoch developed the conception of enlightened ruler which was based on his positive role as benefactor of his nation, responsible for the prosperity of his people and state, a person of high moral and ethical principles. The question of choosing an appropriate tutor became the question of the highest importance. A tutor of future rulers usually was chosen with accuracy and should suit the strict demands of the court. A tutor bear heavy responsibilities for development of the leader qualifications of the future ruler, his proper behavior in different situations concerning everyday performance of his duty, his world-view and development of abilities to study, analyze and concentrate. Yakov Grot deserves a particular mention as one of the outstanding top-level aristocracy family tutors. He developed his own vision on tutoring and education and was sure that future rulers should acquire a good basement of general knowledge and as future public figures, learn different methods of public behavior.

Dorokhova, Nadezda: *Les Lettres à l'île Promise: Correspondance entre le Comte Semyon Vorontsov et l'amiral Pavel Tchitchagov*

Les sympathies britanniques des aristocrates russes ont depuis longtemps devenues un lieu commun dans les études consacrés à la période au tournant des XVIIIe- XIXe siècles en Russie. Le nom du comte Semion Vorontsov se trouve parmi les anglomanes les plus connus de son époque. Grande Bretagne, devenue une sorte de «l'île promise» pour les aristocrates anglomanes de l'Empire de Russie, était un point d'observation duquel Semion Vorontsov suivait de près les événements en Russie en essayant parfois de les précipiter ou corriger selon ses idées du bien commun. Son correspondance peut être considérée comme un miroir historique reflétant pour près de la moitié d'un siècle à sa manière la réalité russe selon les concepts du discours des Lumières. A son tour, son jeune ami et correspondant pendant trente ans, l'amiral Pavel Tchitchagov, dans ses lettres et ses actions avait témoigné les opinions non moins radicales que son interlocuteur. en outre, on ne peut pas ignorer la similitude incontestable des sujets biographiques de l'amiral avec le sort de son mentor de Londres. Tous les deux ont été sujets à l'harcèlement politique sous le règne de Paul I, tous les deux ont salué avec enthousiasme l'avènement d'Alexandre I au trône impérial et ont participé aux activités du cercle des «jeunes amis» de l'Empereur, mais, au cours du temps, ont été déçus de la manière de la mise en œuvre des projets de reformes et surtout de ses résultats. L'étude de la correspondance entre Vorontsov et Tchitchagov nous permet de comprendre comment la connaissance du modèle social et politique et du mode de vie britannique avait influencé non seulement l'esprit de «tories russes», mais aussi avait en certaine mesure définie les scénarios de leur biographies personnelles et politiques.

Kanazawa, Tomoo: *Russian Elites and their Academic Experiences in Germany*

In Russia in the second half of the 18th century and during the reign of Catherine II, many young elites were sent to German universities by the government to complete their higher education. After returning to Russia, they became engaged in the works of various fields: politics, economics, and education. Some of them even made contributions to the formation of the modern Russian literature through the introduction of European literature. In this study we examine the relation between their literary works and their participation in this national undertaking. We would like to

focus especially on the work of Ocip Petrovich Kozodavlev (1754-1819), one of the young students who was sent to Leipzig University by Catherine II's government. After returning to his country, he became a member of the Academy of Science and participated in the preparation of "the Dictionary of Russian language". Furthermore, he served as an acting minister of Justice. In the beginning of the 19th century, during the era of the emperor Alexander I, he was appointed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and published the political newspaper "North post". Thus, O.P. Kozodavlev has been regarded as a politician and economist. However, Kozodavlev was also concerned with literature. Though he is not so widely known as a writer as A.N. Radischev, who studied at the same university, he did contribute to the development of Russian literature through translation, adaptation and creation. One of his literary achievements is a translation of Goethe's drama "Clavigo". This is the first translation of Goethe's literature into Russian. Analyzing the literary activities of Kozodavlev and his contemporary elites who experienced German education will lead us to realize the role of European literature in the formation of a modern Russian nation starting in the second half of the 18th century.

Kareva, Natalia: *Les idées des Grammairiens Français et Allemands dans les Manuels du Français Parus en Russie dans les Années 1720—1750*

Les premiers témoignages de l'enseignement du français en Russie se rapportent à l'aube du XVIIIe siècle. Les enfants de Pierre le Grand apprenaient le français à l'aide des manuels écrits en allemand et en latin. La première grammaire de la langue française écrite en russe n'a parue qu'en 1724 ; c'était le manuel manuscrit Грамматика французская о согласии или сочинении девяти частей слова composé par Gorletsky. A la fin des années 1740, Gorletsky a composé un autre manuel qui était une traduction en russe de la grammaire de Restaut Abregé des Principes de la Grammaire Française par M. Restaut. Сокращение начал Грамматики Французския Господином Ресто. Malgré le fait que ce manuel était approuvé par Trediakovki et Lomonossov chargés de la sélection des ouvrages pour la publication par l'Imprimerie de l'Académie des Sciences, il n'a pas été imprimé. Cependant, en 1752 et en 1753, l'Imprimerie a publié deux autres grammaires : l'une écrite en russe par Teplov, un jeune étudiant de l'Université Académique de Saint-Pétersbourg, et l'autre bilingue par Laval, un précepteur français. Le manuel de Teplov intitulé Новая французская грамматика était une traduction de la grammaire allemande anonyme de 1749 Neue und vollständige Französische Grammatik, cette dernière n'étant qu'une compilation des grammaires de Restaut, Pepliers, Buffier et La Touche. Le manuel de Laval Explication de la Grammaire Française ... Изъяснение новой французской грамматики était une adaptation pour l'usage des Russes des grammaires de Restaut et La Touche. Ainsi, les ouvrages de Restaut, de ses prédécesseurs français et de ses disciples allemands étaient à la base de toutes les grammaires parues en Russie dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle. Au cours de notre communication nous essayerons de mettre en évidence le rôle de la pensée européenne dans la formation du discours linguistique et de la terminologie grammaticale en Russie.

S025(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Structures, Valeurs et Représentations de la Société en Suisse au XVIIIe Siècle (I)

Organizer / Chair: François Rosset

Aleksic, Branko: *Henri-David Chaillet Discute dans le Journal Helvétique la Vraisemblance des Contemporaines de Rétif*

Le pasteur neuchâtelois Henri-David Chaillet (1751-1823), membre du cercle progressiste d'Isabelle de Charrière, entre autres la lectrice avisée des romans français de Rétif de la Bretonne, est aussi le rédacteur au Journal helvétique ou Annales littéraires et politiques de l'Europe..., à Neuchâtel, où il consacre trois extraits aux ouvrages de ce Rétif, le cas particulier du génie bizarre et original. Discutant dans le Journal helvétique d'octobre 1781, la vraisemblance dans le cycle des nouvelles Contemporaines, Chaillet pose un vrai problème de la théorie littéraire. Piqué à vif, Rétif répondra, tout en citant le texte du Journal helvétique en notes infrapaginales dans la suite des Contemporaines. en plus, dans les Contemporaines, t. XXI, Rétif rendra publique sa réponse du 31 janvier 1786 à une lettre de son lecteur Mallet, fils, qui donne son adresse: rue de la Boulangerie, à Genève. Les critiques de Chaillet publiées en français, comme les deux autres critiques de Rétif par d'Albrecht von Haller en allemand, dans le Journal des savants de Göttingen, 1773 et 1778 (que nous avons traduit et présenté dans la revue spécialisée Etudes Rétiviennes), la lettre de Mallet, ainsi que le plaidoyer de Franz Schulz von Bilderbeck pour une appréciation plus juste de Rétif, l'auteur des Contemporaines (la préface de Maurice, roman de Bilderbeck traduit de l'allemand en français à Lausanne en 1789), le séjour suisse de Louis-Sébastien Mercier et la présence de Grimod de la Reynière dans le périodique suisse de Neuchâtel, témoignent du commerce d'idées entre la communauté des intellectuels français et suisses. Elles sont en synergie avec l'entreprise économique de la Société typographique de Neuchâtel, qui édite La Vie de mon père de Rétif en 1779, et qui vend avec un grand succès les éditions de son roman le Paysan perversi (1775/76) aux libraires parisiens et provinciaux jusqu'en 1789.

Crogiez Labarthe, Michèle: *Une Aristocrate chez les Républicains : le Salon de la Duchesse d'Enville à Genève.*

La correspondance active et passive de la duchesse d'Enville (1716-1797) nous permet de retracer la place sociale et littéraire qu'elle a tenue à Genève au cours de plusieurs longs séjours, de 1762 à 1778. Amie de Voltaire et de Bonnet, recevant Suzanne Curchod, Bonstetten, Lesage, Malesherbes ainsi que les Résidents successifs et les personnalités genevoises, Cramer et Saussure, elle a assurément joué un rôle qui pour être discret ne fut pas médiocre dans quelques chapitres du contact littéraire voire du contact diplomatique entre la France et Genève. en nous penchant sur les périodes de ses séjours à Genève et sur les conséquences personnelles qu'elles ont eues, notamment la réception à Paris de ceux qu'elle avait connus dans la cité de Calvin, nous illustrerons par son exemple le rôle de la vie mondaine dans la vie littéraire, l'importance de l'étude biographique pour l'étude de la circulation des livres et des idées et la distance culturelle et morale qui demeure entre monarchie et République, telle du moins que Bonstetten et Saussure l'ont commentée.

