

## THURSDAY / JEUDI, 30.07.2015

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**KN309 (09:00 – 10:30, Room: M1-12: Oxford: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Keynote 5: Eloges de l'injustice. De Diderot à Sade**

*Keynote Speaker: Céline Spector*

**S140 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Greek Merchants and Benefactors: the Role of Greek Diaspora in the Enlightenment**

*Chair: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink*

**Kreuter, Peter Mario: *Nicolae Mavrogheni, a Church, and an Army. Or: Being a Benefactor in Times of War***

Nicolae Mavrogheni, Prince of Wallachia between 1786 and 1790, remained and still remains one of the most controversial Phanariots who ever ruled one of the Danubian Principalities. As he was no member of one of the old families of the Phanar, the Phanariot Greeks disgusted him for being an uneducated and somewhat uncivilized man, having served as a translator in the Ottoman fleet. Also for the majority of the Romanian historians, he was a persona non grata, but this time as one of the perfect examples of a Phanariot ruler. A. D. Xenopol described him as cruel, greedy, dumb, and especially as a devoted servant to the Ottoman dynasty. Nicolae Mavrogheni founded one of the most beautiful churches in Bucharest, the “Biserica Izvorul Tămăduirii” (build 1785-1787), to thank for the salvation of one of his daughters from a severe disease. Today, the church is often referred under the name of “Biserica Mavrogheni”. This building survived several earthquakes and even a communist regime and became in the 19th century also a famous graveyard. Nicolae Mavrogheni was directly involved in the restoration of an own Wallachian army. Since the rise of the Phanariot rule in Wallachia in 1715, the army was underfinanced and neglected, finally even non-existent. Mavrogheni made huge efforts to build up an army of more than 10 000 men, which should be used in the war against Austria and Russia starting in 1787. He leaded even personally his troops to the battle of Râmnic in 1789, ending up in a defeat of that army. This paper thus follows those two endowments of Nicolae Mavrogheni. The focus lies not only on the financial aspect, but also on the personal engagement of the prince for those projects.

**S141 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Educators, Projectors and Patrons: Merchants of Knowledge**

*Organizer / Chair: Anton Tantner, Ulrike Krampfl*

**Tantner, Anton: *Jacob Bianchi – a knowledge entrepreneur and projector between Vienna and Paris***

Jacob Bianchi, a barometer maker, roving electricity performer and typical projector by trade, was born near lake Como in 1732; from the early 1760s, he was based in Vienna, gave courses in experimental physics and operated as Liechtenstein mathematicus, paid from prince Josef Wenzel Liechtenstein’s privy purse. Around 1770, Bianchi bombarded the authorities with a riot of propositions and applications for privileges: whether concerning a fire hose, a geographical manual, digging for saltpetre, a general newspaper comptoir (which was to market newspapers as an alternative to the mail) or a city mail service, Bianchi was in there, although he was hardly successful in financial terms. He was to have a longer-term impact with the Realzeitung, which he founded in

1770, and which first concentrated on news from agriculture and natural sciences, but also the theatre, before it became one of the most important journals of the Austrian Enlightenment – after Bianchi had left. Connected to the *Realzeitung* was the Comptoir of Arts, Sciences and Commerce that Bianchi also created in 1770, which simultaneously gained a reputation as an exhibition space for agricultural models introduced in the *Realzeitung*, as a sales vault for paintings, copperplate engravings and brochures, as an information office for strangers as well as, last but not least, as a centre for the free distribution of clover seeds. Bianchi's reading cabinet connected to the Comptoir opened in 1772 and gained wider notoriety; in 1774, he seems to have pulled out of the *Realzeitung* and the Comptoir, and later on he moved to Paris, where he opened a *Magasin de physique*; he died there in 1785. My paper will use Bianchi's biography to sketch an exemplary "knowledge entrepreneur's" career in the Ancien Régime

**Dutta, Sutapa: *Texts and Contexts of Knowledge and Power in Colonial Bengal***

The paper looks at some of the early educational materials used by the British in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century colonial Bengal in India. Beginning from the attempts of missionaries like Carey, Marshman, Ward and subsequently the Fort William College scholars, it became evident that the focus of the English East India Company had shifted from mercantilism to Empire building. Bengal witnessed a veritable output of grammar books, dictionaries and teaching manuals that reflected the Empire's project for improving the minds and morals of the 'natives'. Some of these early school textbooks resembled or followed the popular prescribed texts in England and Scotland. Several other collections printed locally and variously called 'Schoolbooks', 'Reading Books' and 'Manuals' were compilations of 'practically useful' extracts in religion, science and literature. My paper purports to research the 'foreign models' of educational materials – the English school books, and the socio-cultural and ideological implications of those who wrote and those who read these textbooks. Through a detailed study of some of the books written by Joshua Marshman, Robert May, James Stewart, and J.M. McCulloch, I argue that the apparently standardized and secularized Readers and Grammars and the dissemination of knowledge touted as the 'white man's burden', was an insidious method of peddling power and embedded religious and moral ideologies. I read these texts firstly as a means of 'instructing', of forming and moulding thoughts and opinions, and secondly as the implicit projection of the identity of a nation and its people. My paper asserts the deep and wide ranging ideological and discursive ramifications of these seemingly innocuous textbooks on later educational policies, curriculum, and pedagogy. The specific historical circumstances of colonization and imparting of new knowledge became a locus for assessing and reframing the consequent ways we perceive hegemonic relationships between West-East, teacher-learner and modern-traditional.

**Krampl, Ulrike: *Linguistic entrepreneurs. Public language teachers in eighteenth-century Paris***

During the eighteenth century, when a growing demand for education met an insufficient institutional pedagogical offer, private instruction expanded importantly into the urban cultural market. In the French context, the case of modern languages appears to be interesting in order to analyze the phenomenon, for during the Ancien Régime they were not taught in schools, except in military and a very few Latin schools. Instead, language learning was part and parcel of informal education and social and professional practice including private instruction, children exchange, working and travelling as well as autodidact training, all of which were increasingly relying on the book trade (dictionaries, grammars, conversation books). In the early modern context of rising international exchange and connected need for linguistic skills, a specific economic actor appeared: the language master. His socioeconomic position was characterized by material and professional instability, and he often exercised several activities, alternatively or simultaneously – a common condition within in the early modern economy. Yet, in the eighteenth-century, language teaching seemed to become a business of new kind. Language teachers, mainly men, presented themselves as

genuine entrepreneurs, selling language lessons and text books, offering non-stop linguistic instruction at home, founding language schools etc. This is at least what hundreds of advertisements published in contemporary Parisian newspapers seem to suggest, among which the *Affiches* and the daily *Journal de Paris*. In this paper I shall first present the urban educational market concerning languages at the end of the *Ancien Régime*, secondly deal with the social position and the subsistence strategies of these linguistic entrepreneurs, and conclude by discussing the gender dimension of this economy which appears to be situated at the intersection of the market and the household economy.

**Witecki, Stanisław: *The inter-estate cultural content transmission in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late XVIII century. Methodological proposition.***

The paper would be a presentation of the methodology I have designed for the research on the inter-estate cultural content transmission in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late XVIII century. My research was inspired by the works investigating social history of idea and the question about the spread among peasantry and townsmen the ideas created by an elite. Trying to answer this questions I had to deal with the fact of almost complete illiteracy of these groups in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. I came to the conclusion that I had to focus on the institution that functioned as a channel of cultural content transmission. In the late XVIII century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth it was a Catholic Church. This institution not only had the access to the all peasants and townsman due to every Sunday sermons, but also had internal channels of transmitting ideas from highly educated Bishops to the locally operating parochial clergy. This perspective was highly promising since the bishops were leading supporters of the enlightenment whereas, according to my previous research, local clergy still actively encouraged witch trials. Methodology I would like to present is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. One should firstly reconstruct the clergy's books collection. The vast data base should be then analysed statistically to determine which texts were the most popular. Those books supplemented by pastoral letters should be then coded and interpreted in the way proposed by the grounded theory. Such research is able to give answers not only to the question about the spread of ideas but also may provide deeper understanding of cultural content that had been transmitted. Importance of this method derives from the fact that in the most european countries literacy rate and role of the Christian churches were very similar to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

**S142 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Old-Regime War and Society - A View From Above - Politics and Administration**

*Organizer / Chair: Ilya Berkovich, Wolfgang Schmale*

**Storring, Adam: *The Place of War in the Political Thought of King Frederick II of Prussia***

King Frederick II of Prussia (r. 1740-1786) remains a controversial figure, who is often accused of waging wars of aggressive territorial expansionism. According to some historians, the two Silesian Wars and Frederick's unprovoked attack on Saxony at the start of the Seven Years War have prefigured later German militarism. Based on a thorough examination of the king's voluminous writings, this paper steps beyond such polemics, in the process encouraging us to re-think eighteenth-century concepts of just war. It reveals Frederick as having a keen sense of when war was or was not moral. However, Frederick's basic views were rooted in the interests of his own state, not ideas of international law.

**Fedyukin, Igor: *From Restraining Passions to Encouraging Application: Human Nature in the Theories and Practices of Administration from Peter I to the Emancipation of the Nobility***

The point of departure for this paper is the unique practice of choosing candidates for promotion by ballot, introduced by Peter I. Analysis of anthropological notions behind this practice places Peter squarely within the context of late 17th-century baroque world of ideas. Peter was driven by deep skepticism regarding the ability of his servitors to follow their god-ordained duty, as these servitors were likely to be driven by their “passions.” Thus, balloting was supposed to limit the negative influence of these passions by counterbalancing one man’s passions against the another’s. The logic of building institutional checks against passions is also evident in the tsar’s penchant for collective decision-making in his famous ministries-“colleges.” Subsequent debates regarding alternative ways of selecting candidates focused on comparative merits of seniority-based promotion and, increasingly, merit-based schemes, where it was supposed to be left to the commanding general – the best-position to observe one’s performance in the field – to reward the most deserving officers. It was argued that rewarding such officers was crucially important for “encouraging” them, whereas lack of proper acknowledgement of their service might produce “despair” in them. Put differently, it implied that it was now the duty of the ruler and his lieutenants to properly reward the servitors, rather than simply expecting obedience from them. Thus, these debates reveal the emergence in post-Petrine Russia of motivation-based governance paradigm, paving the way towards the “emancipation” of the nobility in 1762.

**Berkovich, Ilya: *Conscription in Old-Regime Austria (1740-92)***

Histories of the Revolutionary Wars portray the victories of the French republic not only in military but also in moral terms. Typical accounts speak of enthusiastic citizen-soldiers sweeping aside the indifferent foreign mercenaries of the old-regime monarchies. Having consulted 800 Austrian regimental muster rolls from the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-80), I believe this view can be reconsidered. Statistical analysis reveals that ‘landständische Werbung’, a system of conscription by the Habsburg provincial assemblies, was the largest single source of Austrian military manpower. Particularly high intakes in wartime indicate that Austria was used to draw upon its subjects in times of crisis, well before similar means were introduced in the French republic. Moreover, this development was already well underway even before Joseph II (1780-90) has allowed regiments to draw their recruits directly from designated areas without the need to resort to the provincial assemblies as an intermediary with the local communities. Joseph’s reforms are seen as a sign of the growing militarization of German society, pioneered by Prussia’s introduction of cantonal system forty years before. My findings suggest that the establishment of cantons in Austria was not a radical break with the past, but rather the streamlining of an established practice. Study of regimental papers from the 1780s’ and early 1790s’ further confirms that the Habsburg army which engaged Revolutionary France in 1792 was also a conscript force.

**S143 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Voltaire's Correspondence: the Commerce of Ideas**

*Organizer / Chair: Nicholas Cronk, Andrew Jainchill*

**Cronk, Nicholas: *Voltaire and Jaucourt: exploring an epistolary corpus***

The first Besterman edition of Voltaire's correspondence recorded just one letter from Voltaire to the chevalier de Jaucourt, and this figure rose to four in the second ('Definitive') Besterman edition. The recent discovery of new letters in archives, and the possibility of reattributing some letters already familiar to us, means that it is now possible to identify a corpus totalling ten letters addressed by Voltaire to Jaucourt. This is a lop-sided corpus, for we know of no letters from Jaucourt to Voltaire. However the growth of this corpus allows us to reassess and better understand the nature of relations between the two men. There was an especially intense moment in their exchanges in 1737-1738, when Jaucourt played a significant role in helping Voltaire with the publication of his *Eléments de la philosophie de Newton*. In later years, after their epistolary relationship had tailed off, Voltaire remained a stalwart defender of Jaucourt's articles in the *Encyclopédie*. Beyond the intrinsic interest of these letters, this "sub-corpus" provides an instructive example of how, within the overall corpus of Voltaire's letters, each sub-corpus has its own history, structure and function.