Friedli, Arthur: *Le Roman et sa Critique dans la Suisse des Lumières*

Comme en témoigne le projet Synergia intitulé Herméneutique des Lumières, de Martin Rueff (UniGe), les questions d'interprétation au XVIIIe sont d'actualité. Parmi les transformations qui opèrent au cours du siècle, on voit émerger de nouvelles façons de considérer le lecteur et son rapport au texte. Pour n'en citer qu'une : Rousseau, de manière récurrente, fait de l'éthos du lecteur (aimable, sensible, initié) le critère dominant pour établir le degré de compréhension qu'il a du texte. Dans la masse des productions lettrées, le roman et sa critique apparaissent comme un lieu adéquat pour tenter de cerner une partie de ces transformations. En effet, en vertu de son absence de généalogie ennoblissante, des variations de son esthétique, des condamnations auxquelles il doit faire face, le genre est au XVIIIe siècle un haut lieu d'investissement théorique. Certaines critiques de Diderot ou de Marmontel sur le roman, par exemple, révèlent l'effritement du paradigme rhétorique et l'avènement d'une nouvelle manière de porter un jugement sur un ouvrage. Sans surprise, cet investissement théorique existe aussi chez les auteurs et critiques suisses. Comme l'a montré notamment Valérie Cossy, l'œuvre d'Isabelle de Charrière est traversée de réflexions et de prises de positions sur le roman et les lectures qu'il suscite. Il s'agira d'interroger la situation de la critique du roman dans la Suisse du XVIIIe siècle, en focalisant l'attention sur des préfaces de romans, sur des textes à portée critique ou théorique d'Isabelle de Charrière, d'Henri-David de Chaillet et d'autres auteurs. On privilégiera les considérations sur les effets que le genre provoque, devrait ou ne devrait pas provoquer sur le lecteur, et le rôle que ces effets jouent dans l'appréciation critique.

S025(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)

Structures, Valeurs et Représentations de la Société en Suisse au XVIIIe Siècle (II)

Organizer / Chair: François Rosset

Mercier, Anne-Marie: *La Suisse Heureuse du Journal Helvétique*

Après la catastrophe survenue à Lisbonne le 1er novembre 1755, la presse commente l'événement de manières très variées : information, compassion, science... Mais dans les journaux suisses, le tremblement de terre est aussi une occasion pour évoquer la question de la Providence. Des textes sur le bonheur particulier de la Suisse se répondent dans les journaux des années 1756-1757, posant la question des causes de cette spécificité et de ce qui pourrait la détruire : discours de satisfaction et lamentations sur un début de décadence alternent ainsi, faisant apparaître des tensions dans la société helvétique, tiraillée entre une volonté de perpétuer un modèle ancien, qui apparaît comme un mythe des origines, et un désir d'évolution et de progrès, dans les sciences comme dans les arts.

Morel, Nicolas: *Le "Voyage Historique et Littéraire en Suisse Occidentale" de Sinner de Ballaigues*

C'est un fait trop méconnu que la francophonie active de quelques grands écrivains Bernois de l'Ancien Régime. Le Voyage historique et littéraire en Suisse occidentale de Sinner de Ballaigues, bibliothécaire de Berne et écrivain, en est l'illustration. Cette description de la Suisse occidentale de la fin du XVIIIe siècle souligne d'une part le lien entre Berne, la Suisse romande et la France des Lumières. Elle est aussi un jugement, parfois satirique, sur les Bernois, les Suisses, les Français.

Iotti, Gianni: *Opulence et sublimation. La négation des structures du marché dans La Nouvelle Héloïse*

On sait que dans *La Nouvelle Héloïse* Rousseau oppose à la réalité de l'économie libérale naissante un paradigme économique «éthique», inspiré à une notion de jouissance tempérée par la morale. Alors qu'Adam Smith, quelques années après la publication du roman, brodera le mythe d'une «richesse des nations» qui coïncide avec la volonté de s'enrichir des individus qui les forment, Rousseau, lui, tient pour négative toute initiative personnelle sur le plan économique et établit un rapport conflictuel entre richesse et bonheur. En ce sens l'idéal de la communauté rustique de Clarens se propose comme un modèle alternatif au modèle fondé sur le luxe, l'enrichissement individuel et l'échange des produits dont Voltaire vantait les qualités. Dans le modèle bucolique et paternaliste qu'esquisse l'auteur de *La Nouvelle Héloïse* la critique a vu tour à tour une « chimère sentimentale » (J. Starobinski) dépourvue de toute valeur pratique, ou le dépassement heureux de la « séparation artificielle » (C. Spector) entre principe économique et principe passionnel. Or, par delà le problème que pose la signification spécifique du paradigme économique contemplé par Rousseau, nous avons concentré notre effort analytique sur le sens que cette négation des structures du marché assume à l'intérieur du système de relations romanesques qui organise le texte. Ainsi que toute la symbolique de l'élévation amoureuse, dans l'histoire de Saint-Preux et de Julie, passe par l'enlèvement du corps sexué - véritable « obstacle » à la « transparence » des cœurs -, il nous a semblé que l'évocation d'un modèle économique qui soumet l'action individuelle à l'épanouissement harmonique de la communauté va dans la même direction, et que sublimation érotique et idéalisation économique relèvent d'un même mouvement ambigu d'affirmation et de défense du moi face à l'avènement de l'ethos capitaliste.

S027(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

Opening Literary Markets: European Women Reading and Writing (I)

Organizer / Chair: Marijn S. Kaplan

Bérenguier, Nadine: *Une Voix Militante Perdue en Traduction : Préfaces Anglaises et Allemandes des Magasins de Marie Leprince de Beaumont.*

La série des *Magasins de Marie Leprince de Beaumont* fut un des best-sellers non seulement en France, mais aussi à l'échelle européenne, car des traductions apparurent rapidement en anglais, allemand, danois, espagnol, italien, néerlandais, polonais, russe, serbe et suédois. Le travail de recherche fait par Monica Bolufer pour l'Espagne et Suzan van Dijk pour les Pays Bas mérite d'être continué afin d'examiner le processus marquant le passage de ces manuels prescriptifs d'une sphère culturelle à une autre. Cette communication le fera pour l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne en se concentrant sur les préfaces. Dans la mesure où la traduction suppose une certaine appropriation du texte puisque le transfert d'une « langue source » à une « langue cible » implique un processus de création, la question de la coexistence de deux forces créatrices est cruciale à considérer. Cette relation de pouvoir apparaît immédiatement dans la traduction des commentaires liminaires qu'un/e auteur/e offre sur le texte qu'il/elle publie. Des questions-clés dans ma communication sont donc: que devient le « pouvoir » de l'auteure sous la plume d'un traducteur? Comment une auteure militante telle que Leprince de Beaumont cohabita-t-elle avec ses traducteurs? Les traducteurs se considèrent-ils avant tout comme de « fidèles » porte-paroles de l'auteure ou éprouvèrent-ils le besoin d'ajouter leurs réflexions personnelles? Ou plus radicalement encore, substituèrent-ils leur propre point de vue à celui de l'auteure? Une comparaison des matériaux liminaires dans les originaux et les traductions révèle une gamme de possibilités dans les préfaces traduites des *Magasins*. Mais nombreux sont les cas où Leprince de Beaumont se trouva « forcée » de renoncer à une partie de son contrôle sur ses livres. Sa voix d'auteur, qu'elle ait été complètement effacée ou

plus subtilement modifiée, n'atteignit pas ses nouveaux publics dans toute sa force initiale, comme si le militantisme qu'elle déploya dans ses préfaces mettait ses traducteurs mal à l'aise et devait être dompté.

Kaplan, Marijn S.: *Translating Gender in Malvina: Sophie Cottin and Elizabeth Gunning*

Women helped facilitate the globalization of the Enlightenment literary marketplace through translation as they transferred a country's cultural heritage from one language into another and across national borders. This paper will examine a quarrel among four women writers about the role gender played in France's cultural heritage: Sophie Cottin (1770-1807), Germaine de Staël (1766-1817), Stéphanie de Genlis (1746-1830) and Elizabeth Gunning (later Plunkett; 1769-1823). At the center of this quarrel we find the bestselling preromantic novel *Malvina* published by Cottin in 1801 and translated into English by Gunning in 1803. Cottin espoused Rousseau's ideals of female domesticity according to which a woman's destiny lies in marriage and motherhood. Inspired by this, she included a chapter in the first-edition *Malvina* used by Gunning in which she criticizes women writers for "going public" while neglecting their sacred domestic duties. Epistolary and literary evidence suggests that both Staël and Genlis felt offended by Cottin's reactionary commentary. Cottin evidently took their opinions to heart, for the second (Michaud) edition of *Malvina* published in 1805 no longer contained the chapter. Gunning had previously translated a male-authored novel from the French displaying awareness of gender-related issues in her Advertisement—particularly when it involves what she calls "female delicacy"—and authorizing a translator to alter a text when gender-related issues are at stake. This paper examines how Gunning translates gender in *Malvina*, her first female-authored novel, in an effort to define her position not only on the topic of women writers so hotly debated by her three French colleagues, but also on other gender-related subjects. It argues that Cottin and Gunning enlighten Enlightenment readers quite differently about gender in their respective versions of *Malvina* and that Gunning's more progressive position on gender-related issues resembles Staël's and Genlis's more closely while it anticipates Cottin's own revised second-edition stance.

S027(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

Opening Literary Markets: European Women Reading and Writing (II)

Organizer / Chair: Marijn S. Kaplan

Klaus, Carrie: *The Fate of an Elusive Baroness: Searching for Cornélie Wouters*

Cornélie Wouters, also known as the Baroness of Vasse (or Wasse), entered the Parisian literary scene in 1782 with *Les Aveux d'une femme galante, ou Lettres de madame la marquise de ****, à myladi Fanny Stapelton, a trans-Channel epistolary novel that was an instant success and was republished the following year in Paris and London. We know little about Wouters, who was born in Brussels in 1737, is reported to have married a German baron, was widowed and living with her sister in Paris by the early 1780s, was exiled during the French Revolution, and then returned to Paris where she was remarried and divorced during the last years of the eighteenth century and died in 1802. A bestselling and prolific writer, she followed *Les Aveux* with a literary dialogue responding to a popular misogynist text, a lunar voyage inspired by the Montgolfiers' successful hot-air balloon launch in Paris, an allegorical fairy-tale relation of the American Revolutionary War, a political tract arguing that Jews should be admitted to the new French Republic as citizens with full rights, a one-act comedy depicting the plight of noble families displaced by the French Revolution, and a host of translations of theater, fiction, and history from English to French. Despite the success and variety of her work, including original texts and translations, Cornélie Wouters has all but disappeared from literary history. This paper will review the current state of scholarship on Wouters, suggest avenues

for further research, and consider the unique entries that lesser known writers, and Wouters in particular, with her shifting national perspectives (she was born in Brussels, published only in French, and called herself “une dame angloise”), can provide us into key debates of the late eighteenth century.

Mannies, Whitney: *Rousseau and the Gendering of Discourse: The Case of the 'Journal des Dames'*

This paper examines the gendering of styles and forms of writing in the mid-eighteenth century through the lens of the *Journal des dames*, an eighteenth-century literary periodical published in Paris between 1759 and 1778. While the *Journal* often served as a vehicle for arguments in favor of women’s moral, social, or political equality, what I examine here is not so much the substance of those arguments as the contributors’ self-conscious attention to the styles and forms in which they wrote. I argue that, just as the *Journal des dames* was coming into existence, the task of arguing for women’s equality was newly and profoundly complicated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s gendering of discourse. In his *Letter to d’Alembert on the Theatre* (1758), Rousseau had argued that certain styles of communication encouraged an amour-propre that corroded civic virtue. His argument linked pleasant and civilizing styles of writing with effeminization and corruption, so that the styles and forms of writing most widely considered appropriate for women were framed as morally and politically pernicious. The consequence of this gendered dichotomy of writing — entertaining/feminine/corrupt versus useful/masculine/virtuous — was that arguments written in “feminine” styles and forms were seen as inappropriate for speaking about moral and political matters, while women writing in a “masculine” style and form were written off as illegitimate speakers. My initial reading of the first ten volumes of the *Journal des dames* reveals that contributors felt this double-bind keenly: it is arguably their most common theme, and Rousseau’s *Letter to d’Alembert* is the most frequently addressed publication.

Sol, Antoinette: *Romans Adaptés, Adoptés et Traduites: la Re-écriture dans l’œuvre de Elisabeth Guénard*

Si l’on souscrit à l’idée préférée des auteurs que les productions littéraires sont autant d’enfants des créateurs, qu’arrive-t-il quand un autre s’empare de ces oeuvres-enfants? A la fin du XVIII et au début du XIX siècles, il semble que bien des textes-enfants des uns se sont trouvés dans la bibliographie des autres. Trouvés ou volés, ils sont mis en circulation par de nouveaux auteurs-progéniteurs. La pratique était répandue et les auteurs suppliaient à la demande incessante des cabinets de lectures. Si on ne peut pas dire que ce genre de littérature --Continuations, suites, adaptations et imitations--a remplit les coffres, elle a garanti du pain sur la table. Elisabeth Guénard était une adepte de ce mode de production. Elle ne manquait jamais l’occasion de sauter sur un texte ou une pièce à la mode pour faire une suite, le remanier ou l’adapter en roman. On regardera de près ce qu’entraînent ces adoptions-adaptations et le sort de ces "familles combinées" du tournant du siècle des Lumières où Mme Guénard déplace, remplace, et se substitue au père en prenant sa plume. Quelques questions se posent d’emblée quand on parle de réécriture : pourquoi réécrire ? La première réponse est facile, c’est l’argent. Auteure de romans de seconde rayon ou ce qui va devenir de la littérature industrielle ou para-littérature-- ce qu’on appellera aujourd’hui les romans de gare--Madame Guénard profite du succès de l’œuvre originel pour en vendre les siennes. Mais y a-t-il quelque motivation au delà du monétaire ? Dans cette communication, on examinera cette pratique d’adaptation et de ré-écriture du tournant du XVIII siècle par le biais de l’œuvre de Elisabeth Guénard.

S028 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)

The Sounds of The Stock Market, 1680 – 1720

Organizer / Chair: Catherine Labio, Florence Magnot-Ogilvy

Leemans, Inger: *A Dynamic Trade: The Sounds of the Trade in Stocks, 1680-1720*

This paper studies the vivacity, sounds, and violence associated with the stock trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

De Bruyn, Frans: *Sounds and Images of Trade and Financial Exchange in Bubble Literature: Britain and the Netherlands Compared*

In chapter ten of *The Great Mirror of Folly* (Yale UP, 2014) I argue in part that in the long run English writers and artists produced a significant and lasting artistic legacy that can be traced back to the impact of the Bubble. In that essay, I looked chiefly at English bubble poetry and engravings, with only a brief glance at theatrical productions in 1720-21. In my conference presentation I will present a more complete and nuanced picture of the English theatrical response. I will show that the events of the Bubble were reflected in London theatrical productions from the spring of 1720 through the spring of 1721, as political events in the period tended to be, (including an entr'acte novelty performance, several times repeated, of "A Comic Scene by [John] Harper, mimicking a drunken Man, in which he [Harper] will perform the Song of Four and Twenty Stock-Jobbers"). In keeping with the focus of the panel, I will discuss the ways in which these productions dramatize the "buzz" (the excitement and activity) of the Bubble, in particular, the sounds of the share traders in Exchange Alley in London. More broadly, however, I will show, as Catherine Labio argues in *The Great Mirror* (p. 154), that the English theatrical response to the South Sea Bubble reflects the prevailing tendency to view the Bubble through the lens of party politics (Whigs versus Tories), including a familiar opposition in political polemics of the early eighteenth-century between landed wealth and moneyed wealth based on commerce and trade. A fascinating contrast obtains between England and Holland at this time in attitudes towards trade and commerce (legitimate or corrupting?) and towards the new financial economy, and in England these two categories (commerce versus finance and share trading) were often confused, sometimes deliberately for propaganda/political purposes.

Goggin, Joyce: *Pieter Langendijk Goes West: The International Appeal of Bubbles*

In 1720 Pieter Langendijk received "a hand-written manuscript of a play entitled 'The Harlequin Stock Jobber'" from a friend who had visited Paris and "transcribed it as it was being performed". That visitor undoubtedly noted the excitement surrounding the subject of the play: the financial bubble generated by John Law's scheme. Langendijk accepted the manuscript and his friend's challenge to translate it into rhyming Dutch, and to produce it along with 'The Wind Traders of Quincampoix' in Amsterdam in 1720. Significantly however, Langendijk wrote that, while his play may have rhymed, he did not follow "the French text to the letter because popular sayings and puns in that language seldom accord with those in Dutch", hence, as he explains, this is "not a translation but rather a version". This paper discusses the cultural transference of Langendijk's other play about the bubble into Germany, and some of the more technical issues presented by "Quincampoix oder der Windhandel der neuen Actionisten von Peter Langendijk," including how to translate puns from one language to another and how to handle the more obscure anecdotal information contained in the Dutch version of the play. I will also be concerned with seeming oddity of the play's German reception, given that Germany was much less invested in Law's scheme or local off-shoots thereof than England, France or the Netherlands. At the same time I will have occasion to explain how

perceptions of national character, such as Germany's reputation for fiscal phlegmatism coalesced around finance, itself an excellent transmitter and translator of racial stereotypes. Finally, I will highlight the rapidity with which this text traveled and was translated in the year of the crash, a phenomenon that underscored the sensationalism and entertainment value of finance.

S029(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Art Markets (I)

Organizer / Chair: Jan-Frans van Dijkhuizen

Murgia, Camilla: *(Un)fashionable Trades. Private Exhibitions as Art Market Strategies in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris*

In 1776, French engraver Antoine Marcenay de Guy and German painter Johann Anton de Peters were responsible for opening a fine arts exhibition in the Colisée, a building located in one of Paris's most known boulevards, the Champs-Élysées. Concerned with the success of the show, which too strongly recalled the Académie Royale's Salons and potentially jeopardised them, the Comte d'Angiviller, France's Interior Minister, ordered the business to close. Such a decision did not prevent, however, Parisians to develop a series of private exhibitions which offered parallel networks for artworks' exchange at the end of the Ancien Regime. Indeed, these displays allowed the rise of alternative trade's patterns going well beyond conventional art market commerce. In my paper, I will investigate these alternative practices, focussing on the impact they had on art commerce. To what extent did private exhibitions affect Parisian artistic world and determine its development? Why did art world's professionals, such as painters, need alternative channels for artistic exchange? I'm interested in the diversity of trading these modalities generated. In a first instance, I will discuss the relationship between the number of private exhibitions of contemporary art which took place in late 18th-century Paris and the art market, in order to understand its impact on artworks' circulation. These shows played a crucial role in artists' careers inasmuch as a new perception of artworks developed. Functioning as a platform for contemporary art, private exhibitions represented a paramount trade strategy, leading to multiple issues relating to the art world, from artworks' marketing to their recognition. In the second part of my paper, I will notably explore these values and their evolution. I will draw particular attention on the background allowing the rise of such a commercial policy and on the questioning of the art market they provoked.

Schlitte, Sune: *William Buchanan and the Emergence of a European Art Market in the Long 18th Century*

"West said that people were vain in being introducers of fine pictures to the country (William Buchanan)." In the long 18th century collecting art was considered as an ornament of the developing states and served to enhance the symbolic capital of collectors and artists. William Buchanan a Scottish lawyer and son of a Glasgow hat manufacturer decided that "A small speculation might be entered into with every chance of success (Buchanan)" in the art market of the long 18th century. The overthrow of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars flooded the London market with old master paintings from the continent. In this period of time, the structures of an international art market arises, Academies, Museums, the modern artist and art dealer got established. The paper will discuss the negotiation process of the value and valuation of art in three steps. After a short general overview of the international art market it analyses James Irvines and William Buchanans attempts to establish themselves as art dealers in an art market which developed mainly between

France, Great Britain and Italy. The won insights of the 18th century art market should show that modern economic history can gain new insights in the developing of markets and prices by imbedding their structures in the social space. In summary the paper argues that without examining the historical genealogy of artists and traders which is based on a common legitimation it is impossible to understand the current debate about the value of art.