**Rubin-Detlev, Kelsey: *Voltaire in Catherine the Great's poetics of the letter***

Much has been said and written about the famous correspondence between Voltaire and Catherine the Great of Russia, but the place of this particular exchange within Catherine's correspondence as a whole has yet to be considered in depth. How does the correspondence compare to and interlace with her other international correspondences? What lessons did Catherine learn from her 'maître' in matters of epistolary style and conduct? What can we learn from her letters about how epistolary commerce with the philosophe at Ferney and epistolary references to his oeuvre became a kind of common currency facilitating exchange within 'enlightened' intellectual and political elites across Europe? What, finally, can Catherine's and her contemporaries' commentaries on this emblematic correspondence tell us about the changing norms and significance of philosophic 'commerce of ideas' as the Age of Enlightenment gave way to the Age of Revolution?

**Jainchill, Andrew: *Protection, politics, and war: the Voltaire-d'Argenson correspondence***

This paper will examine the correspondence of Voltaire and René Louis de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson, which ran from 1730 to 1750. The focus of the paper will be the issues of protection, politics, and war, notably d'Argenson's "protection" of Voltaire in 1739 during the Desfontaines affair, their exchanges about d'Argenson's manuscript of political reform, "Jusqu'ou la démocratie peut être admise dans le gouvernement monarchique?" (posthumously published as his *Considérations sur le gouvernement ancien et présent de la France*), and their many letters during the War of Austrian Succession. Their correspondence, addressing a wide range of issues, reveals much about the political and intellectual world of the day.

**Morel, Nicolas: *Le succès commercial des Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire sous la Seconde Restauration***

Il sera plutôt question dans ma présentation du commerce des livres de Voltaire. Plus précisément, je souhaite parler du commerce des éditions des *Œuvres complètes* de Voltaire sous la Seconde Restauration. Entre 1817 et 1835 en effet, les *Œuvres complètes* de Voltaire ont connu un succès commercial sans précédent : il faut posséder son Voltaire, et les rééditions augmentées de l'édition de Kehl se succèdent pour rendre Voltaire accessible au plus grand nombre. Au-delà d'un simple phénomène de mode, elles répondent à de nombreuses causes : développement commercial du

monde de l'édition, accroissement du lectorat, ou encore découvertes d'inédits. Elles s'opposent aussi à l'instabilité politique des règnes de Louis XVIII et Charles X. Face à la restauration de la monarchie et au retour de l'Église catholique comme religion d'État, Voltaire et ses Œuvres complètes acquièrent une valeur de symbole. Ils rappellent l'attachement aux acquis de la Révolution. Ces éditions, de par leur nombre, posent toutefois plusieurs questions : quelle est la réelle portée polémique de ces projets éditoriaux ? Les Œuvres complètes de Voltaire sont-elles un succès commercial garanti ou permettent-elles de fixer la polémique sur Voltaire pour publier d'autres textes plus problématiques ? S'agit-il de simples rééditions augmentées de l'édition de Kehl ou de véritables projets autonomes ? Quelles différences existe-t-il entre ces éditions ? Surtout, quelle est l'image de Voltaire que proposent de publier les différents éditeurs ? Comment cette image évolue-t-elle au fil des éditions ? Pour comprendre ce que ces entreprises éditoriales ont de particuliers, je propose d'analyser les prospectus d'éditions des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire jusqu'à l'édition de Beuchot, qui clôt ce phénomène d'édition massive de Voltaire. Je traiterai ensuite de la particularité de ce dernier projet.

**S144 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Le Penser Commercial Dans le Siècle des Lumières**

*Chair : Gabrielle Radica*

**De Colletes Negreiros, Maria Valderez: *Europe, voyage, commerce et "grand tour" de Montesquieu***

L'Europe du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui s' imagine dans les différentes perspectives géographiques, des climats, des coutumes, de la politesse, du goût, de la civilité, du commerce et d'outremer d'autres continents. L'Europe emblématique est paradoxalement la narration de son histoire et de son scénario, veut montrer une frontière géographique et plurielle qui a la civilisation qui devient inégalée en relation avec d'autres continents. La question qui se pose pour Montesquieu est, de quelle manière on met en évidence l'invention de l'Europe moderne qui a commencé dans un espace singulier "dans le fond de la forêt" et qui se matérialise et justifie les asymétries de "l'esprit européen". L'image européenne écrite dans ses variables indéfinies dans les "Lettres Persanes": "Ne crois pas que je puisse, quant à présent, te parler à fond des mœurs et des coutumes européennes: je n'en ai moi-même qu'une légère idée, et je n'ai eu à peine le temps de m'étonner". Notre argumentation propose de comprendre les itinéraires contrastant des interprétations de Montesquieu comme réflexions critiques, satyriques et analytiques et qui relativisent l'Europe en relation à d'autres continents à travers d'autres variables "l'esprit du commerce". L'Europe se caractérise par la variation à la fois du climat que "l'esprit du commerce", et cette variations qui exprimera "l'esprit de l'Europe, représentant une nation plurielle entre liée par divers intérêts. La lecture des différents États dessine un territoire fragmentaire et un lieu spécial qui se prédispose pour Montesquieu à avoir la moderation des formes politiques et la libéré. Notre étude a comme objectif d'analyser le voyage de Montesquieu dans le continent européen, soulignant la Hollande qui est dans son trajet "grand tour" où il a été en octobre 1729. Nous voulons souligner l'idée du commerce "à la hollandaise" et examiner ses notes de la Hollande de son époque.

**Moscateli, Renato: *Distribution des pouvoirs, liberté politique et divisions sociales dans la pensée de Montesquieu***

Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755), est reconnu mondialement par la théorie sur la distribution des pouvoirs exposée dans son chef-d'œuvre, *De l'Esprit des Lois*, publié en 1748. Cependant, malgré l'admiration que cette théorie a mérité de la part des responsables pour l'élaboration des constitutions démocratiques contemporaines, dans lesquelles le principe de la séparation et de l'équilibre des pouvoirs reçoit une position préminente, il ne semble pas approprié de réduire les idées de Montesquieu à une proposition visant uniquement

à l'organisation interne l'État, c'est à dire, à la répartition des fonctions – législatives, exécutives et judiciaires – exercées par les politiciens élus et les fonctionnaires publiques. en fait, les thèses avancées par l'auteur français non seulement dans son livre le plus célèbre, mais aussi dans ses *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734), comprennent une perspective plus ample à propos de l'exercice du pouvoir par les différents éléments constitutifs de la société, à mesure qu'elles soulignent les relations conflictuelles entre eux comme nécessaires à la préservation de la liberté politique. Ainsi, j'ai l'intention d'analyser quelques-unes des principales questions que Montesquieu a présenté dans ses écrits sur ces sujets afin de préciser comment les leçons laissées par le philosophe demeurent pertinents pour notre temps, puisqu'elles mettent l'accent sur le caractère absolument nécessaire de la pluralité dans la distribution des pouvoirs, une réalité qui ne peut pas être atteinte sans que la composition des pouvoirs intègre la multiplicité présente dans l'ensemble des citoyens.

**Vento, Marisa: *L'intérêt: un autre sens chez J.-J. Rousseau et A. Smith***

On va traiter la notion d'intérêt dans le cadre du dix-huitième siècle à partir de la pensée de deux grands philosophes de cette période: Adam Smith et Jean- Jacques Rousseau. Adam Smith , le fondateur de l'économie politique est aussi l'un des hérauts de la notion de l'intérêt appliqué à l'économie ; théorie présentée dans son célèbre ouvrage *La Richesse des Nations* ( 1776 ). Toutefois , en retournant à son *Théorie des Sentiments Moraux* (1759 ) on peut y trouver un autre sens du mot intérêt. C'est la sympathie qui selon Smith conduit l'individu à extraire leur satisfaction non seulement de son propre plaisir, mais aussi de son implication sympathique dans les expériences avec ses semblables. La sympathie, considéré par A. Smith comme une caractéristique humaine naturelle provient des sens et des sentiments immédiats et ne peut être réduite à la notion d'intérêt égoïste. Chez Rousseau, la notion de pitié a une définition similaire . La pitié est une impulsion naturelle , un sens inné de l'homme qui est capable d'un mouvement dans lequel l'un se met à la place de l'autre en s'identifiant à lui. Comme on le verra , il ya bien de points communs entre la notion de sympathie et de pitié, l'un d'eux est le rôle de l'imagination dans les deux processus de reconnaissance de l'autre . Mais au delà de ces similitudes et différences entre les deux auteurs, ce que nous essayons de montrer sont les apports originales de Adams Smith et de J.-J Rousseau pour ce qu'on va nommer véritable intérêt, et qui peut avoir lieu dans une communauté de semblables, ce est à dire , un type d'intérêt qui n'a rien a voir avec l'intérêt égoïste caractéristique de l'amour-propre . Pour cela, nous devons insister sur la distinction importante faite par Rousseau entre l' amour de soi et amour-propre.

**S145(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Eighteenth-Century Narrative Traffic (I)**

*Organizer / Chair: Samara Anne Cahill, Anne M. Thell*

**Singh, Brijraj: *Two Eighteenth-Century South Indian Priests Go to Europe***

Thomas Paramakkal wrote *Varthamanappustakam* in Malayalam in 1786 after returning from an eight-year voyage to Europe, where he and Bishop Cariathil had been sent by their Malabar diocese on church business. The work was first printed in 1936; an English translation appeared in 1971. Though the book's avowed purpose was to discuss ecclesiastical matters, Paramakkal's natural curiosity, eye for detail, and a desire to understand foreign objects and people make the book one of the earliest Indian travelogues to the West. My paper, while exploring this aspect of the work, aims also to show how Paramakkal left India a provincial Syrian Christian priest with charity to all, but returned rather sour, with a racial attitude, and seeing a difference between Europeans and himself,

whom he now began to consider part of a larger Indian identity: an incipient national consciousness was born. Finally, though he had no familiarity with Western travel books, he produced a work which follows several Western travel writing conventions. These resemblances raise the question of the extent to which all travel literature, irrespective of the culture that produces it, follows certain norms which may therefore be called universal.

**Min, Eun Kyung: *The Inconstancy of Widows: Narrative Mutability in Thomas Percy's Matrons (1762)***

In 1762, Thomas Percy published *The Matrons*, a collection of six short tales about widows drawn from various historical periods and civilizations. Percy's collection raises many questions. How is it that these stories that belong to such different historical ages and civilizations deal with "the same subject"? What precisely constitutes this "same subject"? How can the similarity between the stories be explained? What kind of exemplarity do these stories take on by virtue of being collected and collated in this manner and in this order? This paper will focus on the tale of the Chinese matron, which Percy took from Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary* (1738-41), and discuss the ways in which Percy's framing of this story necessitates an examination of what Mary Helen McMurrin has recently referred to as "the twin poles of national particularity and universality" in eighteenth-century theories about the origin of fiction and its mobility (*The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* 23). The organizational logic of *The Matrons* invites universalist, moralizing readings. However, the attraction of the collection also resides in its cultural eclecticism and the colorful local variants on what Percy called "the same subject" of female inconstancy. Interestingly, a universalist interpretation of *The Matrons* demands an allegorical reading of female gender whereby femininity becomes detached from cultural or historical context and turns into a transcultural, transhistorical sign of infinite exchange or limitless mobility or mutability. By tracing the mobile transfer of the tale of the Chinese matron from the Chinese to the European context, this paper will reflect on the status of this tale in the European imagination and interrogate the theory of narrative mutability that undergirds Percy's project.

**Khan, Maryam: *The Oriental tale in the Orient: Imperial Pedagogy and the Transformation of Narrative***

In *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (2012), Srivinas Aravamudan argues that medieval works including *Alf laila wa laila* and *ibn Tufayl's Hayy bin Yaqzan* (11th century) were critical to the rise of the novel in Europe. In other words, his innovative work accounts for the momentous circulation of a set of Arab fictions in eighteenth-century France and England. I suggest that we take into the account a less considered form of circulation and "narrative traffic"—the journey of the Oriental tale into the Oriental space itself. The Oriental tale is hardly an Eastern form, rather it is an elaboration offered by the European imaginary of a non-European, usually Islamicate-affixed fiction, premised arguably on the success of Antoine Galland's *Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1707). This paper calls for an understanding of the effects of the eighteenth-century Oriental tale outside of the European Republic of Letters. I will examine how certain modes of categorizing the Oriental tale introduced by figures such as Galland and William Jones position it as a form of particular value to empire and its institutions in north-India. In the early north-Indian colony, the English Oriental tale facilitates the invention of new vernaculars, and fosters the beginnings of didacticism in Urdu prose. Modeled and purposed as Oriental tales, works such as *Mir Amman's Bāgh-o Bahār* (1803) produced at Fort William College, Calcutta reorganize, almost entirely, extant aesthetic traditions of storytelling in north-India.