Mayer, Gernot: *Creating networks – Collecting paintings: Art collection and cultural policies of Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711-1794)*

Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz was without a doubt one of the most important statesmen of the 18th century. As State-Chancellor he shaped the Habsburg Monarchy from 1753 to 1792 and as the author of the Renversement des alliances – the so called “Diplomatic Revolution” – he developed a new alliance-system in Europe.

Whereas Kaunitz was always regarded as a key figure of the politics of his time, an important aspect of his life and work has been largely neglected: Kaunitz was an outstanding amateur des arts, patron and collector. The political ambitions of the head of the Austrian Enlightenment party included also cultural aspects: He had a deep influence on the court theatre, supported and reformed the academy of fine arts, redesigned the Emperor’s gardens of the Schönbrunn palace (Vienna) and was responsible for the remodelling of the Imperial gallery.

In addition, Kaunitz himself was an important collector: Although nowadays nearly unknown, his collection was once, apart from the Liechtenstein gallery, the largest private collection in 18th century Vienna. As far as we know from contemporary guidebooks, the collection encompassed up to 2000 paintings.

Many of these paintings had already been part of the older family collection. This nucleus was systematically expanded by the State-Chancellor, who used his diplomatic network – subordinated ambassadors, envoys or officials – to purchase new paintings. Another way he acquired artworks was through agents and art dealers. One of them, Christian von Mechel, developed – under the auspices of Kaunitz – the new display of the Imperial collection in the Upper Belvedere, organized with a new scientific approach by schools and time periods.

The paper will focus on strategies, taste and aims of Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz as an art collector and will discuss his contacts to the European art market.

Schellenberg, Renata: *Mapping the Market: German Art Catalogues in the Eighteenth Century*

Collecting was a popular pastime in eighteenth-century Germany. People indulged in the acquisition of material culture and amassed objects for purposes of aesthetic enjoyment and education. They also wrote about objects in their possession, generating a series of texts that reflected their personal affection for the collected item. The literacy of the collecting process improved most dramatically with the emergence of an independent art market. In the eighteenth century the German art market had expanded to accommodate a socially diverse range of consumers. And as more people participated in the purchasing and exchange of artifacts, there was a growing demand for a standardization of expression that would allow them to understand the process as a whole. Sales catalogues chronicled the development of this type of discourse, because as source material they were in immediate contact with both the market and its customers. Designed with an economic objective in mind, they were meant to facilitate the factual sale of items, but in doing so they communicated much more, divulging tastes, trends, venues as well as the purchasing strategies inherent to collecting practices of the age. Furthermore, because they refer to actual items, and not

models or brands (as a fair catalogue would) they reveal real patterns of collecting, providing an itemized trace of the availability of and aesthetic taste in material objects of the age. This paper analyzes a sample of sale catalogues from art markets in Hamburg, Dresden and Frankfurt, positing that these texts represent not only an important document of the age, but are a valuable commodity in their own right.

S029(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)

Art Markets (II)

Organizer / Chair: Jan-Frans van Dijkhuizen

García Menéndez, Bárbara: *Two Spanish Clients for the Neoclassical Painter Angelica Kauffman*

The conclusions of our investigation of two paintings that the great neoclassical painter Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807) made for two Spanish clients will be presented in this paper. These canvases are especially singular, because their history has been fully documented from the moment on which they were commissioned in Rome, in very close dates at the end of the 18th century (1796 and 1797). They are also two of the very few works by the artist than can be seen nowadays in Spanish public collections. The first of these paintings, a beautiful canvas of Saint Joseph and the Child (Museum of Fine Arts of Asturias, Oviedo, Spain) has gone unnoticed to Kauffman's historiography. But our study has gathered detailed references of its provenance, the consecutive Asturian owners, and also of its models and influences (Mengs' style, known by Kauffman in Italy, and the huge presence of Murillo in 18th-century Britain, which she assumed in London via Sir Joshua Reynolds) and of three 19th-century copies of the painting. The other one is a portrait of the Spanish Jesuit and erudite Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809), that has been already published, but ignoring that Kauffman painted another copy. In 1797 the painter was hired by Hervás to have him portrayed, probably for a private Jesuit portrait gallery in Rome, but the whereabouts of this canvas remains currently unknown. The one that can be studied today is a replica that, regarding their friendship, Kauffman made and gave to her client. On his return to Spain, Hervás took the painting to his home, in Horcajo de Santiago (Cuenca). After his death, it remained in his family's property until it was donated to the Royal Academy of History, in 1868, where it is still kept today.

Gofroy-Gallardo, Christine: *Paintings' Exchanges during the Early Years of the Louvre Museum*

Although they discreetly favor the dispersal of paintings in Paris, 18th century amateurs refuse all comparison with professional dealers. These collectors take advantage of their network of correspondents abroad to acquire drawings, paintings or engravings from all Europe. They maintain relations of a so-called "honest business", in which exchange or donation is often considered as the only acceptable economic practice. At that time, the exchange of paintings between amateurs is not only practiced in the context of private relations, but it also occurs within the new establishment of the Louvre. Due to the lack of financial resources, the first Museum's curators do not hesitate to turn to this process in order to obtain the lacking masterpieces of their collection. Dealers and private individuals spontaneously suggest to administrators a procedure of exchange of exceptional paintings in return of paintings of less interest. Apart from private individuals, the Grand Duke of Tuscany does not hesitate to directly suggest to the Louvre an exchange of paintings of the royal gallery of Florence against an artwork of Le Sueur, which he desires fervently. Excited by this proposal, the Louvre's administration seems ready to accept more exchanges to fill the Museum's gaps. However, the extremely explicit lists of paintings of French commissioners shock the representative of the Grand

Duke who wishes to give a friendly aspect to this negotiation. After the confiscation of noble immigrants' possessions under the French Revolution, aristocrats such as Prince de Conti obtain by the government a restitution of requisitioned paintings and works of art. The arrival of Vivant Denon to the Louvre's direction puts an end to the practice of the trade exchanges. Henceforth, no private individual should to boast to possess a painting subtracted from the public collections.

Peres Pissarra, Maria Constança: *Les Arts, le Commerce et les Lumières*.

Pour le XVIIIème. siècle, contre la disette et la misère, un bon gouvernement doit constituer des réserves de grains et encourager les cultivateurs. Celle-là c'est une condition élémentaire du bonheur. Sans le luxe la civilisation n'est pas possible car le superflu c'est chose très nécessaire et rend heureux les hommes, au même temps que stimule l'industrie, l'agriculture, le commerce. Ceux-ci est la source du bien-être et de la prospérité et fait aussi la richesse et la forces des nations. Donc, la civilisation trouve son couronnement dans les beaux-arts qui adoucissent les moeurs, et aussi sur les lettres que nourrissent l'âme. Mais, selon le fragment Le luxe, le commerce et les arts, de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "puisque le commerce et les arts ne sont dans une nation qu'une preuve de besoins et que l'argent n'est point une preuve de véritable richesse il s'ensuit que la réunion de toutes ces choses n'est point non plus une preuve de bonheur". (Fragments, p. 523) Si Rousseau nous a déjà parlé dans le Discours sur les sciences et les arts sur les questions du luxe, du commerce et des arts par rapport aux moeurs, ça ne l'empêche pas de reprendre ces discussions dans le fragment ci-dessus, mais d'un autre point de vue, c'est à dire, de la prospérité de l'État ou d'un point de vue politique. Pour mieux comprendre la question du commerce et des arts il faut retenir la critique de Rousseau au luxe: "De la société et du luxe qu'elle engendre, naissent les Arts libéraux et mécaniques, le Commerce, les Lettres; et toutes des inutilités qui font fléa la curir l'industrie, enrichissent et perdent les États". (Discours sur l'inégalité, note IX). C'est le but de cette communication.

S030 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Opening Markets: Swedish Consuls in Southern Europe, C. 1700-1800

Organizer / Chair: Silvia Marzagalli

Östlund, Joachim: *The Swedish Trade Route to the Mediterranean: Consuls, Trade Security and the Development of Reciprocal Ransoming Agreement during the Eighteenth Century*

November 19, 1742 the Swedish state issued a decree that stated that if Barbary corsairs captured a Swedish ships, and the crew were made slaves, all foreign seamen on the Swedish ship would be treated as Swedish nationals and ransom would be paid by the Swedish state. But this right to ransom should only be occur if Swedish seamen were guaranteed the same right as the foreign seamen, meaning a reciprocal ransoming agreement. This paper discusses the different strategies to secure the Swedish trade route to the Mediterranean during the eighteenth century. The biggest threat to the Swedish commercial interests was the so-called Barbary corsairs. But convoys, insurances, ransoming, peace treaties were not perceived to be enough. The call for international agreements was something new and reflects the growing importance of the Mediterranean market. This paper presents the development of reciprocal ransoming agreement in a Swedish and European context. The consuls played a significant role for this important change, both to argue for its relevance and to implement the idea.

Fryksén, Gustaf: *Swedish Trade and Intelligence in the Mediterranean: Consular Incentives towards Commercial Expansion 1723-1763*

From the 1720s, in the wake of the Great Northern War, Swedish government officials and private initiators worked actively to expand Swedish shipping and trade in the Mediterranean (e.g. Müller 2004). One of the measures in order to fulfil the ambition of promoting trade was to establish consulates in important trade nodes along the Mediterranean coasts. Several Swedish agents operated in the Mediterranean to provide information on trade opportunities and to open new markets for Swedish ships. The agents were in contact with important financiers and merchant houses attached to the state administration and/or managing private enterprises. However, the agents also operated as 'free agents' behind a variety of often personal motives. A number of those trade adventurers were in due course appointed as Swedish consuls. The first Swedish consul in Algiers, George Logie (1694-1776), was a key figure in the commercial expansion process (Fryksén 2014). One historian has described him as 'an instance of the merchant-cum-agent-cum-political adventurer in the East' (Hirschberg 1976). For nearly fifty years, he and his circle (other consuls, agents, merchants and shipmasters) facilitated a network to provide intelligence on possible trading opportunities. Surviving correspondence display how such intelligence on new markets, e.g. mining prospects in Sardinia and Tunisia and colonial ambitions in Morocco, was sent to the Swedish government, to patrons/benefactors, and others. The potential personal gain of such enterprises, if successful, was of course substantial. In some cases, consuls retired as wealthy men. The paper intend to investigate Logie's (and his circle's) incentives for providing such information. The aim is thus to add to the knowledge of the Swedish commercial expansion in the 18th century Mediterranean and to the early history of the Swedish consular service. The paper is based on research of hitherto unused archival sources.

Beaurepaire, Pierre-Yves and Marzagalli, Silvia: *'Pour l'Avantage et l'Accroissement du Commerce Suédois'. Consul Fölsch and Swedish Trade Growth (1780-1805)*

Historians tend to conceive eighteenth century consuls as a part of a system State organized in order to collect information and to protect trade in an increasingly efficient way. By looking at the abundant correspondence that Swedish consul in Marseille François Philip Fölsch sent to the authority in Stockholm from 1780 to 1805 –which we are publishing - we will stress the many ways in which the issue of opening markets can be conceived through the lenses of this particular source. On the one side, Fölsch contributed in protecting Swedish ships, notably their neutrality. On the other, he observed Mediterranean trade and reported on what he perceived as opportunities for further expansion, or as potential threats. Indeed, this consular correspondence contains a multiplicity of information on trade issues, which Fölsch sought his duty to forward. But the analysis of his discourse reveals also that, far from being the agent of a Weberian State, Fölsch was above all a merchant who was eager to use his position as consul in order to increase his own fortune and to secure the position of his family members. In order to do so, he did not only put forward those discourses he knew would be appreciated in Stockholm, but he also presented himself as an indispensable knowledge-broker of Mediterranean World and trade. If the nature of this source makes it impossible to assess whether Fölsch's information was effective in Stockholm for decision-making, or his action useful in expanding Swedish trade in the Mediterranean, he certainly contributed to the growing persuasion that consuls were necessary to States to foster trade – a persuasion that led the King of Prussia to commission a consul in Nice although no Prussian ships entered the Mediterranean, and the United States to build a consular system in the Western Mediterranean in the 1790s.

Müller, Leos: *Swedish Consular Service and Shipping under the Neutral Flag in the Mediterranean, 1770-1800*

In the periods of Anglo-French Wars, neutral countries, such as Sweden and Denmark, became important carriers in Southern Europe. They carried all kinds of cargoes between different parts of the Mediterranean; as neutral carriers, they even entered the Atlantic trade. Swedish consul played a key role in providing information about the profitable opportunities for neutrals as well as as commission agents between Swedish ship owners and freighters in the region. The paper will illustrate specifically the role of consuls, with special focus on Swedish consuls in Lisbon and Cadiz.

S031 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)

Art and Commerce. Continent Allegories in the Baroque Age: the Role of the Jesuit Order

Organizer / Chair: Wolfgang Schmale

Sterba, Katrin: *The Depiction of Allegories of the Four Continents in Prints and Baroque Ceiling Paintings in Jesuit Churches in Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic*

St Franz Xaver is the most popular missionary of the Jesuits. As a friar of St Ignatius of Loyola, he is often depicted in the interior decoration of Jesuit churches. Andrea Pozzo painted Franz Xaver's Glorification on the ceiling frescos in the Jesuit church of Mondovi already 15 years before his masterpiece in the church of Sant' Ignazio in Rome. In both paintings, the saints are surrounded by allegories of continents. But in the reception of this subject in the interior decoration of Jesuit churches in Germany, Austria or the Czech Republic – countries the Jesuits had successfully evangelised in the 17th and 18th century –, St Franz Xaver is depicted baptising or evangelising Africans and Indians. However the portrayal of the indigenous people is influenced by the illustration of allegory of continents, which often appears together with St Ignatius. The most popular example for this subject is Pozzo's Glorification of Saint Ignatius in Sant' Ignazio in Rome. But Pozzo was not the inventor of this iconographical subject. It had already been established and spread by copperplate prints as the World mission of the Jesuits (1664) by Bartholomäus Kilian and Johann Christoph Storer or Ignatius of Loyola and the world mission of the Jesuits (1675) by Johann Kilian. Prints of allegories of continents were published in several books as e. g. in Mathias Tanner's collection of the martyrdoms of Jesuit missionaries or in Heinrich Scherer's description of the worldwide mission of the Jesuits. These illustrations of the allegories influenced also the baroque ceiling paintings in Jesuit churches in the evangelised countries; but they have been painted after the Catholic mission has already been done. Hence the monumental frescos and altarpieces show the successful mission of the Jesuits worldwide.

Oba, Haruka: *Using the Past for the Church "Present" and "Future". The Remembrance of the Catholic Japan in Dramas and Arts in Southern Germany*

In the late 16th century, the missionary of the Jesuits were very successful in Japan. Many Japanese converted to Catholicism. However, the situation took a turn to the bad as the Japanese authority began to persecute these followers, which led to the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki. In Europe the Jesuits were taken by surprise of this development. In the 17th century they began to refer to this history of Catholic Japan in dramas and arts related to the Jesuits school with the aim of promoting overseas missionary. This activity continued into the 18th century, although the Catholic Church could not see any more possibilities for reviving the missionary in Japan. Especially in Southern Germany, the Jesuit Drama about Japan belonged to the regular repertoire of Jesuits schools (e.g. in Konstanz) from the late 1730s to 1750s. At the same time the iconography of the four continents as

well as the pictorial memorial of the Nagasaki martyrs in churches and the amount of applications for the Jesuit missionary abroad (esp. submitted by farmers, craftsmen, doctors from rural regions) flourished. Based on case studies concerning the Jesuit schools in Konstanz, Dillingen an der Donau and Landsberg am Lech, the presentation aims on the one hand by focusing on the relation between the Jesuit Drama on Japan and the pictures of the Japanese Martyrs to explain, how this constant revival of this Japanese past of the society is connected to the present and till this day unexplained prosperity of the iconography of the four continents and the applications for the Jesuit missionary abroad. On the other hand it will also be taken into consideration, how the jubilee of the Saint Francis Xavier in 1741, who had arrived in Goa 200 years ago and had become the patron for the missionary abroad since 17th century, influenced the Jesuit Drama on Japan and the applications for the overseas missionary.

Ferlan, Claudio: *A Global Context for Communication Strategies in the Jesuits' Colleges in Klagenfurt and Gorizia (XVII – XVIII centuries)*

Since the early moments of its presence in Austria, the Jesuits had to face the problem of communicating in German as a matter of urgency in all the missionary areas. In regions dominated by Lutheranism they aimed at addressing people who were unable to speak and understand Latin. The Society of Jesus responded with different solutions to this pastoral urgency: recruitment of German speaking people, study, interactions based on gestures, symbols and images. Especially this last aspect is going to be explored in this paper by focusing on the Colleges of Klagenfurt (founded in 1604) and Gorizia (1615) and their forms of communication of the sacred. Starting out with an analyses of the first communication strategies used by the Jesuits in the two cities in the early years of settlement, the advancement of such strategies in the 18th century, when after the end of the Thirty Years' War Lutheranism was apparently defeated, will be put at the center of my presentation. The 18th century was a time in which the pastoral urgency changes. The resistance to Lutheranism has been successful. Its growth has been stopped. There comes a time for teaching, catechizing, educating. The change of the political and religious context demanded new methods of presence within civil society. The Jesuits organized them through the development of techniques originated from their experience and tested worldwide. I will analyze in particular the use of theater, processions, preaching and catechesis. These communication tools are used outside the classroom in order to widen the contact of the Jesuits with the population, beyond the students' audience. My aim is to describe the process of change in the Jesuit model of communication based on a comparative analysis of the two colleges, but constantly taking into account the reality of the mission in general.

Nebgen, Christoph: *The Influence of the New World's Image on Religious Vocations on the Old World*

The spirituality of the Society of Jesus is mainly based on the human capacity of imagination (spiritual exercises). When this religious order, founded by Ignatius of Loyola, became one of the most important actors in the field of Christian missions in Asia, Africa and America in the second half of the 16th century, imaginations and allegories of these new exotic fields of Christian - or better Roman Catholic - missions took place in its self-representation. In the great variety of already existing religious orders these overseas missions were a special trait for the SJ. Especially for young men interested in an ecclesial career it represented a particular possibility to realize their point of interest. To become a heroic missionary like Francis Xavier or José de Anchieta was one of the most favourable options for a young catholic in the baroque and post-tridentine mentality. The SJ used the presentation of their overseas missions in different media for a public representation of their own profile: in theatre, painting, martyrologies and even songs their commitment in the New World was

mentioned. As a consequence, many people joined the SJ to once become an overseas missionary themselves.

S032 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)

Mid-Century: Women Novelists and the Literary Marketplace in the 1750S. 1760S and 1770S

Organizer / Chair: Karin Kukkonen

Ballaster, Ros: *Elizabeth Griffith and Frances Brooke: Experiments in Epistolarity.*

The market for translated fiction seems to have been robust in mid-century England and provided an opportunity for women without classical languages to display their learning and linguistic talents. This paper argues that we do not understand the novel if we do not consider translated fiction as part of the field of experimentation. I look in particular at the work of Elizabeth Griffith and Frances Brooke. Both women were playwrights (Griffith was also an actress and Brooke a theatre-manager) as well as novelists and translators of French prose fiction, especially works by women. Brooke found a niche for herself as the English translator of Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni, with her treatment of Riccoboni's third best-selling novel, *Lettres de Milady Juliette Catesby*, until David Garrick advised Riccoboni not to work with her. Griffith translated French libertine texts including *The Memoirs of Ninon de L'Enclos* and Claude Joseph Dorat's *The Fatal Effects of Inconstancy*. In 1777 she edited a three volume *Collection of Novels*, the first two volumes of which intelligently pairs French and English female authors. My concentration will be on translations from other women by Griffith and Brooke: Griffith's treatment of *The Memoirs of Ninon de L'Enclos* (1761) and her *The Delicate Distress* (1769) and Brooke's translation of Riccoboni, *Letters from Lady Julia Catesby* (1760) alongside her *History of Lady Julia Mandeville* (1763). The network narrative of epistolary exchange models for these writers the complex negotiations of ideas, of gender and social hierarchy, necessary to their own success in the market-driven institutions of performed theatre and published fiction.