**S145(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Eighteenth-Century Narrative Traffic (II)**

*Organizer / Chair: Samara Anne Cahill, Anne M. Thell*

**Stringer, George: *Sea Changes: an Indian Complaint.***

The altered traveller – the wayfarer who is marked irrevocably by experiences abroad – is a common trope throughout the literature of many cultures. Their changed personality is usually only fully apparent on returning to their homeland or point of origin. The idea addresses issues at number of levels, from the personal (fear of returning, ostracism) to national (loss of identity). Examples range from the real to the fictional, such as Martin Guerre or Lord Jim, to lesser-known figures such as Hendrick Hamel, the Dutch sailor shipwrecked in seventeenth-century Korea. In the eighteenth century, the most notable British equivalent was the ‘nabob’, whose reception and influence on home has been well documented (from contemporaries like Foote to current commentators like Nechtman). While these were usually East India Company writers like Warren Hastings, in the last quarter of the century they included artists such as Tilly Kettle and William Hodges. Each of these men suffered on their return to England, but left different records, in text or imagery, of what had affected them in India, and at home. In this paper I wish to examine some of the common factors in their accounts and local (provincial English) dealings with them, and to compare their ‘reverse culture shock’ with instances in fictional narrative traffic.

**MacNeill, Máire: *Time and Space, London and Abroad: English Opera in the 1730s***

Overlooked and maligned for years, English opera's fortune looked set to change in 1732 when a London company began a season of opera seria performed in English. The following five years saw new works by Henry Carey and revivals of older works by Dryden, Addison, and Gay. Yet although the movement produced a few seasonal crowd-pleasers, the project faded away within a few years. This paper discusses how English opera during this brief period sought to deliberately distinguish the genre from the output of continental composers. In doing so, it reduced or eliminated displays of violent passion and military valour, replacing them with virtues understood to be quintessentially English: love, common sense, and domesticity. In my presentation, I will establish the critical antipathy towards foreign entertainment on the London stage during the 1720s and early 1730s, and the attempts to develop an English opera tradition. I will then proceed to analyse how the genre was shaped by both its conscious rejection of continental narratives (particularly in the use of time, place, and movement), and its inability to discard the key elements of Italian opera. In discussing this selection process, particularly the use of pastorals and semi-history to style scenes of Englishness for a London audience, I will discuss the reworking of a continental form in England and suggest that producers of English opera were also making assumptions about the nature of true Englishness, adherence to which can at least partly be responsible for the movement's failure.

**Perot, Sandra: *Performance and the Word: Transatlantic Anglophone Theatre and Exchanging Ideas in the Late-Eighteenth Century (1752-1800)***

Late eighteenth-century Anglophone theatre served as a major mechanism for transferring ideas throughout the transatlantic Anglophone world, providing cultural cohesion between Britain and America despite ongoing social and political upheavals. Anglophone plays and performers traveled transatlantically through space (various locations throughout the Atlantic region) and time (performances included plays from 16th-18 centuries) and the literal words of plays that traveled were interpreted by various audiences who often projected upon plays local contemporary meanings. When examining the value of eighteenth-century Anglophone plays as “narrative traffic,” they must be considered both as the written word experienced privately and as the oral performance

experienced communally. Theatre in its various forms, either published plays or live performances, remained accessible to most social classes just as similarly popular literary forms like newspapers and novels were accessible throughout the period. Plays provided audiences and readers on both sides of the Atlantic with a forum for the discussion of contemporary events. These late eighteenth-century theatrical exchanges allowed for social and cultural continuity between Britain and America and by using theatre as a shared cultural tradition, Britain and America retained an emotional bond. Interestingly, while theatre maintained its popularity in Britain during this period, theatre in America did not become a major social force until after the American Revolution, when political bonds with Britain had broken but when cultural bonds became more socially desirable. Post-Revolutionary Americans having long fought against the acquisition of British goods, now desired British commodities that connected them with British culture, including British plays and the performers who had stepped on London stages.

**S146(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Aspects of Economy in the Moral Press ('Spectators') – aspects de L'Économie Dans les Feuilles Morales (« Spectateurs ») (I)**

*Organisateur/Président: Klaus-Dieter Ertler, Claire Boulard Jouslin*

**Ertler, Klaus-Dieter: *Les spectateurs sur le continent européen : le transfert d'un modèle de pragmatisme économique dans les cultures des langues romanes***

Les spectateurs ne représentent pas seulement un nouveau modèle journalistique au début du XVIIIe siècle, mais sont aussi le catalyseur d'un discours économique haut en couleur. D'un côté, les feuilles prêchent une organisation sociale imprégnée d'un pragmatisme d'action, mis en fiction par un grand nombre de situations narratives exemplaires, de l'autre elles se constituent elles-mêmes comme entreprises de phare, s'appuyant sur l'intérêt de leur lectorat et survivant de jour en jour au gré de la bienveillance de ceux qui l'achètent. Les spectateurs observent leur société au fin fond de leurs rouages économique et social, s'érigeant en exemple du bon fonctionnement économique. Il est particulièrement révélateur d'étudier ce phénomène dans les cultures des langues romanes dans la mesure où le transfert s'y effectue souvent avec un retard considérable et dans un contexte d'éthique différent. Ce changement du modèle protestant en direction d'une ambiance à caractère catholique peut révéler les failles de ce mouvement. D'abord nous trouverons ce transfert généralement réalisé avec un écart d'un demi-siècle, c'est-à-dire à la deuxième moitié du siècle. C'est notamment le cas en Italie comme en Espagne où le roi Charles III essaie de modeler la société selon les catégories principales défendues dans les feuilles protestantes. À titre d'exemple servira une étude des feuilles comme 'El Pensador' (1762-1765) de José Clavijo y Fajardo ou 'El Censor' (1781-1788).

**Lévrier, Alexis: *Le folliculaire en son miroir, ou comment défendre un « indigne métier » ?***

Tout au long du XVIIIe siècle, les auteurs de feuilles périodiques ont été considérés comme des écrivains de seconde zone pratiquant une activité infamante. L'un des principaux reproches qui leur est adressé est de vouloir gagner leur vie en publiant leurs feuilles, à une époque où l'écriture est encore perçue comme une activité désintéressée, détachée de toute préoccupation matérielle. Voltaire exprime ainsi un point de vue largement partagé en affirmant, dans une lettre à Marmontel, que ces « mercenaires barbouilleurs de papier » exercent un « indigne métier ». Nous voudrions étudier, dans le cadre de cette communication, la manière dont ces prétendus « mercenaires » évoquent leur entreprise de presse au sein même de leurs journaux. Nous tenterons de montrer qu'ils sont confrontés à une aporie, puisque parler d'argent leur est à la fois nécessaire et impossible : conscients de la mauvaise réputation qui est la leur, beaucoup d'entre eux éprouvent en effet la tentation de ne rien dire des caractéristiques économiques et financières de leur activité. Mais les

contraintes et les menaces qui pèsent sur ces publications périodiques les obligent régulièrement à briser ce silence : pour assurer la commercialisation de leurs feuilles et conserver la confiance de leurs lecteurs, les auteurs de « feuilles volantes » doivent parfois donner des informations précises sur les questions économiques, qu'il s'agisse des prix de vente, des coûts de fabrication et de diffusion, ou de la viabilité même du journal. Nous envisagerons volontairement un corpus large et diversifié, afin de mesurer l'évolution de ce métadiscours économique au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à mesure que les publications occasionnelles des premières décennies laissent la place à de solides entreprises journalistiques. Nos exemples seront donc empruntés aux principaux « spectateurs » portant ce titre publiés en France au cours du siècle, de Marivaux à Delacroix. Nous élargirons en outre volontairement notre étude à d'autres journaux publiés sous la forme de feuilles volantes, et en particulier aux périodiques de critique littéraire de Fréron et de Desfontaines.

**Fischer, Michaela: *L'Écriture de l'Économie de Justus Van Effen***

La communication proposée auprès de l'atelier sur « L'Économie dans les Spectateurs » est consacrée au Néerlandais Justus Van Effen. Ce dernier peut être identifié comme un digne représentant local, par l'association qu'il induit entre le lieu du congrès et le sujet des Spectateurs. Il fut le premier à établir des journaux tel que le *Spectator* sur le continent. De fait, il démontre là son sens de la productivité dans ce domaine et reconnaît le potentiel économique des Spectateurs. Il entend d'autre part écrire pour gagner de l'argent afin de pouvoir survivre. De surcroît, l'économie doit être analysée dans son sens étendu : dans le *Nouveau Spectateur* des années 1725 à 1726, l'activité de Van Effen se réduit à l'intégration de quelques discours du Spectateur français de Marivaux dans son journal. L'expression « Écriture de l'économie » peut donc être établie pour montrer un trait caractéristique de la production de Van Effen : non seulement parce qu'il "économise" l'écriture de textes propres, mais aussi par la conception et construction particulière des écrits. Ainsi, Van Effen tente d'un côté de minimaliser l'effort, bien que cela puisse être compris comme une stratégie de rédaction, tandis que d'autre part, il parle d'une nécessité financière d'écrire ses journaux. Les écrits sont dès lors considérés comme un produit. La présentation détaillera cette relation et le double sens de l'économie dans les Spectateurs de Justus Van Effen.

**Hahne, Nina: *The Responsible Consumer. Economic Education in German Spectators Before 1730***

In the 18th century moral periodicals treat all kinds of social and economic practices from an ethical perspective. They use the strategies of literary infotainment to give their readers insight into the motives of people providing services or trading goods. That's how they want to educate responsible consumers who behave rationally and self-reflectively in their roles as salesmen or clients. As the editors of European Spectators include metareflective discourses about their own publicist intentions, achievements or failures, they extend this aim onto the production, reception and use of their own literary products. My paper will trace the idea of the responsible consumer in early German Spectators before 1730 including well-known examples like *Der Patriot* (1724-26) as well as lesser known periodicals such as *Der Leipziger Spectateur* (1723). I want to show how readers were advised to modify their (possibly naïve and irrational) attitude towards consumer goods and services and what interrelations can be found between the representation of the literary market and other fields of commerce. My thesis is that the literary construction of the informed consumer as a form of subjectivity and its popularization through the Spectators was a necessary precondition for the establishment of that kind of consumer relations that we know today. Particular emphasis will be given to the interdependencies of economic and literary education to find out if economy and literature were conceived as analogous regarding their strategies and functions, or as independent (though complementary) branches of human culture. This question is of crucial importance for the study of moral periodicals in the Early Enlightenment and has received special attention in recent scholarship.

**S146(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Aspects of Economy in the Moral Press ('Spectators') – aspects de L'Économie Dans les Feuilles Morales (« Spectateurs ») (II)**

*Organisateur/Président: Klaus-Dieter Ertler*

**Vökl, Yvonne: *Qu'y a-t-il dans un commerce ? Formes du commerce dans La Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire de Montréal (1778-1779)***

en Nouvelle-France, le premier 'spectateur' exclusivement produit en langue française n'est apparu qu'après la Conquête britannique de l'Amérique du Nord. Ce développement tardif – en France la réception « spectatoriale » a déjà commencé en 1711 – peut être attribué au simple fait que les colonisateurs français ne disposaient pas de presse. Ce fut seulement sous la domination britannique, en 1776, que la première presse est arrivée à Montréal avec l'imprimeur français Fleury Mesplet. Deux ans après son arrivée, Mesplet a fondé le « papier périodique » (prospectus français) du nom de Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire Pour la Ville et District de Montréal. Même si le titre et le prospectus bilingue annonçaient l'inclusion des sujets économiques dans la Gazette, les seuls composants relatifs au commerce et aux échanges étaient quelques annonces concernant la vente de livres et de terres, quelques déclarations de perte et de publications sur des affaires juridiques et des projets de construction. Comme il s'avère, au lieu de mettre en avant les échanges économiques, le journal a porté plus sur le commerce intellectuel. La communication examinera, d'une part, les explications possibles de cette suppression qui, à partir de septembre 1778, se montre également dans la modification du titre du journal en Gazette littéraire de Montréal. D'autre part, nous considérerons les différentes formes d'affaires intellectuelles que Fleury Mesplet et son rédacteur Valentin Jautard ont échangées avec les habitants francophones de la Province of Quebec (1763-1791). Mots clés : spectateur, Canada, Québec, Fleury Mesplet, commerce

**Fabris, Angela: *Logiques et pratiques économiques publiques et privées dans «La Gazzetta Veneta» (Venise, 1760-1762)***

La «Gazzetta Veneta», qui sort à Venise de 1760 à 1762, se caractérise par un intéressant mélange de matière littéraire et d'annonces commerciales. Ces dernières, en particulier, comportent des aspects économiques liés, d'une part, à la vocation résolument marchande de Venise, et d'autre part à la dimension commerciale de la «Gazzetta» (en termes de ventes, de financement et de survie économique du journal). Comme nous nous efforcerons de le montrer, ces deux domaines connaîtront des hauts et des bas au fil de l'alternance des trois rédacteurs (Gasparo Gozzi, Pietro Chiari et Domenico Caminer) et de leur différente manière d'appréhender cette gazette moraliste du milieu du XVIIIe siècle.