Kukkonen, Karin: *Classics for the Ladies: Mid-Century Women Writers, Translation and the Ancients*

Learning in the classical texts of antiquity is a mixed blessing for eighteenth-century women. They might be applauded like Anne Dacier for her translation of Homer, and both Sarah Fielding's (1762) translation of Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates* and Elizabeth Carter's (1758) translation of Epictetus have gathered impressive subscription lists, but when it comes to implementing these teachings, the learned lady is an easy target of ridicule. "Epictetus teaches her to curb her passions. She reads him intently while her maid is combing her hair, and closes her book to storm at the poor trembling creature for accidentally hurting her with the comb." The mock-stoic Lady D--- in Charlotte Lennox's novel *Henrietta*, published the same year as Carter's celebrated translation of the ancient text, obviously has not translated her professed beliefs into social actions. The present paper investigates the ways in which mid-century women writers bring the heritage of the ancients into the eighteenth century through translations, through the presentation of female "ancients" and through the discussion and use of ancient principles of literary writing. Cultural transfer in the eighteenth century extended not only across the Channel and into Europe (see Cohen and Dever 2002; Oergel ed. 2012), but also across time into the heritage of the ancients. Indeed, it seems that, along the well-beaten tracks of the struggle between the ancients and the moderns (see Levine 1999; Norman 2011), female writers of the mid-century found new materials and strategies for experimentation in novel-writing and the social purposes of literature. My discussion will focus on Sarah Fielding's engagement with the ancients in her translation, prefaces and novels in particular, but it will also touch upon the work of her contemporaries Charlotte Lennox and Elizabeth Carter.

Horejsi, Nicole: *Recovering the Legacy of Madeleine de Scudéry at Mid-Century: The Cases of Charlotte Lennox and Sarah Fielding*

This paper takes as its subject the influence of the staggeringly popular seventeenth-century French writer, Madeleine de Scudéry (1607-1701), on women writers in mid-eighteenth-century England. The author of numerous heroic romances, orations, and conversations, all dedicated to promoting the value of women's participation in the public sphere, Scudéry hosted one of the most famous salons of the seventeenth century, achieved great acclaim and popularity in her lifetime, and was well known to English readers at least as late as 1752: Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote*, a satire on romance reading, depends on her audience's intimate familiarity with Scudéry's novels for the humor of its central conceit. It was precisely Scudéry's continued popularity that motivated critics, both in France and in England, to proclaim her work obsolete. Their recasting of Scudéry's influence changed the course of literary history, convincing subsequent scholars that Scudéry's diverse and compelling oeuvre merited no further study—an assessment that has only recently begun to change, thanks to the work of French scholars such as Joan DeJean (e.g., 1991). Indeed, throughout Restoration and eighteenth-century England, Scudéry remained a force to be reckoned with. This paper will focus, in particular, on Lennox's debt to Scudéry's wide-ranging body of work in *The Female Quixote*, as well as Sarah Fielding's use of Scudérian models in *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (1757). Though touted as the first work to give an account of Cleopatra's life from the queen's own point of view (Bree 1996), Scudéry had already achieved this feat in the *Femmes Illustres*, a compilation of orations by heroic women. In this way, this paper aims to reinvigorate the study of the mid-century novel exploring some of the ways in which canonical women writers took inspiration from a crucial pioneer of women's writing, innovatively turning to Scudéry at a time when the English novel seemed, following Richardson and Fielding, most derivative.

Vanacker, Beatrijs: *Pseudo-translation in the Literary Marketplace: Some Notes on Riccoboni, Beccary and Wouters*

Dans le contexte des recherches actuelles sur la montée dite "transnationale" (Cohen – Dever 2001; Mander 2007; McMurrin 2010) du genre romanesque au 18^e siècle, l'apport spécifique des pseudo-traductions françaises – c'est-à-dire de ces (nombreux) romans qui se présentent comme des traductions dans l'absence d'un texte-source – reste toujours à explorer. Or, incarnant l'idée même de transfert culturel par leur double inscription culturelle, ces romans ont à leur tour été traduits dans de nombreuses autres langues (l'allemand, l'anglais, l'italien, le néerlandais,...), ce qui rend la question de leur rôle (quantitatif) dans la dissémination des formes romanesques d'autant plus pertinente.

Pour cette présentation, nous nous proposons d'étudier le recours à la pseudo-traduction dans l'oeuvre de trois femmes auteurs (Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni, Mme Beccary, Cornélie Wouters) et cela dans une double perspective: d'une part, celle d'en mesurer les motifs (poétiques, institutionnels, socioculturels,...) sous-jacents et d'autre part, celle d'analyser les modes de "transfert culturel" qui ont assuré la circulation de leurs romans dans le paysage européen.

S034 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)

Robert Challe et le Commerce

Organisatrice/Président: Geneviève Artigas-Menant

Cormier, Jacques: *Les Réflexions de Robert Challe sur le Commerce dans le Journal d'un Voyage aux Indes Orientales : Entre Fénelon et Voltaire*

En ce siècle où les idéologues s'opposent, Fénelon et Rousseau contre Montesquieu et Voltaire, Robert Challe, aventurier lié au clan des proches de Colbert, que son expérience a mis aux prises avec les Anglais au Canada et avec les Hollandais sur la route des Indes, exprime à plusieurs reprises sa conception du rôle du commerce dans les relations internationales. Sa connaissance du fonctionnement de la société anglaise et de la société hollandaise lui permet de comparer les mérites respectifs des différentes politiques menées à l'échelle planétaire et de juger les successeurs de Colbert. Plusieurs de ses affirmations préfigurent les jugements du philosophe de Ferney.

Fujiwara, Mami: *Le 'Sacré Commerce' Selon Robert Challe*

Dans ses Difficultés proposées au R.P. Bouhours [...] (Amsterdam, 1697, p. 79), Richard Simon critique celui-ci pour l'emploi du mot « commerce » dans sa traduction du Nouveau Testament au sujet de Joseph et de Marie (Mathieu 1 :18). Selon Simon, le commerce d'un homme et d'une femme ne fait penser qu'à la relation « hors du mariage ». À ce commentaire, le Dictionnaire de Trévoux (1704) riposte, dans sa préface et dans un long paragraphe ajouté à l'article « commerce », en montrant plusieurs exemples pour prouver que « le mot de commerce [...] est de soit indifférent au bien & au mal, & c'est le terme qu'on y joint, ou la matière dont il s'agit, qui le détermine à l'un ou à l'autre ».

Ce débat met en évidence la variabilité de la signification de mêmes mots ou, si l'on veut, une certaine souplesse dont on revêt les mots selon le contexte.

Or dans les Difficultés sur la religion proposées au père Malebranche, Robert Challe se sert du mot « commerce » plusieurs fois pour signifier des activités de la religion, dont l'exemple le plus remarquable est la désignation qu'il donne à celles de l'église catholique : « ce sacré commerce (Difficultés, p. 243) ». Notre exposé aura donc pour but d'examiner à fond l'emploi du mot « commerce » dans cet ouvrage et de mettre en lumière la portée que donne Robert Challe à ce mot.

Martin, Carole: *Robert Challe et le Commerce : Escalade à Pondichéry*

D'après le Journal du voyage des Indes Orientales à Monsieur Pierre Raymond [1690-91], de Robert Challe, la Relation de voyages dans les Indes, par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus [1690-99], du Père Tachard, et les Mémoires de François Martin, fondateur de Pondichéry [1665-1694] Ce qu'on voudrait proposer dans cette communication, à partir d'une lecture comparative des trois écrits cités, consiste en l'idée que le récit économique s'en dégageant, loin de reprendre une perspective mercantile axée sur la prépondérance des profits, est un récit de mise en relation, où il n'y aurait de fait de commerce qui ne soit intimement lié à des faits de guerre, des faits de justice, des faits de société, voire des affaires religieuses. Il n'est en effet et paradoxalement, dans ces récits viatiques dont la destination—les Indes et leurs comptoirs commerciaux—semblerait impliquer la description des pratiques commerciales s'y exerçant et y légitimant tant soit peu la présence française, il n'est donc que de rares informations concernant le commerce stricto sensu, et on n'y trouverait encore moins l'esquisse d'une théorie commerciale inédite. Les transactions ne s'y comptabilisent pas tant en fonction des sommes d'argent qui changent de mains qu'au nombre d'étrangers qu'elles requièrent. Et si le commerce met en jeu la souveraineté des nations, il agit aussi sur leur culture propre à la manière de la « teinture », pour reprendre une comparaison de Robert Challe. Au vu du mélange cosmopolite des grandes cités commerciales, de ces « civilisations » déteignant les unes sur

les autres, il n'en existerait plus aucune de « pure ». S'ensuit pour lors un certain relativisme, en partie commun à nos trois auteurs.

Seguin, Maria Susana: *Commerce et Idées dans l'Oeuvre de Robert Challe.*

Négociant malheureux au Canada, écrivain du roi dans une expédition aux Indes Orientales, Robert Challe est directement concerné par la vie du commerce français dans le premier tiers du XVIII^e siècle français et européen. Cette expérience personnelle n'est pourtant pas seulement un élément biographique ayant contribué à l'identification de l'auteur des *Illustres Françaises*, c'est une expérience personnelle et intellectuelle qui marque l'homme, le penseur, l'écrivain, le polémiste. Cette communication entend étudier la place du discours commercial et économique dans l'élaboration et l'exposition des idées politiques et religieuses de l'auteur des *Mémoires* et des *Difficultés* sur la religion adressées au Père Malebranche.

S035 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)

Scottish Enlightenment and Religion

Organizer / Chair: Joost Hengstmengel

Tweyman, Stanley: *Hume's Two Accounts of Geometry*

In David Hume's, "A Treatise of Human Nature", we find an empiricist account of Geometry. This account of Geometry is based on his analysis of how we become aware of space, which, he argues, is empirical in nature. Accordingly, Hume holds that geometrical claims are never demonstrably certain, although they do possess a high degree of probability. In his "Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding", Hume abandons his empiricist account of Geometry, and argues that Geometric knowledge is a priori and certain. My paper will attempt to explain Hume's theory of space and geometry in his "Treatise", and provide reasons for his new theory of geometry in his "First Enquiry".
Keywords: Space, Geometry, Knowledge

Schlag, Martin: *The Reception and Translation of Adam Smith in the Catholic Tradition*

In the Catholic tradition of social thought there is, generally speaking, a negative attitude towards Adam Smith. Catholic thinkers and leaders tend not to follow the ideals of the commercial society, which he described. In this paper I would like to study in a historical perspective why and how the Catholic tradition rejected Adam Smith's moral philosophy on economic questions. Adam Smith's "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" was included in the Spanish "Index of Forbidden Books" in 1792, however, only in its French translation. The reasons for this decision were Smith's criticism of the Catholic Church, and the origin of the translation in the revolutionary France. In the same year 1792, however, the Spanish Inquisition gave permission for the publication of a Spanish version of the WN, which rather than a translation was its bowdlerized edition. The reasons brought forward are an interesting example of Church discourse and cultural translation. As regards the positive alternatives to Adam Smith's conception of society, the first social encyclical by Leo XIII, *Rerum novarum*, endorsed and defended private property, but contrary to Adam Smith upheld charity as a structuring social principle. On its basis, Catholic authors formulated proposals for social reform and organization. In this paper I wish to concentrate on some select English and German speaking thinkers, particularly from the schools of thought that have come to be known as Distributism (Chesterton, Belloc) and solidarism (Pesch, and after him Gundlach and von Nell-Breuning). The main thrust of their criticism of Adam Smith's economic theory is the accusation of individualism and the separation of economics from ethics. I would like to show that this criticism, if it is too flatly formulated, does not do justice to Smith.

Alvarez, David: “Religion,” Violence, and Aesthetic Universality in David Hume

In “Of the Standard of Taste,” David Hume argues that for a work of art to be “fully relished,” one must approach it as “a man in general” and “forget, if possible, my individual being and my peculiar circumstances” (239). But there are limits to this act of self-displacement. Hume rejects the Koran, as well as plays by Corneille and Racine, because they represent “an intemperate zeal for particular modes of worship” (248). As Neil Saccamano argues regarding the political potential of Hume’s aesthetic universality, if “aesthetic experience moves us to imagine ourselves as figuring a universal humanity whose (linguistic) perspective we can never embody, fulfill, or realize here and now,” this “attempt to suspend political conflict... must [nonetheless] exclude (certain) religious subjects as uncivil and inhuman” (186, 193). Instead of criticizing the grounds for such exclusions, my paper examines the definition and background assumptions of “religion” that enable them. First, Hume seems to make an unexpected distinction between religious belief and language. Religion in art is acceptable as long as it “remain[s] merely principles, and take[s] not such strong possession of [the] heart” (247). As a set of “principles,” religion is propositional, but Hume elsewhere links the sentiments of praise or blame to the “very nature of language” (182). So what are we to make of the sentiments associated with the principles of religion? Hume’s rejection of aesthetic representations of “religion” reveals a conception of religion that incoherently insists on understanding it as a language without sentiment (192). Hume’s contrasting treatment of religious and nationalist sentiment allows for the latter but not the former to be aestheticized (e.g., Clarendon’s narrative of the civil war), and my paper will examine both what makes such distinctions possible in Hume’s thought and how Hume differentiates religious sentiments from other passions.

S036 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)

Negotiating Public Credit: Abstraction, Commitment, and Public Debate

Organizer / Chair: Patrick Walsh, Lina Weber, Christine Zabel

Roxburgh, Natalie: “Depersonalizing the State: Daniel Defoe and the Crisis of 1710-11”

The period of 1710 and 1711 is an important time for assessing the evolution of credible commitment, perhaps just as important as the Glorious Revolution (Macdonald 2013, Wennerlind 2011). The opposition against the ‘monied interests’ seemed particularly threatening to the survival of public credit in 1710, when a transfer of power from the Whigs under Queen Anne to the Tories was to take place. The events of 1710-11 made it necessary to negotiate public credit as a mechanism that was beneficial for all political interests — that it was for the ‘public good’ — and it is this context that I will use for a timely rethinking of Daniel Defoe’s role as a propagandist for the Harley administration. Defoe’s central rhetorical move, that of advocating for the public good as the highest virtue, might be seen as a component of credible commitment, for ultimately his writings attempt to produce a standard by which the State can be held to account. To do this, Defoe discusses the State as a set of abstract players that work together in a disinterested manner (like a clock) in his *An Essay Upon Publick Credit*. While some scholars read Defoe as one who expresses the destabilizing or fungible qualities of credit (mostly through the figure of Lady Credit) (cf. Sherman 2005), reading Defoe in the context of public credit as something needing negotiation suggests that his works also serve to stabilize credit, as his project attempts to ensure readers (whatever the level of their investment) that public credit is a neutral system rather than a ‘scheme’ for securing the advantage of particular investors or interests.

Meurer, Sebastian: "Buried in Chaos and Endless Obscurity." *Credibility, Fiscal Transparency and the Negotiation of Public Credit in Eighteenth-Century Britain*

Narratives of British fiscal exceptionalism not only emphasize that the post-1688 Parliament guaranteed the regular payment of interest rates and the eventual refunding of debts, but also claim that fiscal transparency helped to keep interest rates low. In a century marked by recurring financial crises, a creditor's risk assessment needed to ask not only whether the state would be willing to service its debts, but also up to which point it would actually be able to do so. Parliamentary approval for budget plans indeed meant that information on the state of national finances was generally available to interested parties. However, the information did not add up to a realistic overview of state finances: The estimates of expenditure passed by Parliament did not even come close to the actual expenditure and the process of funding the multifarious short-term debts incurred in the departments grew increasingly elaborated. Moreover, the internal audit of spending provided by the Exchequer generally lagged behind twenty years or more. When efforts were finally launched to gain an accurate and more or less comprehensive overview of state finances in context of the Economical Reform Debates in the 1780s, the structure of the national debt had become so complex that even experts had trouble understanding it.

Anne Murphy's argument on "demanding credible commitment" shows how investors pressurized Parliament for consistency and reliability regarding financial policy. In a nutshell, she thus highlights the commitment-side. By taking the Economical Reform Debates as a point of departure, I will rather focus on the question of credibility: On what basis and in which terms were the conditions of state finances discussed in the public? Was fiscal transparency equally demanded from below as credible commitment?

Weber, Lina: *The Dutch Discourse on British Public Credit*

From the very beginning of the English "financial revolution", Dutch capitalists participated in this process by buying and trading shares of the three big joint-stock companies and government bonds. A lively Dutch merchant community in London acted as attorneys for Dutch investors interested in British funds and Amsterdam soon developed a secondary market for them. The group of Dutch fund owners was quite broad, ranging from rich merchants and wealthy burgers to widows and orphan houses. These Dutch investors made by far the highest foreign contribution to British public credit throughout the eighteenth century. On the other hand, Dutch capitalists who invested in foreign assets put their money predominantly into British funds. Dutch contemporaries observed this development closely and critically and were quite anxious about its results. The proposed paper will focus on this discourse that evolved about the question of British creditworthiness. Hostile voices clearly dominated the debate, attacking the financial reputation of the British government and blaming their fellow-citizen investors to be responsible for the perceived decay of the Dutch republic. Nonetheless, a few advocates tried to defend these investments and to hold up Britain's financial reputation. The disapproval of these Dutch investments and the resulting financial relationship between the two nations was, of course, not solely motivated by economic reasoning. Quite contrarily, it carried various political and social dimensions as well.

S037 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)

21st-Century Approaches to 18th-Century Ibero-American Quixotes and Quixotisms: Don Quijote II (1615-2015)

Organizer / Chair: Catherine Jaffe, T. E. D. Braun

Jaffe, Catherine: “Female Quixotism in *Don Quijote con Faldas* (1808) and *La Quijotita y su Prima* (1818-1819): Translation as ‘Cultural Transfer.’”

Quixotism in Hispanic literatures and cultures has come under renewed focus in the twenty-first century. From Christopher Britt Arredondo’s *Quixotism: The Imaginative Denial of Spain’s Loss of Empire* (2005) to Roberta Johnson’s *Gender and Nation in the Spanish Modernist Novel* (2003), critics have studied how quixotism was appropriated by Spanish writers and intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century to articulate their ideal of a the regeneration of a nostalgic Spanish national identity, eventually, as Britt claims, leading to Spanish fascism and Franco’s reactionary regime. Johnson highlights the more pragmatic way women writers approached quixotism in regards to an understanding of their role in the national project. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hispanic quixotisms, however, have not been related to quixotisms of the eighteenth century. Pedro Álvarez de Miranda explains that eighteenth-century imitations and continuations of the Quijote tended to satirize such varied excesses as the bad education of youth, scholasticism, and aristocratic presumptions, while early nineteenth-century quixotic imitations or continuations reveal a reactionary nationalistic discourse that denounced liberal or Napoleonic ambitions (32-34). Bernardo María de Calzada’s translation of Charlotte Lennox’s *The Female Quixote* (1752), *Don Quijote con faldas* (1808), was based on a 1773 French translation reprinted in 1801. This presentation will connect female quixotism as portrayed in Calzada’s translation with the quixotisms of later centuries in the Hispanic world, including Mexican José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi’s original didactic novel, *La quijotita y su prima* (1818-1819). I will analyze Calzada’s translation of Lennox’s novel through the focus of translation as “cultural transfer,” as described by Stephanie Stockhorst, instead of the traditional reception and influence model of translation study. The “cultural transfer” approach takes into account “the complexity, processuality, and reciprocity of intercultural exchange relations.”