**Fuchs, Alexandra: *The Spectators in Italy – An Important Economic Project***

The aspect of economic efficiency with regard to Italian periodical writing is revealed by investigating the metamedial level of these journals. In the Eighteenth Century literary production is incorporated into the economic system. Venice, enjoying a notable independency from the Roman Curia, develops into a Mecca for letterpress printing. The literati are no longer writing for a patron, but for a paying readership, which the publishers of the Moral Weeklies are trying to attract by metatextual comments. In the writing process they also have to consider marketing mechanisms, which literary distribution depends on. Metatextual text accompanying notes, in which literary producers explain themselves, function as a valve and directing element, by which the readership is influenced. The predominant argumentative pattern of 18th century periodical writing, which differs heavily from journal to journal, is particularly revealed by an investigation of the metamedial level. In his "Frusta Letteraria di Aristarco Scannabue" Giuseppe Baretti announces a totally different relationship to his readers than Gasparo Gozzi in "L'Osservatore veneto" and Antonio Piazza in "Gazzetta urbana veneta". Ephemeral writing and variety of forms, that are increasing the adaptability of literary productions, are to be confronted with unsafe market-buildings. The audience needs to be adapted to the economizing, emancipating society and its communicational structures in order to succeed in periodical journalism. The reflexion of organisational principles in terms of content and layout are constant companions in the moral weeklies. Core subjects, next to writing and reading procedures, are to equal parts the discussion of the significance of the Botteghe da Cafè and the emerging literary criticism. Of which the latter has an important impact on avoiding and refuting eventual moaning in advance. Also the importance of booksellers for the distribution of journals are discussed and presented to the audience in exemplary sales talks.

**Chapin, Carole: *Les questions économiques dans les « spectateurs » russes des années 1770***

L'émergence des « périodiques satiriques » - qui s'apparentent aux feuilles morales de type Spectator - en Russie à la fin des années 1760, est à la fois le témoignage et l'instrument du développement du journalisme russe à la même période. Celui-ci s'intègre dans un processus de transformations majeures de la société : les journaux contribuent à l'appropriation, par leurs lecteurs, d'un nouveau rapport à l'information, à la lecture, mais aussi à diverses formes de discours critique. Les études sur les « spectateurs » russes ont tendance à privilégier les articles de critique littéraire ou de réflexion sur la vie en société. Cependant les questions économiques ne sont pas absentes des feuilles morales en Russie. Déjà, dans les années 1760, les premières traductions du prototype de Steele et Addison ou celles du Spectateur français de Marivaux, paraissent dans des journaux qui favorisent « la diffusion du savoir et du divertissement (...) au sujet de diverses choses physiques, économiques ou appartenant à la manufacture et au commerce », comme Sobranje luchykh sochineniy [Собрание лучших сочинений] (1762) de Johann Reichel. La difficulté à analyser le sujet économique dans une perspective internationale tient peut-être à des différences fondamentales entre les prototypes européens et les « spectateurs » russes. Ces derniers, comme Vsjakaja Vsjachina en 1769, peuvent être le fruit de stratégies politiques, dégagés de toute logique commerciale. Nous proposons de regrouper et d'étudier des articles économiques des périodiques satiriques russes majeurs des années 1770 pour mettre en valeur les enjeux de ce sujet en perspective de la place de ces journaux dans les évolutions politiques et sociales de l'époque. Il s'agira aussi, grâce à la comparaison avec des périodiques européens, de replacer cette étude dans un contexte international de développement des échanges culturels mais aussi politiques et économiques avec la Russie.

**S146(III) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-11: Santander: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Aspects of Economy in the Moral Press ('Spectators') – aspects de L'Économie Dans les Feuilles Morales (« Spectateurs ») (III)**

*Organisateur/Président: Klaus-Dieter Ertler*

**Hobisch, Elisabeth: *Les aspects publicitaires des lettres dans les Spectateurs espagnols.***

Dans les Spectateurs espagnols, la thématique de l'économie est d'un intérêt particulier et nous la retrouvons sur trois niveaux : Premièrement, ils examinent l'économie nationale et cherchent les causes de la décadence du royaume en comparaison avec les autres pays européens. Deuxièmement, chaque journal est lui-même une entreprise économique, qui dépend de la fidélité de ses lecteurs, ce que les auteurs décrivent ouvertement dans leurs discours. Troisièmement, la réputation des journaux dépend considérablement du nombre de lecteurs qui suivent la publication avec attention. Par conséquent, le plus important pour les éditeurs est de convaincre le public de l'immense diffusion du journal et de son rôle primordiale dans la constitution de l'opinion publique. Cette intention se réalise particulièrement par le moyen des lettres aux éditeurs. Cette nouvelle forme de communication raccourcit la distance entre l'auteur et son public. On reconnaît au public le droit de participer à l'écriture du journal, mais en réalité les Spectateurs utilisent ces lettres pour orienter la réception du journal. Les éditeurs font semblant d'adapter leur journal aux exigences du public, alors qu'ils cherchent à imposer un certain type de lecture et de réception. La présente communication examinera les stratégies publicitaires, que les éditeurs dissimulent soigneusement dans les lettres qu'ils publient, pour convaincre les lecteurs d'acheter chaque semaine une nouvelle feuille.

**Baudry, Samuel: *Le Spectateur est-il un Gentleman ? La circulation des articles spectatoriels dans le Gentle-man's Magazine.***

Les magazines britannique de la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle, le « Gentleman's » par exemple, semblent devoir leur popularité et leur survie à une exploitation parasitique de toutes les formes de presse qui les entourent : empruntant, résumant, recopiant ou parodiant les articles préalablement publiés dans les journaux et les feuilles morales contemporaines ou plus anciennes. C'est cette économie de pillage que nous voudrions étudier ; les modes de plagiat, les justifications éventuelles, les méthodes de transformations utilisés par les journalistes des magazines lorsqu'ils reprennent des articles tirés de feuilles morales.

**Boulard Jouslin, Claire: *De la spéculation au commerce: les conséquences du scandale de la bulle des mers du sud sur le Free Thinker (1718-1721)***

En 1718, lorsque se forme la bulle spéculative de la compagnie des mers du sud, les auteurs du Free Thinker, imitateur du Spectator sont face à un dilemme. D'une part ils savent que le genre de l'essai périodique est devenu un genre prisé depuis que le Spectator a donné ses lettres de noblesse au genre de l'essai périodique. D'autre part, ils savent que dans l'esprit du public, depuis la parution du Spectator qui tentait de contrôler la spéculation financière en démontrant que valeur et papier n'étaient pas antinomiques, l'essai périodique est devenu une métaphore implicite du billet de banque. Le Spectator en particulier avait transformé chaque essai en « speculation », c'est à dire, en réflexion morale, philosophique littéraire et sociale fondée sur le visuel et l'imaginaire. Or la spéculation suscite bien des inquiétudes que partagent les auteurs du Free thinker. Aussi souhaitent ils dissocier l'essai périodique du papier monnaie tout en montrant qu'il reste une lecture de valeur. Il s'agira de montrer comment Ambrose Philips et ses collègues entreprennent d'associer le Free Thinker et par extension l'essai périodique non plus à la spéculation mais au commerce d'abord en critiquant la spéculation et en valorisant diverses formes de commerce, mais aussi en modifiant leur rapport à la fiction qui de spéculative devient plus historique.

**Semlak, Martina: *Spectators – A literary digital edition and its future research potentials.***

*Spectators* (<http://gams.uni-graz.at/mws>) is a digital edition project which aims at editing the prominent Romanic weeklies. Currently, around 1600 Spanish, Italian and French writings are already available, the long-term goal of the project, however, is a complete representation of all surviving sources. The digital edition provides a textual view in correspondence to the original print version, an analytical view regarding the narrative levels of representation and the narrative forms, and a thematic classification of the various textual sources, thus offering a useful tool for research and analysis in literary criticism. This contribution will describe the theoretical basis and practical implementation of the digital edition. For the annotation of the texts, a model based on the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) was developed to explicate implicit semantic structures. A workflow that allows for easy data acquisition and enrichment was designed in collaboration with the literary scholars involved in the project. A digital repository – the Geisteswissenschaftliches Asset Management System (GAMS) – ensures the sustainable and citable long-term availability of the edition, offers a client for data curation and provides different dissemination methods and functionalities for its use. The current status of the digital edition of *Spectators* will be presented and the methods, processes and tools for the annotation and enrichment of the textual material as well as the digital repository in which the digitized writings are managed, archived and published will be introduced. Furthermore, the potential of the text corpus with regards to extended literary network analysis, interpretation and visualization methods of the digitized and annotated material will be examined.

**S147 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)**

**La Conversation au Siècle des Lumières en France**

*Organisateur/Président: John O'Neal, Tili Boon Cuille*

**O'Neal, John C.: *La rage de parler et la sagesse de se taire: Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau***

Le genre de conversation que la plupart des auteurs du siècle prônaient faisait preuve, en effet, d'une nouvelle énergie, signe, au dire de Michel Delon, de tout un ensemble de changements vers la fin de l'époque. Chez Voltaire, cette conversation vise à attirer l'attention sur le savoir de l'individu face aux forces supérieures de la société dominante et de son idéologie et à donner une plus grande liberté à celui-ci. Pour sa part, Diderot s'interroge sur la forme même de la conversation pour qu'elle reflète, de façon adéquate, la nouvelle ère moderne qui est en train de se faire jour. Souvent il s'agissait d'un rejet des règles du Grand Siècle, mais pas toujours, comme on verra dans le cas de Rousseau, qui complète la pensée de ses confrères les philosophes mais leur sert aussi de contrepoids en insistant sur une plus grande spontanéité dans les sentiments. Je vais donc traiter de la conversation par le biais de l'épistémologie, de l'esthétique et du moral tout en évoquant son caractère politique qui va en croissant.

**Kehrès, Jean-Marc: *Un badinage philosophique: Diderot et la conversation comme utopie***

Écrit par Diderot en 1774, L'Entretien d'un philosophe avec la maréchale de \*\*\* met en scène un dialogue entre un "athée vertueux" et une Chrétienne dont Pascal aurait condamné la concupiscence et l'art de la casuistique. Ma communication explore la rhétorique de la tolérance qu'élabore ici Diderot et le brouillage "utopique", au sens où l'entend Louis Marin, de "neutralisation" générique entre "l'entretien" dont "le discours roule sur une matière importante" (D'Alembert) et la "conversation" qui interdit de "s'emparer seul et avec tyrannie de la parole" (D'Alembert). Dans l'effacement fictif de rapports discursifs inégaux où se mêlent connaissance et désir, Diderot déploie sa critique de la religion par le choix d'une interlocutrice et du ton de la conversation ainsi justifié.

**Brewer, Daniel: *Le propos du passé : conversation et histoire au siècle des Lumières***

Au début du dix-neuvième siècle, dans le regard rétrospectif que jette Mme de Staël sur la France, le siècle qui vient de s'écouler est celui de la conversation. Forme de parole qui a dirigé le cours des idées, la conversation aurait été la marque d'une société dont les membres valorisaient ce commerce langagier pour sa capacité de transmettre sensations, réflexions et idées. La conversation – la vraie, celle qui ne se laissait jamais se réduire à la simple et plate communication – était à la fois reflet de politesse et génératrice de sociabilité. Refusant comme finalité de faire taire la voix de l'autre, d'imposer de force un monologisme contraignant, la conversation reposait sur le pluriel. Tant que cette image de la conversation reste fidèle à la réalité historique d'un moment où, comme Marc Fumaroli le dit, "l'Europe parlait français," il faut noter la tendance chez les critiques littéraires et les historiens de la culture à aborder la conversation dans un ton nostalgique. C'est comme si la conversation était toujours déjà destinée à s'éclipser, victime de l'épreuve révolutionnaire sinon d'une modernité langagière, sociale et technologique pour laquelle la conversation n'est pas un art mais un acte. La conversation serait condamnée à devenir un lieu de mémoire, élément du patrimoine culturel qu'on ne peut aborder que par un acte de commémoration. Nous nous proposons d'examiner la conversation au XVIIIe siècle afin de voir dans quelle mesure il faut la comprendre autrement que dans un ton nostalgique. Loin d'être la simple continuation ou reprise d'une forme de parole héritée du grand siècle, la conversation au XVIIIe siècle témoigne d'une autre notion du pluriel et par là du social.