Rueda, Ana: *The Squire as Hero: Sancho Panza in 18th-Century Continuations of Don Quixote*

Eighteenth-century Spanish adaptations and continuations of Cervantes’s celebrated two-part masterpiece, *Don Quijote* (1605, 1615), celebrate the satirical aspects of the novel. From the standpoint of story-telling, it is not surprising that several continuations draw attention to the squire, Sancho Panza, who outlives Don Quixote and usurps his protagonism. Among them are: Jacinto María Delgado’s *Adiciones a la historia del ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, en que se prosiguen los sucesos ocurridos a su escudero, el famoso Sancho Panza...* (1786); Pedro Gatell’s *La moral del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza...* (1791); Alejandro Ramírez y Blanco’s *Respuestas de Sanchico Panza a dos cartas que le remitió su padre desde la insula Barataria...* (1791); *Historia del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza, desde la gloriosa muerte de Don Quixote de la Mancha hasta el último día y postrera hora de su vida* (1793). Eighteenth-century “versions” of *Don Quijote* remain largely unstudied in the Spanish context. My paper focuses on the following questions: How do these late eighteenth-century texts recall and restage the oppositional couple of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza after the “death” of the knight? What forms of exemplarity and satire do these writers draw from the Cervantine model by focusing on the survival of the squire? How do their creations attempt to explain some aspects of Cervantes’s narrative and to introduce new questions? Specifically, how do they juggle the proportion of *inventio* and *imitatio* to create novels that address the concerns of

eighteenth-century readers? And finally, what meta-literary elements do they introduce to refashion the continuation of the “*historia verdadera*” (true story) as inscribed in the “second part” of Part I (chapters 9-14) of *Don Quijote* through the manuscript of Cide Hamete Benengeli and how do these elements enlighten us today on the journey undertaken by the eighteenth-century Spanish novel?

Malin, Mark: “*Quixotic Quests and Quixotic Texts: Enlightenment Quijotes.*”

Don Quijote was, as is well-known, an immediate best-seller when Part I was published in 1605. 2015 marks the 400th anniversary of the publication of Part II, and Cervantes’ masterpiece continues to entertain readers and attract critics who are drawn to its complexity. As *Approaches to Teaching Cervantes’ Don Quixote* makes clear, the novel’s many facets lend a twenty-first century the opportunity to approach the work from any number of angles. During the eighteenth century, as Alvarez Barrientos and Jurado Santos, among others, have noted, it was the novel’s verisimilitude that attracted eighteenth-century commentators as they sought to see in it the tenets that fit their values. Illustrados of the Enlightenment commented on it, used it as a model or wrote continuations of it. José Marchena, the 18th-century literary preceptor, acknowledged the supremacy of the Quijote when he commented on what Montesquieu had written about it, saying that “Even if Montesquieu’s exaggerated opinion were true that there is no Spanish work worth reading besides this one [the Quijote], in it we would have one which would be worth an entire library. ...” (343, my translation). The direct influence the Quijote is obvious in works such as *Don Quixote de la Manchuela* (1767) or *El Quijote de la Cantabria* (1792-1800) (to name only a couple) but its imprint can be seen in many other works such as *Vargas a Tale of Spain* (London, 1822) and in the work of José Mor de Fuentes. In this paper, I will look at textual strategies used in adapting or expanding Quijote in a variety of eighteenth-century texts in Spain and abroad.

Eckart, Gabriele: *Wieland's Eighteen Century Vision of Don Quixote and Its Reception in German*

This paper proposes to examine Christoph Martin Wieland's re-working of Miguel de Cervantes's famous novel "Don Quixote of La Mancha" (1605) in "Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva" ("The Adventures of Don Sylvio of Rosalva" 1764) and its reception in Germany. Like Cervantes's protagonist Don Quixote over one hundred fifty years earlier, Wieland's protagonist Don Sylvio indulges in reading books, not only chivalric novels but also fairy tales, sees the world through the eyes of the latter books' fantasy world, leaves his home for adventure, and starts to behave strangely by mistaking his fantasy world for reality. Don Sylvio also has a servant who represents a more realistic vision of the world, Pedrillo. In addition, my paper will discuss critically the German romantic writers' condemnation of Wieland's interpretation of Don Quixote as a narrow-minded enlightenment product.

S312 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-12: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)

Miscellaneous Eighteenth-Century topics

Ionescu, Christina: *The Random House Experiment: Voltaire's Candide Illustrated by Rockwell Kent.*

This paper will focus on an edition that has been deemed “a masterpiece of American typography” by the Grolier Club – the 1928 Random House *Candide* – for it constitutes a most intriguing case study of book illustration and intercultural transfer. The Random House *Candide* was the first book to bear the imprint of a publishing house that is now a household name on the other side of the Atlantic. In the history of the interwar American book, the original edition is particularly relevant for it showcases the transition of a book from a collector’s item to mass and trade paperback. Carefully designed and copiously illustrated by Rockwell Kent, one of the most important commercial illustrators in the United States, it left a permanent mark on the history of the American book and its

illustration. Lorraine Ferguson and Douglass Scott include this edition in their “Time Line of American Typography,” thus signalling its importance not only in the history of the illustrated book but also in the history of book design in the United States. It is likely, given the profusion of new editions, reissues and reprints of the original deluxe item that saturated the North American market from the advent of the stock market crash, which marked the beginning of the Great Depression, to the 50th anniversary of the publishing powerhouse that commissioned the product, that most Americans read Voltaire’s satire in one such incarnation. Undoubtedly, it is a successful adaptation of an eighteenth-century bestseller undertaken by two visionary publishers at the onset of their remarkable careers (Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer), a German printer unconditionally devoted to his art and unconcerned by pecuniary considerations (Elmer Adler), and a talented, and at times temperamental, artist whose political beliefs would eclipse his artistic contribution in later years (Rockwell Kent).

Mostefai, Ourida: *Emigrés and Exile in Post-Revolutionary European Fiction*

Following the advent of the French Revolution a massive emigration out of France displaced thousands of people throughout Europe, inaugurating a new form of political exile. This experience of emigration unleashed a flood of writings as those that were excluded from participation in the building of the new nation took up the pen instead producing a rich literature of exile: thus Europe witnessed the emergence of the figure of the *émigré* as a literary response to the Revolution. Writers inside and outside France portrayed and interpreted the experience of emigration through literary forms that had emerged before the Revolution. Reacting to the powerful and profound transformations catalyzed by the French Revolution, and responding to the public’s desire to understand the meaning of the events it was witnessing, novelists in particular depicted experiences of the Revolution by deploying narrative techniques that had developed for over a century. In so doing, they created a literary legacy that extended beyond the Revolutionary period.

This paper focuses on the *émigré* in the literature of the Revolution and examines the debate generated by this figure on the nature of political conflict and the possibility of its resolution. An examination of the ways these writers engage with the issue of the revolution highlights the originality and the relevance of their ideas for their contemporaries and for posterity. By reflecting on the Revolution from the outside, and imagining the nation through those who have been politically excluded, these novels are engaged in a radical project: to establish a dialogue between beings divided by politics and separated by geography—a diasporic version of the French *République des lettres*. They are also pursuing the impossible dream of a peaceful coexistence by means of literary and aesthetic experience that emerges out of what turns out to be an irreconcilable conflict.

Speeckaert, Jean-Charles: *Diplomates et milieux d'affaires. L'exemple des ministres de France à Bruxelles dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle.*

Le renversement des alliances de 1756 instaure une paix entre la France et la Maison d'Autriche, bouleversant une rivalité et des conflits de plusieurs siècles. Ce contexte nouveau incite la France et les Pays-Bas méridionaux à pacifier leurs rapports. En effet, les provinces belges dépendent de l'Autriche depuis 1713 (traités d'Utrecht et de Rastadt). Ce territoire éloigné du cœur de la Monarchie à Vienne mais voisin de la frontière septentrionale de la France est pleinement concerné par ce qui peut être qualifié de « révolution diplomatique ». La nouvelle donne internationale a des prolongements économiques. Dans un contexte de prospérité commun à l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, des coopérations industrielles et financières se développent entre la France et les Pays-Bas, le territoire le plus riche de la Monarchie autrichienne. La fortune rapide du hennuyer Julien Depestre par la vente de matériel militaire à la France durant la guerre de Sept ans (1756-1763) est un exemple significatif. Ces rapprochements se consolident parfois par des unions familiales qui dépassent les frontières, par exemple les mariages des héritières de la banque Nettine des Pays-Bas avec des financiers français proches de la Cour. Cette communication vise à présenter la place, largement méconnue, des ministres de France à Bruxelles dans ces échanges et ces rapprochements. Les souverains et leurs diplomates doivent compter sur l'influence d'entrepreneurs et de financiers désireux de saisir des opportunités et de développer leurs affaires de l'autre côté de la frontière. Le rôle d'interface des envoyés de France à Bruxelles sera présenté au travers des réseaux qu'ils forment et au sein desquels ils évoluent. Nous verrons quelles stratégies ils mettent en œuvre, les appuis dont ils bénéficient et les pressions auxquelles ils sont soumis. Qui des entrepreneurs ou des diplomates sollicite le plus l'autre ? Peut-on parler d'une diplomatie parallèle ?