**S148 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)**

**The Commerce of Eighteenth-Century Satire**

*Organizer / Chair: Ivo Nieuwenhuis, Jo Poppleton*

**Poppleton, Jo: *Arbuthnot, Satire and Print***

The Scriblerian loathing of the print market is typified by Pope's *Dunciad*; his mock epic famously denounces a climate where commercial authorship triumphs over more classically orientated models of writing as art. At the same time, however, and as accounts of his relationship to the book trade have shown, Pope's poem is a commercially orientated work, implicated in and guilty of the same corruptions and vices it so vociferously condemns. This conflicted and contradictory position on the market for print is responsible for many of the ironies in early eighteenth-century satire, and may more broadly explain why the early eighteenth century quite rightly remains understood as such a fertile environment for the genre. This paper reads Arbuthnot as an exemplar and practitioner of hypocrisy and ambivalence towards the book trade, and reads three of his satires – *John Bull*, *The Art of Political Lying*, and *Longitudes Examined* – not as the transparent expression of his political allegiances or clarity of his moral standpoint, but as self-deprecating and self-consciously ironic instances of how satire addresses its buying public.

**Davison, Kate: *Ned Ward as a commercial author in Grubstreet London***

Like many early-eighteenth century British satirists, the corrupting influence of commerce on society was a key theme in Ned Ward's works. Yet, his own successful career in Grubstreet London was both part of – and a result of – the development of commercial society. In this sense, he embodied one of the ironies and contradictions in writing early eighteenth-century satire. This paper uses approaches from social history to consider the career of Ward as a commercial author. Tracing his social network through archival and print sources reveals the significance of the business relationships he maintained with printers and booksellers, as well as the values that underpinned them. Although Ward was a prolific writer with an eye for popular tastes and interests, it remained an unstable living

and, deciding 'tis better to live by malt, than starve by meter', he embarked upon a simultaneous career in the victualing trade. Moving around the metropolis, he ascended the ranks from alehouse keeper, through taverner, to end his days as a coffeehouse proprietor in London's fashionable West End. Shunning patronage in favour of self-promotion and commercial independence, Ward successfully used his writing to promote his drinking establishments and vice versa, achieving a measure of upward social mobility. By placing Ward more firmly within his social context, it is possible to glimpse the fortunes of a successful commercial satirist within a rapidly developing print culture.

**Nieuwenhuis, Ivo: *Hacks deriding hacks: the case of the Dutch 'magic lantern' journals of the 1780's***

Commercial authorship developed relatively late in the Dutch Republic. By the 1780's, however, there was a flourishing market for popular writing, including satirical works. Under the influence of political turmoil, caused by a domestic revolutionary movement called the Patriots, the press was booming in those days, and so periodicals and pamphlets became an important source of income for hack writers. Working in this business of political writing was considered as a despicable activity, as had been the case practically since the invention of the printing press. Nevertheless many authors, both highbrow and lowbrow, took part in this business. In their libellous works they made the rather ironic move of accusing their compatriots of being unscrupulous libellers, who were only out to make money, thus making it seem as if they were against this commercial practice, but at the same time taking part in it themselves. In my paper, I intend to answer the question what this practice of hacks deriding hacks and libels that condemn libelling tells us about the functioning of both satire and commercial authorship in the Dutch Republic at the time. I will do this by specifically analysing one case of 'hack derision', that of the so-called magic-lantern journals.

**S048(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)**

**La Recherche du Négociant Patriote. Commerce Actif et Moralités Marchandes au XVIIIe Siècle (I)**

*Organisateur/Président: Biagio Salvemini*

**Andreozzi, Daniele: "*Ne pas celui de la Nation*". *Moralities, rules, interests and trades in the Trieste of the XVII Century***

During the 18th century, Trieste, Habsburg port in the Adriatic sea, underwent a massive growth and, from the middle of the century, the city was dominated by a new cosmopolitan mercantile class. Also because of the stresses of the American War of Independence, in the Seventies and Eighties a severe competition arose. In such competition the protagonists were the new local merchant class, the financial circles of Vienna, trading companies controlled by the imperial aristocracy, investors, merchants and adventurers from the Northern Europe and the Levant and, the Habsburg bureaucracy. Aiming at the 'public felicity', the state was interested in the active trade as a tool of enrichment and, at the same time, it was eager to take advantage of the 'liquid' capital that merchants could make available. Moreover, the highest offices of state and the members of the peripheral bureaucracy had personal interests in the trades. The state legislation was extensive, detailed and apparently authoritative; however it also was fluid, contradictory and often unrealistic. The practices of the actors of the trade formed complex relationships with such legislation. Such practises were the result of the culture, values, aims, languages and moralities of the actors. The period was characterized by new commercial initiatives, a tough competition and failures that threatened the Trieste's economy. The documentation produced during the competition and failures allows us to reconstruct the relationships between the merchant moralities and the legislation and

objectives of the state. Moreover the task is to analyse such moralities. This at a time in which, according the governor of Trieste, baron Karl Zinzendorff, the interests of state and the merchants appeared divergent.

**Carrino, Anastella: « Fermer les deux yeux » sur des négociants antipatriotiques. Commerce actif et minorités protestantes à Marseille: les Sollicoffre de Saint-Gall**

Espaces marchands et espaces territoriaux présentent, notamment pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle européen, des dimensions et des logiques souvent différentes. A l'intérieur du territoire royal agissent des marchands récalcitrant à un encadrement « national ». Mais sont-ils forcément réputés des ennemis de la patrie, cible de condamnation morale et politique au même temps ? Les Sollicoffre, une dynastie de Suisses protestants établis à Marseille dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, deviennent, pendant les deux siècles suivants, des négociants très puissants. Leur réseau de relations est centré sur des communautés protestantes placées, outre qu'à Marseille et dans leur patrie d'origine, Saint Gall, à Toulon, Lyon et dans plusieurs villes de l'Europe centre-septentrionale. Par conséquent, ils occupent une position défilée par rapport au cœur économique et politique marseillais. A leur tour, les institutions marchandes et civiques de Marseille souvent gardent rancune envers eux et cherchent à les marginaliser : à l'aune des opinions et des normes produites par la ville, les comportements des Sollicoffre sont immoraux. Mais ces jugements ne sont pas unanimes. Relativement pauvres en ressources relationnelles et économiques locales, les Sollicoffre peuvent jouir de ressources appuyées à d'autres niveaux de l'espace institutionnel. Leur collocation spatiale plurielle et leur remarquable vivacité entrepreneuriale contribuent, selon le jugement de secteurs de l'état français élaborant les politiques du commerce actif, à la gloire du souverain et au bonheur public de ses sujets ; et ainsi les dotent-ils d'une moralité marchande à eux. Ce n'est pas un hasard qu'on leur réserve des traitements de faveur s'exprimant surtout par une attitude délibérément « distraite » par rapport à leurs pratiques religieuses et commerciales non orthodoxes. Les Sollicoffre jouent leurs cartes à l'intérieur de contextes contradictoires, en produisant et subissant des images différenciées d'eux-mêmes pesant sur les formes d'entreprises et sur la quotidienneté des choix marchands.

**Clemente, Alida: *The multi-faceted rhetoric of public happiness and private morality. The ethical horizon of trade in the Eighteenth century Kingdom of Naples***

During the Eighteenth century the proliferation of rules and instructions, aimed at directing trade activities to the supreme political goal of the "active commerce", often involved private operators and institutional actors in a dialectic confrontation about which economic choices better fitted the general interest. These actors were motivated by different goals, often irreducible to a common horizon such as that the central policies artificially tried to build. The "active commerce", especially in semi-peripheral areas characterized by the contradictions of a dependent economy, could be a sort of discursive construction susceptible of concealing the interests of some operators against others, whose economic success better coincided with the growth of Commerce as a measurable source of national wealth. In this complex confrontation of interests, the importance of a rhetorical dimension capable of reconciling the contradiction between public and private aims in the moral horizon of "public happiness", strongly emerges in the processes of negotiation between institutional and private actors in order to define the contents of the public intervention. A successful lobbying activity could also depend on the ability of operators to place their own reasons on a rhetorical level which was strongly innervated of principles and assertions related to a common moral horizon. The paper will present case studies from the history of the Kingdom of Naples in order to explore the rhetorical construction of a moral legitimacy for private claims in front of the public authority, and to eventually compare the different rhetorical codes used by merchants in different contexts, such as they could emerge through their private correspondence.

**S048(II) (14:00 – 15:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)**

**La Recherche du Négociant Patriote. Commerce Actif et Moralités Marchandes au XVIIIe Siècle (II)**

*Organisateur/Président: Biagio Salvemini*

**Kandakou, Dzianis: *Etre gallomane et rester patriote: activité commerciale du comte Antoni Tyzenhauz à Paris***

Avant l'avènement du roi Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski, le marché du Grand Duché de Lituanie est une chose en soi. Pour redresser et dynamiser l'économie du pays, le monarch polonais fait appel au comte Antoni Tyzenhauz, grand trésorier de Lituanie. Commerçant actif exemplaire, il ne se contente pas de réformes intérieures mais multiplie également les contacts avec les marchés européens parmi lesquels il préfère le français. Les rapports de la police de Paris reflètent la jalousie du gouvernement français par rapport à ce commerçant litunien actif et permettent d'interpréter ses activités comme un effort de reconstruire l'économie nationale selon le modèle français.

**Falcetta, Angela: *The allegiance of the foreigner: the fuzzy ethos of Greek merchants across the eighteenth-century Kingdom of Naples***

During the eighteenth century the Ottoman Sultans negotiated alliances and commercial agreements with a number of European powers, including the newly independent Kingdom of Naples. In the mercantilist view, these agreements were expected to spur the opening of new markets, thus promoting the wealth of the States. However, in 1760 Count Ludolf, Borbonic Minister in Constantinople, noted the scarcity of Neapolitan trade in the Levant. In the meantime, many Greek merchants from Ottoman Epirus were settling in Naples and in the Adriatic province of the Terra di Bari. Although the Greek "nation" achieved only a niche presence here, some of its members took advantage of their Ottoman subject-status to play a role within the domestic economy too: by exploiting the possibilities offered by the host society, they supported in many ways the Neapolitan interests, coming "to resemble" the subjects of the Borbonic Kingdom. From the notarial and court records, the "allegiance" of Greek merchant thus appears somewhat fuzzy, as it was not affected by any univocal status/identity or governed by a consistent and all-embracing system of practices and rules. Moreover, the ethos of the foreign merchant intersected with the interests of many different subjects, such as the host society, the state of origin, his own merchant community and the varied world of outsiders. By exploring the case of the "Greek nation" in the Kingdom of Naples, this paper addresses the question of how, at different levels, the 'belonging' was experienced by foreign merchants. In a wider perspective, an attempt is made to investigate the manifold, at times inconsistent, "rationalities" and moral values forging the ethos of merchants hovering between multiple territorial realities and mercantile spaces.

**Addobbati, Andrea: *Images of merchant's morality in the Eighteenth century anecdotal literature***

Anecdotal is a minor literary genre endowed with an extraordinary pedagogical and moral effectiveness. Proverbs and other similar products of large diffusion interlace high and popular cultures and register the transformations of the 'public opinion'. On the other hand, they contain ambiguities, they incorporate uncertainties and fears produced by particular events, conjunctures, social figures. This is, for example, the case of the merchant activity, object of secular prejudices and suspicions but, between the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, strongly rehabilitated in the context of the mercantilist policies. In this paper will be examined and compared some of most successful anecdotes concerning merchants in the different European linguistic and cultural environments.

**S149(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Le Penser des Philophes et Son Héritage (I)**

*Organizer / Chair: Jordy Geerlings*

**Lourenço Borges Júnior, Ciro: *Rhétorique et vérité d'après le premier Discours de Rousseau***

Le problème autour de l'idée de la vérité est partout l'œuvre de Rousseau. Cependant, il n'est pas restreint aux questions sur les moyens d'y atteindre, mais aussi de son expression, c'est-à-dire, du langage comme instrument nécessaire pour la communication de la vérité. En partant du contexte propre au Discours, on a une profonde tension entre le style ('genre académique') et les vérités défendues dans cette œuvre. La distinction entre la 'constitution du discours' et le 'sentiment de l'Orateur' proposée par Rousseau au début du Discours s'est montrée tellement féconde sous la plume de Goldschmidt, pourtant, il faut examiner jusqu'à quel point les limites imposées par une rhétorique du genre académique a porté préjudice aux vérités soutenus par Rousseau, tel comme l'abbé Raynal et d'autres interlocuteurs ont objecté. Tout d'abord, il faut accepter l'interprétation que la rhétorique dans le Discours assume un rôle aussi méthodologique. Dans cette perspective, l'élégance doit être remplacée par la persuasion. Toutefois, selon Rousseau, la persuasion n'est pas conséquence du style, mais surtout d'une intime relation avec la vérité. Et son rapport, donc, n'est pas avec les choses et ses relations, mais avec la 'lumière naturelle'. Ainsi, le premier Discours portera déjà une conception de vérité que n'est pas strictement objective, mais essentiellement dépendante d'un procès rationnel et intersubjectif. À la suite de l'interprétation de Bento Prado Jr., on propose une redéfinition du rôle de la rhétorique et surtout de la vérité dans le contexte du Discours, dont la sincérité a une importance capitale. La vérité, enfin, serait une espèce de contrat (ou une promesse) entre individus rationnels et la rhétorique la sphère commune où ce commerce s'établit.

**Ratto, Adrián: *Solitude et mélancolie : la place de Diogène dans la philosophie de Diderot***

En 1768, Mme. Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, amphitryonne d'un salon de Paris, a offert des habits et de nouveaux meubles à Diderot en reconnaissance du service qu'il lui avait prêté. Suite à cet événement, Diderot a écrit la même année *Regrets sur ma vieille robe de chambre*, où l'on peut lire : « O Diogène ! si tu voyais ton disciple sous le fastueux manteau d'Aristippe, comme tu rirais ! » (Diderot, AT, IV, 7). Des extraits comme celui-ci ont réussi à attirer l'intérêt des spécialistes, qui ont considéré souvent que Diogène a représenté un modèle pour Diderot. D'après Russell Goulbourne, par exemple, le cynisme de Diogène a représenté « un idéal moral et philosophique pour Diderot » (Goulbourne, 2011, 22). L'auteur explique que Diogène incarnait pour le Français le modèle d'autonomie et d'autosuffisance. Heinrich Niehues-Pröbsting est du même avis que Goulbourne dans sa thèse : « [Diogène] a représenté un idéal moral et philosophique pour Diderot (...) » (Niehues-Pröbsting, 1996, 350). Ce travail a pour but de démontrer que le rapport de Diderot avec la figure de Diogène est problématique et que les tensions ne sont dues aux contraintes idéologiques et politiques (la censure et les mœurs de la société du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle) mais à des raisons philosophiques. Ce qui révèle d'ailleurs la place occupée par la « retraite » (morale, religieuse ou politique) dans la philosophie de Diderot.

**THURSDAY / JEUDI, 30.07.2015**

**Berwanger da Silva, Maria Luiza: *Errance , transformation et félicité dans Les rêveries d´un promeneur solitaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau***

Tout en se basant sur les rapports littérature et philosophie , cette communication se proposera à examiner textuellement et transtextuellement Les Rêveries d´un promeneur solitaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau vus comme représentation exemplaire de l´efficacité de l´oeuvre de cet auteur pour la pensée des études du 18-ème siècle. Pour ce faire, cette étude mettra en évidence les liens établis entre "transformation silencieuse" proposés par François Jullien et ceux de "félicité" proposés par Julia Kristeva pour configurer, l´ensemble de ces connexions comme médiateur essentiel à "l´ouverture des marchés" produite par un champs symbolique et un champs non symbolique mis en intersection. Ainsi donc, il s´agira de percevoir dans l´entrecroisement de ces deux champs distincts approchés, le dialogue que le paysage transdisciplinaire de Rousseau établit avec les plusieurs territoires de la pensée contemporaine et pour lesquels errance, transformation et félicité contribuent de façon primordiale .

**Khadhar, Hedia: *Diderot et la question des colonies***

Pour Diderot, la question des colonies est "une préoccupation constante" C'est ainsi qu'il analyse la situation en tenant compte de la condition du colon, de l'administrateur, de l'indien, du nègre et du gouverneur. Diderot analyse le climat conflictuel et prévoit l'avenir des colonies

**S149(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Le Penser des Philophes et Son Héritage (II)**

*Organizer / Chair: Jordy Geerlings*

**De Freitas, Jacira: *Les principes universels et la diversité culturelle dans la formation de la notion de goût dans l'œuvre de J.-J. Rousseau***

Un aspect à considérer dans l'élucidation du problème du « goût » dans Rousseau est l'explication du véritable caractère de l'interrelation établie entre un point de vue ethnologique qui considère la diversité culturelle des peuples et la possibilité de sa transcendance à travers des principes universels. Le texte présenté ici est dédié aux réflexions de Rousseau sur le «goût» dans le premier Discours et dans article « Goût » de l'Encyclopédie et démontrer qu'il exprime la même logique qui est sous les formulations de sa pensée, à savoir, une séquence hiérarchique des valeurs allant d'un niveau minimum pour le degré maximum d'introduction de signes représentatifs.

**Pereira Calça, Robson: *La notion de l'école publique comme clé d'interprétation à la conception de l'État chez Diderot***

Ma proposition d'exposition vise à collaborer avec la compréhension d´un période historique importante: la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle français. en cette période, nous allons nous concentrer sur la construction d'une éducation publique proposée par l´un de ses plus éminents philosophes: Denis Diderot (1773-1784). Diderot a élaboré pour le gouvernement de la Russie un projet éducationnel pour les écoles primaires, aussi bien qu´un projet d´université publique. Avec sa conception de l'école publique, Diderot a laissé pour la postérité des réflexions vigoureuses sur les questions qui lui sont liées. Ici, nous examinerons cette formulation d'établissement d'enseignement, mettant en évidence la notion d'État qui y est exprimée, une fois que dans cette période historique, la récurrence et l'intensité avec laquelle on attribue à l'État le rôle de médiateur de la relation que l'homme entraînera avec les connaissances et les vertus, acquiert statut d´un événement extraordinaire. en prenant part à ce processus, à partir de son école Diderot a proposé (et à travers elle) la réinvention philosophique de l'État, comme cela a été historiquement établi. L'hypothèse d'enquêt que l´on a pris dans cette recherche soutient que ses réflexions, qui organisent le savoir et

la politique, indiquent que le concept d'État lui-même, défini à l'intérieur d'autres œuvres politiques de Diderot, peut subir des changements importants, à partir de son projet d'éducation publique.

**Calderón, Fernando: *Portrait de Francisco Javier de Carrión y Ribas, un ami espagnol de Rousseau***

À Venise, Rousseau se lie d'amitié avec deux espagnols : Ignacio Manuel de Altuna, et Francisco Javier de Carrión y Ribas (1715-1779). Altuna est aujourd'hui bien connu, et ce sont nombreux les articles qui ont contribué à mettre en lumière la vie et les œuvres de ce membre de la noblesse de Guipúzcoa. Par contre, Carrión n'a fait l'objet d'aucune étude particulière, et l'on n'a que des renseignements fragmentaires ou inexacts sur les divers aspects de sa vie. Néanmoins, Carrión a été une personnalité remarquable du dix-huitième espagnol. Les recherches réalisées par RA Leigh sur cet ami de Rousseau en ont apporté des éclairages importants, mais insuffisants. Notre communication vise à retracer la vie de Carrión. À cette fin, on a consulté plusieurs archives espagnoles. Les dossiers d'État conservés à l'Archivo Nacional de Simancas nous parlent d'un homme exceptionnel, doué d'une capacité de travail peu commun et d'un sens du devoir formidable. Secrétaire d'ambassade pendant une vingtaine d'années, il servit trois rois avec le même succès. Venise (1741), Parma (1746) Stockholm (1749), Vienne (1754), Paris (1757), Londres (1763) et finalement Madrid (1764) dessinent son parcours diplomatique, et c'est par ses nombreuses preuves de loyauté à la couronne qu'il fut nommé en 1764 à la Contaduría general de las órdenes militares, nomination qui mit fin à sa carrière diplomatique. Toujours exposé aux vicissitudes de la politique internationale, notamment aux aléas de son propre métier, il accomplit plusieurs missions secrètes et participa aux négociations qui mit fin à la guerre de Sept Ans. en outre, Carrión fut un homme cultivé, sensible à des expressions culturelles diverses et intéressé par le progrès de sa nation. Nos recherches mettent l'accent sur cet aspect singulier et entièrement inconnu de Carrión. Parmi d'autres mérites, il a été membre d'honneur de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1768) et l'un des fondateurs de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País (1775). L'Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid conserve le testament, et L'Archivo Municipal de Benavente l'inventaire de ses biens, mis en vente peu de temps après sa mort. Ce sont des documents qui servent aussi à retracer le portrait d'un homme dont l'oubli semble, à notre avis, injustifié.

**S150 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: M3-06: Luxemburg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Satire, Traded Women in the Eighteenth-Century Novel**

*Organizer / Chair: Gonul Bakaj, Michaela Mudure*

**Burrell, Vernita: *Will(ful) Widowhood: Inheritance, Legitimacy, and Autonomy in The Woman of Colour: A Tale***

In the epistolary narrative, *The Woman of Colour: A Tale* (1808), heroine Olivia Fairfield is positioned as both the illegitimate issue and testatory complication of a white master-black female slave sexual union. As a mulatto, Olivia's racial and cultural slippage between white English and black African leaves her in a legal quandary; she possesses some privileges of freedom because her landowning father bequeathed her a £60,000 dowry as well as his name 'Fairfield,' but neither the promise of money nor the power of her name guarantees her autonomy. Olivia cannot be considered a free woman of color because her personhood is defined by her exchange value. Olivia's physical body becomes an item in her father's will to be inherited, and her fortune becomes the bargaining chip as an inducement for the inheritors of her body – her white English cousins in London – to either relegate her to marriage or place her under dependent wardship. Presumably written by a free mixed-race woman, *The Woman of Colour* succeeds in problematizing the literary stereotype of the 'spectral' black woman by exposing "race and gender politics...as black women might have experienced them" (*Woman* 18). In my paper, I contend that Olivia's fate rests on resistance; she

detaches herself from being governed by the wills of white Englishmen ('wills' connoting methods of inheritance and means of control), and refashions herself from an inherited commodity into an advocate for her own freedom. I explore the ways in which Olivia is empowered to contest her commodity status through eighteenth-century inheritance laws to gain control over her own future and reclaim a sense of agency and human value.

**Bakay, Gönül: *Daniel Defoe's Moll and Roxana: Criminals or Merchants?***

Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) is among the first novelists to deal with capital as a ruling force in life. Throughout his life, he stressed the importance of trade for England and believed that in trade, the aim was to make money. In his words: "We are a trading nation, our business is trade, and our end to get money; we know no other gain in commerce but gain." Defoe's famous fictional characters, Moll and Roxana, can be considered the first female capitalists of fiction. In *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress* (1724), Defoe examines the concept of value; how it can be possessed and exchanged. Defoe compared the circulation of goods to the circulation of blood in the human body. The circulation of blood through the veins allowed the body to thrive, just as the circulation of goods allowed the country to prosper. For Defoe, the importance of trade was greater because "The people selling, rather than the people making, are the ones who ensure that wealth is distributed as widely and efficiently as possible" (Trotter 3). Both Moll and Roxana are gifted women who have intelligence, youth, beauty but no capital. Without money they can not enter into circulation unless they convert their assets of beauty and wit into capital. "Both women, because they are women, must discipline themselves to circulate body and soul" (Trotter 42). Trying to survive in a patriarchal world, these ladies are led to play the game according to the rules. This means that they had to train themselves to move up in the social spectrum and carve themselves a place in this competitive world. Building on the theory of Adam Smith, this paper aims to examine Defoe's female characters Moll and Roxana as trading women and traded women.

**Mudure, Michaela Cristina: *Women and Trade in The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy***

Eliza Haywood was noticed for her ability to introduce character studies in her works. This novelist's use of middle-class characters and events from everyday reality did contribute to the development of the realist Enlightenment novel. In this paper we shall analyze how trade of women and by women adds a specific gendered note to Haywood's representation of realism in her novel *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. We know from the French anthropologist Claude Lévy Strauss that human society relies on the exchange of women by men. But women are not only the passive object of this trade among men, which is fundamental for the texture of human society. They also try to trade goods, ideas, even themselves and change their subject position by getting the upper hand in this exchange. This paper is an attempt to read Eliza Haywood using the notion of trade in its widest understanding.

**Lee, Natasha: *Colonial fantasies and The Commerce of Women***

To be continued

**S151 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)**

**Textiles, Copper, Glassware Etc.: Central European Manufactures On Atlantic Markets**

*Organizer / Chair: Klaus Weber, Jutta Wimpler*

**Banken, Ralf: *The Capitalist Gateway: Trade between Western German Provinces and the Netherlands, 1740-1806***

Economic growth and modernization in Western German provinces (from the Lower Rhine to the Rhine-Main area) was speeding up from c. 1740, due to the region's integration into the Atlantic economy and a concurrent spread of capitalist practices. Trade with the Netherlands enhanced the emergence of a German bulk trade, and it stimulated a variety of manufacturing sectors. Only this commercial expansion allowed for standardized mass production, and for labour division in many industries. Presumably, the new mercantile practices fostered the advance of capitalism in Western Germany even before 1800.

Manufactures were usually exported via Dutch seaports, where German merchants benefited from the region's advanced commercial infrastructure. Consequently, an asymmetric but complementary relation emerged between Dutch trade and German manufacturing. Merchants from Western German provinces most likely became acquainted with progressive Dutch capitalist methods, and these methods spread swiftly in their homelands.

The Netherlands were also a significant place for German imports of colonial consumer goods. Imports of such new commodities and raw materials were often handled by the very same trading houses which distributed German-made manufactures abroad. Besides determining the total volume of trade, this study claims to tackle the trickier question whether the new options for consumption were a significant incentive for intensification of labour and the implementation of market economy principles in everyday life.

These issues lead to a number of research questions: 1. How did trade between Western Germany and the Netherlands develop during the 18th century, and which goods and quantities were traded? 2. Which actors conducted trade, and how did mercantile practices develop in Western Germany? 3. In how far was integration into the Atlantic world economy significant for the economic growth, and later industrialization, of Western Germany? Both quantitative and qualitative source material will be exploited in order to deal with these questions.

Economic growth and modernization in Western German provinces (from the Lower Rhine to the Rhine-Main area) was speeding up from c. 1740, due to the region's integration into the Atlantic economy and a concurrent spread of capitalist practices. Trade with the Netherlands enhanced the emergence of a German bulk trade, and it stimulated a variety of manufacturing sectors. Only this commercial expansion allowed for standardized mass production, and for labour division in many industries. Presumably, the new mercantile practices fostered the advance of capitalism in Western Germany even before 1800.

Manufactures were usually exported via Dutch seaports, where German merchants benefited from the region's advanced commercial infrastructure. Consequently, an asymmetric but complementary relation emerged between Dutch trade and German manufacturing. Merchants from Western German provinces most likely became acquainted with progressive Dutch capitalist methods, and these methods spread swiftly in their homelands.

The Netherlands were also a significant place for German imports of colonial consumer goods. Imports of such new commodities and raw materials were often handled by the very same trading houses which distributed German-made manufactures abroad. Besides determining the total volume of trade, this study claims to tackle the trickier question whether the new options for consumption were a significant incentive for intensification of labour and the implementation of market economy principles in everyday life.

These issues lead to a number of research questions: 1. How did trade between Western Germany and the Netherlands develop during the 18th century, and which goods and quantities were traded?

2. Which actors conducted trade, and how did mercantile practices develop in Western Germany? 3. In how far was integration into the Atlantic world economy significant for the economic growth, and later industrialization, of Western Germany? Both quantitative and qualitative source material will be exploited in order to deal with these questions.

**Schopf, Gabi: *Developing global markets: Selling Swiss textiles in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world***

The growing demand for fashionable consumer goods in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world presented new, promising opportunities for European textile manufacturers and merchants. Swiss cotton printers, like their continental, as well as British, rivals were eager to tap into these emerging markets. But for a territory without seaports, colonies or trading companies, participation in global trade posed particular challenges. Using the firm of the Swiss cotton printer Christian Friedrich Laué as a case study, this paper investigates how Swiss merchants and producers sought to overcome these hurdles and developed global markets for their goods. In 1783 Laué sold drapery via Hamburg to the company Lecke & Melbeck in Philadelphia. What in the beginning seemed like a promising business venture soon failed and resulted in a conflict that lasted almost ten years. Analysing the sources deriving from that conflict enables us to study various interactions between the Swiss producer, the American merchant and the Hamburg broker in detail. Proceeding in three parts, this paper will first show how Laué contacted and interacted with potential business partners over long distances and how the actual transaction was executed. Second, it will investigate the failure of the deal to shed light on the obstacles connected with trade on a global scale in the eighteenth century. Building trust, settling conflicts, and procuring information over long distances was particularly difficult on the fringes of the Atlantic world. Comparing Laués trading activities with those carried out in regions engaged in colonial enterprises, the paper will argue, that merchants at the fringe of the Atlantic world did develop specific techniques to overcome these challenges.

**Steffen, Anka: *Silesian Linen Merchants - Global Players or Regional Distributors?***

As the involvement of Central-Eastern European actors and their dominant product linen textiles in the Atlantic commerce system is still underestimated in research, their distinctiveness will be the focus of this paper. Current findings suggest that unlike many Western merchants who pursued to develop an extensive family network in which transportation, storage or shipping costs could be reduced, financial resources accumulated and re-invested into business expansion or saved for times of hardships, Silesian linen merchants did not establish business branches in Western port cities where linen cloth appeared among the major trading commodities. This paper seeks to present new research results shedding light on selected merchants from Hirschberg and Breslau and their business operations in the linen trade and “family policies”. While looking at their family ties the question why Silesian linen merchants were not personally represented by close or distant relatives in the port-cities where the highest profits could have been made will be answered.

**S152(I) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)**

**Adam Smith: Passion & Sentiments (I)**

*Organizer / Chair: Joost Hengstmengel*

**Huesca Ramón, Fernando: *James Steuart and Adam Smith: Political economy's defense of self-interest and commerce as groundwork for a new paradigm in Philosophical Anthropology and Political Philosophy***

Already in the 19th century it was considered (by Say among other theorists) that Adam Smith was the founder of Political Economy. In those times, it was also considered that James Steuart was, at best, one of many theoreticians in France and England who wrote pamphlets, essays or “minor” works which were lacking in systematization as well as in correct views on production, distribution and consumption. It took about 200 years to assess impartially and amply the influence which Steuart exerted into Political Economy and Philosophy in the 18th and the 19th centuries in England, France and Germany. Since the publication of the ground-breaking work by Paul Chamley *Économie politique et philosophie chez Steuart et Hegel* there has been a growing interest in studying the affinities and differences between Smith and Steuart, as well as the peculiar impact which Steuart may have had in the intellectual development of such 19th century great figures in Philosophy such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Karl Marx. The purpose of this paper is then, to explicate the peculiarity of Smith and Steuart concerning economic reflection (on matters such as value, capital, production and commerce) as well as the way in which this economic view lies on a more general conception of man and politics, which may be considered, without exaggeration, as a paradigm shift concerning Philosophical Anthropology and Political Philosophy in respect to previous philosophical views. In this way, we intend to show how Smith and Steuart conceived a theory of man and State which was in acute opposition to dominant and pervasive philosophical views such as civic humanism and iusnaturalism (as in Davenant and Hobbes respectively). Self-interest and Commerce shall be presented as two central notions which made Political Economy a new science and a new anthropological and political paradigm as well.

**Ruellou, Thomas: *Dugald Stewart and the identity of interests: passions, self-love and the final cause of Providence***

The topic of economic liberalism and the opening of markets can't ignore the role of those who are the first concerned by it, that is, merchants. Adam Smith (1776: I.xi.p.10) had disseminated the advice that “[t]he interest of the dealers ... is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the publick”. The purpose of this article is to show that Dugald Stewart (1753–1828) aimed at discarding this polemical statement, in order to claim that Political Economy had nothing to do with political conflicts. His theological and providential account of Nature led him to believe in an “identity of interests”, to allude to the expression later coined by Halévy (1901–1904). Yet, Hyard (2004; 2006) and Demals & Hyard (2007) have described an opposition between private interests and that of the public in Stewart's writings. His defence of mixed governments would show a belief in conflicting social classes. On the contrary, Haakonssen (1996) hinted that Stewart's moral philosophy entailed a “compatibility” between private and public happiness. Unfortunately, Haakonssen didn't seek the link between happiness, the motives of action, and their remote collective consequences. My article is divided into three sections. I first show that at the private level, self-love (or “self-interest”) can't be fulfilled by individuals without accommodating themselves to Providence (the will of God intelligible through the laws of Nature). Hence, they must reach their “enlightened interest” by restraining their passions. Second, the actions fostered by “enlightened interests” are mutually beneficial at the collective level. Unexpectedly matching Hirschman's (1977) famous grid, conflicts only reside in passions that interfere with “interests”. Consequently, the

unlimited freedom of trade must be defended. Third, I assess Stewart's endorsement of perfectibility and defence of religious education as the condition for a harmonious economic activity driven by self-interested individuals.

**S152(II) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)**

**Adam Smith: Wealth and Poverty (II)**

*Organizer / Chair: Thomas Ruellou*

**Turnbull, Richard: *The Reception of Adam Smith in the Protestant Tradition***

In Protestant social and economic thought the reception of Adam Smith has been deeply ambiguous. Much post-1900 Protestant writing on economic and social issues displays a significant antipathy towards Adam Smith's 'Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.' For example, Malcolm Brown argues that when people 'prioritize their own economic interests in competition with fellow human beings with whom they feel no essential bond of solidarity...not only a string of social problems follow but...the preconditions for markets to operate efficiently cease to pertain' (Anglican Social Theology, 2014). This negative view of markets has shaped official reports (the Church of England's 1985, 'Faith in the City,') academic traditions and reflection (Tawney, Temple, Williams), and popular writing (Yoder, Sider, Sheppard). Hence, in 'the popular imagination it is almost inconceivable to think that someone could obtain economic success or wealth without exploiting the vulnerable' (Sirico). This paper aims to show that historically there has been a significantly closer identification of the political economy of Adam Smith and the Protestant theological tradition, albeit not an uncritical one. Theories of political economy and Christian theology provided complementary ways of understanding the nature of humanity and the world, and the challenges and responses to poverty. This mediation was mainly achieved through the natural theology tradition and represented by Sumner, Copleston, Whately and Chalmers – who also illustrates the response of this tradition to poverty in the voluntary principle. The dismissal of Smith tends to give inadequate weight to historical context, Smith's moral thought and the mediation of his thinking into Protestantism. As Professor Schlag argues that Smith's theories can be reconciled with Catholic teaching so this paper argues that the modern rejection of Smith is, at least to a degree, a departure in the history of theological and political thought within Protestantism.

**Nohara, Shinji: *Adam Smith on the value of silver***

In his *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith regarded not silver and any other precious metals as the criteria to judge whether one nation was wealth or poor. To prove it, he, in the section "Digression concerning in the Value of Silver during the Course of the Four last Centuries", utilized various data about prices of goods and precious metals to explain that the wealth of one nation did not depend on the amount of silver and precious metals in one nation. However, here, one could wonder whether Smith utilized the data exactly and faithfully, and whether he misconstrued the data intentionally or unintentionally. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Jean François Melon and others established the monetary theory in which the amount of money influenced the wealth of one nation, which was opposite to Smith's theory on money. They also utilized and produced various data. They might also misconstrue these data intentionally or unintentionally. On this point, it is important to ask which side misconstrued data. The misunderstanding of data might be important for the construction of classical economics. In addition, what Smith and others tackled was to produce data and evidence in the age in which there were no overall agreed statistics.

**Tegos, Spyridon: *Adam Smith and Rousseau on ‘politesse’ in Monarchies and Republics***

In the core of this paper I endeavor to articulate Adam Smith’s reading of Rousseau’s critique of modern manners and its ambiguities bearing in mind the - not always explicit for the contemporary analyst - political overtones of this debate during the 18th century. Rousseau’s criticism of the effeminizing effects of salon sociability was not so much misogynist as political, based on the opposition between the republican model of politics and sociability, and the monarchical one. I think it is possible to read through this lens Smith’s famous treatment of Rousseau as a republican extremist and his spirit as ‘the true spirit of a republican carried a little too far.’ (Letter to the Edinburgh Review in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, 251.) According to Smith, Rousseau was too ‘ideological’ in sharply distinguishing republican and monarchical models. On the one hand, they do co-exist, certainly entertaining complicated relationships, in the British constitution. On the other hand, Rousseau was partly right in denouncing the bluntly aristocratic ‘abilities to please’ when go beyond proper social bounds and become part of middle ‘social stations’ mores leading to corruption of moral and social sentiments. Yet courtly politeness is a necessary social skill for the aristocrat and at least limited aristocracy and its manners, despite shallowness, is necessary in order to preserve social order. On balance, Rousseau’s critique cannot be unequivocally addressed and British constitution’s riddle remains unresolved: the ‘abilities to please’ and the capacity to serve – monarchical deference and meritocratic, republican ethos are kept together within an unsteady balance alongside fears for further corrupting effects of the former over the latter.

**Bárcena, Ramón: *Adam Smith, Founding father of the classical free market economic theory.***

In “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations” (1776), the Scottish Enlightenment moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) laid the foundations of classical free market economic theory. He expounded upon how rational self-interest and competition can lead to economic prosperity. Smith was controversial and his general approach and writing style were often satirized by Tory writers in the moralizing tradition of William Hogarth and Jonathan Swift. In recent times, Former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, it is said, used to carry a copy of the book in her handbag. Impressed with Quesnay ideas, Smith considered dedicating *The Wealth of Nations* to him – had Quesnay not died beforehand. Physiocrats were opposed to mercantilism, the dominating economic theory of the time, illustrated in their motto *Laissez faire et laissez passer, le monde va de lui-même !*. They were also known to have declared that only agricultural activity produced real wealth; merchants and industrialists (manufacturers) did not. The wealth of France was virtually destroyed by Louis XIV and Louis XV to ruinous wars, by aiding the American insurgents against the British, and perhaps most destructive (in terms of public perceptions) was what was seen as the excessive consumption of goods and services deemed to have no economic contribution – unproductive labour –. Assuming that nobility and church are essentially detractors from economic growth, the feudal system of agriculture in France was the only sector important to maintain the wealth of the nation. Given that the English economy of the day yielded an income distribution that stood in contrast to that which existed in France, Smith concluded that the teachings and beliefs of Physiocrats were, “with all [their] imperfections [perhaps], the nearest approximation to the truth that has yet been published upon the subject of political economy” . 1 Let do and let pass, the world goes on by itself! 2 Smith, A.: *The Wealth of Nations* edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, The Glasgow edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, vol. 2b, pp. 678, 1976.

**S153 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)**

**Erasmus in the Eighteenth Century**

*Organizer / Chair: Eric Carlsson, Wiep van Bunge*

**van Miert, Dirk: *Memory and the creation of learned group identities: eighteenth-century appropriations of Erasmus in historia literaria***

This talk aims to answer to the question to what extent Erasmus served as an emblem of the ideals of the Republic of Letters, such as the communication of knowledge, veracity trumping authority, Latinity, erudition, humanity, tradition, satire, etc. The eighteenth century saw the hey-day of the historiography of learning: the tradition of *historia literaria*. Inaugurated famously by Bacon at the beginning of the seventeenth century, this historiography of the recent past took off near the end of that century, notably in Daniel Morhof's *Polyhistor*. Morhof was followed by a host of authors who all attempted to epitomize the most important subjects, books and authors into bio-bibliographical historical handbooks with classifications of all knowledge. Encyclopaedia and lexica merged in this tradition. This type of history contributed much to the self-conception of scholars as being part of a collective endeavour to create, collect and compare knowledge in a universal quest for truth. As a social group, the citizens of the Republic of Letters needed to anchor their common identity in a tradition. The canonical authors from antiquity had lost a great deal of their authority after the Battle of the Books, so the Republic of Letters turned to the *recentiores*. Erasmus was generally acknowledged as one of the most towering figures, if not the most important figure of humanist learning. How was Erasmus referenced in *historia literaria*? Who used him to convey what message precisely? What were his popular works and why? What kind of ideologies were ascribed to his persona? And how did those ideologies relate to learned paradigms of the eighteenth century, such as biblical criticism and antiquarianism, the French philosophes, English empiricism, and German Idealism?

**Ben-Tov, Asaph: *Erasmus in unorthodox views on church and scholarship around 1700: the cases of Gottfried Arnold and Hermann von der Hardt***

Since the sixteenth century Protestant scholars were eager to place the Reformation within the context of humanist "revival of learning". Within this forging of a usable past Erasmus of Rotterdam played, posthumously, an important role – of which the historical Erasmus would have doubtless disapproved. A case in point is Philipp Melancthon's brilliant (and manipulative) short Erasmus biography of 1557. The late seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a new and daring spate of church histories and, more broadly, histories of Christian dogma, motivated by new concerns and challenges. Well known is Gottfried Arnold's (1666-1714) epochal *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie* (An impartial history of the Church and Heresy) (1699-1700) – the very possibility of such impartiality was enough to provoke orthodox outrage. The second early eighteenth-century thinker on whom this paper will focus is Arnold's lesser-known contemporary, the prolific and controversial Helmstedt professor Hermann von der Hardt (1660-1747). Like Arnold, von der Hardt in his younger years was influenced by Pietism, yet his scholarship – especially his biblical commentaries – were to later become ever more secularised and at the same time eccentric. Though von der Hardt did not compose a Church history he did, in his later years, write several shorter works offering his own idiosyncratic history of scholarship. In both Arnold's controversial Church history and von der Hardt's accounts of the history of scholarship and religious reform Erasmus plays an instructive role. In the proposed paper I attempt a parallel consideration of both, aiming to shed some light on the role Erasmus' heritage played in early eighteenth-century unorthodox reflections on Church history, scholarship, and the complex relation between them.

**Carlsson, Eric: *Erasmus among the neologians***

This paper addresses the function that the figure of Erasmus played in the historical thought of some leading figures of Germany's Protestant Enlightenment, notably J. L. von Mosheim, G. J. Planck, and J. S. Semler. The talk will argue that these neologians (theological Aufklärer) rewrote earlier Lutheran accounts of Erasmus' place and significance for the history of Protestantism as a means of redefining the crucial issues of the Reformation and thus of providing an intellectual and religious genealogy for their own reforming project. Erasmus came to signify the wedding of text- and historical-critical approaches to the Bible and ecclesiastical tradition with a latitudinarian, anti-sacramental religious stance that stressed inward faith and ethical activism. One of the results of this appropriation was to introduce an Erasmian flesh-spirit dichotomy into neological thinking that both undergirded Semler's influential distinction between Religion and Theologie and abetted a new variety of theological anti-Judaism that became a marked feature of German liberal theology. By focusing attention on ways in which Erasmus was treated among neological writers, the paper aims to assess the usefulness of treating the theological Aufklärung as an extension of the Christian humanist tradition.

**S154(I) (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)**

**Marketing the Public: Targeting Strategies and Booktrade in the Long Eighteenth Century (I)**

*Organizer / Chair: Tatiana Korneeva, Laura Carnelos*

**Butoescu, Elena: *Tokens of Legitimacy on the Literary Market: Paratextual Devices in Marana's 'Letters Writ to a Turkish Spy'***

The persuasive power of the paratextual features that frame Giovanni Paolo Marana's English version is the main concern of this article. Authorial paratextual devices were strongly relied upon by editors and booksellers alike in the eighteenth century, when both objective paratextual devices and subjective paratextual elements had an influential role to play in the production and distribution of books. Apart from the main function that Gérard Genette ascribes to an authorial preface, "to get the book read properly" (1997), there is another important function fulfilled by a preface written by an editor: getting the book read and sold well. The financial interests of an editor at the beginning of the eighteenth century were supported unawares by the Statute of Anne from 1709, who was specifically introduced to encourage "learned men to compose and write useful books," but instead, the consequences of the law encouraged editors and booksellers to take financial advantage of the publications. Marana's collection of letters generated the idea that knowledge and political power definitely stemmed from information provided by a secret agent, a foreign spy. Added to this was the new "market-oriented" type of author responding to the economic requirements of his age. Prefaces and epistles dedicatory were inserted in the book with a view to advertising the publication, promoting sales, and increasing the credibility of the author. By investigating the role of the paratextual elements in Marana's narrative(s) – from the title page to prefaces and the frontispiece portrait (engraved by the Dutch artist Frédéric Henri Van Hove) – this study argues that the typical preface contained information on the history of the production of the publication as well as details about the author. Paratextual practices were used as tokens of legitimacy which promoted the author as a credible writer; they highlighted the role of knowledge and its distribution in the eighteenth century, proving an essential key to understanding the reception of Marana in England.

**Madl, Claire: *Advertising strategies of publishers and booksellers towards a widened and diversified readership. The example of Bohemia, 1780-1800***

In Bohemia as elsewhere in Europe, the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed an explosion of the book market. Some features of this phenomenon are though peculiar, mainly the slow diversification of the public according to two vernacular languages: German and Czech and also an extremely dynamical legal framework (regulation and deregulation of the profession, reversals within the censorship regimes from liberalisation to strict control). We propose to analyse the way publishers and booksellers addressed a changing “reading public” using different means. Besides catalogues and lists of books and announcements joined to publications, the publication of several Bohemian newspapers led booksellers to use these serial imprints to address directly a wider public. Our study will first briefly situate this phenomenon with a compared chronological analysis of the occurrence of book advertisements in newspapers and of printed catalogues and a compared thematic analysis of their content (with, for example, the birth of the category devoted to current events – *Zeitgeschichte*). The core of the study will nevertheless be a formal analysis of the advertisements in two newspapers, one in German and one in Czech, in order to bring to light the optimisation of the way publishers used this medium and the fact that they addressed readers directly, so that they inform us about their representations of readership. Publishers’ strategies to entice new readers led to less informational and more advertising announcements: to regularly formatted paragraphs, filled with objective and detailed information, they often preferred typographically highlighted half columns. Sometimes they broke the linearity of the reading or on the contrary, they attracted the reader by giving him a narrative preview of the story’s suspense. Announcements “to be continued” or serially repeated advertisements aimed at attracting new sporadic readers and convert them into regular ones.

**S154(II) (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)**

**Marketing the Public: Targeting Strategies and Booktrade in the Long Eighteenth Century (II)**

*Organizer / Chair: Tatiana Korneeva, Kirill Ospovat*

**Korneeva, Tatiana: *Dramaturgy of the Spectator in Eighteenth-Century Italian theatre: Scipione Maffei’s Merope***

The decisive transition from absolutist court theatre to the rapidly emergent commercial playhouses in the course of late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as the popularity of theatre and its openness to the socially diversified public brought about the rise of a radically new kind of theatre spectators, who determined success or failure of the play and progressively asserted themselves as paramount in the dramatic and art criticism. In the context of Italian Enlightenment, the play that exercised a shaping influence on the formation of these critical and active consumers of cultural products, but at the same time was also written in response to this new theatre-going public’s horizon of expectations was Scipione Maffei’s neoclassical tragedy, *La Merope* (first performed in Modena by the troupe of Luigi Riccoboni in 1713). This political drama, which became an instant and outstanding success with both the critics and the mixed audience, contributed not only to a revival of the classical tragedy on the Italian stage but also helped to create the spectators as a coherent group with the uniform critical and aesthetic interests. This paper thus seeks to investigate the dramatic strategies and devices developed by marquis Maffei from Verona in order to compel the audience to recognise its own centrality in social, theatrical, and political domains alike. Moreover, by comparing Maffei’s *La Merope* to Voltaire’s play on the same subject, the essay seeks to determine whether dramatic techniques and stage devices designed by the Italian playwright to construct a new and different relationship between the spectator and the performance, have fully entered into the circulation of dramatic theories and practices across the boundaries of national culture.

**Mannironi, Giacomo: *Searching for a new public: publishers and the market of novels in eighteenth-century Venice***

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Venetian book market witnessed a period of growth and success, gaining an influential position in the European book market. In the 1740s, a decreased demand for religious literature from other countries, and the flourishing of new competitors in other Italian cities (such as Parma and Naples) led to a crisis of book exports, and the subsequent decline of the Venetian book world. In the 1740s, a group of book entrepreneurs (such as Pasinelli, Tavernin, Bassaglia) reacted to the crisis of traditional markets by turning their attention to the urban public of the city. These publishers created a new offer based on novels and other forms of “letteratura amena” [pleasant literature] such as books of letters, theatre anthologies, travel books or periodicals. These genres had a great success between the 1740s and 1760s, to which followed a rapid decline in the 1770s and 1780s. Drawing on existing scholarship on the Venetian book world (i.e. Berengo, Infelise), and archival research in the city’s archives and libraries, this paper analyses the marketing strategies used by booksellers and printers in order to recognise the main addressee of these new products. By looking at these practices it is possible to identify the privileged addressee of these products, as the group of readers who sustained the market. The paper identifies this primary addressee in the élites of the city, defined as a heterogeneous group of high-income individuals from different social classes (such as aristocrats, cittadini, and rich bourgeois). It finally argues that the limited size of this group was the main cause for the decline of the market of novels in the late eighteenth century.

**Widmayer, Anne: *Harlequin Cherokee: Audience Manipulation and Theatrical Exchange***

Eighteenth-century harlequinades, also known as turn-up or metamorphosis books, are early precursors to modern comic books. Each harlequinade is a lithographed broadside, accordion-folded into four panels, each around four and a half inches wide by nine inches tall. Each panel has two flaps that meet in the middle and can be folded up or down. Printed between 1766 and 1816, they were designed so that as the reader flipped the flaps in response to the accompanying verses, a new scene would be revealed. George Speaight and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh have argued that these books reproduce the experience of staged pantomimes. The harlequinade *Harlequin Cherokee* or the *Indian Chiefs in London* (1772) is particularly interesting for teasing out how both David Garrick’s acting style and his management of the Drury Lane Theatre are being subtly critiqued by the printer Robert Sayer. The newspaper accounts of James Love’s pantomime, *The Witches; or, Harlequin Cherokee* (1762), do not describe any of the harlequinade’s plot. Sayer’s harlequinade almost seems to be a “prequel” to Love’s work since the harlequinade focuses upon two Cherokees arriving in London and seeing the major sights—Old Temple Bar gate, St. Paul’s Cathedral, Vauxhall Gardens, and Charing Cross—and then departing for home. The three Cherokee Indians who really visited London in July and August 1762 were themselves treated as actors in a theatrical event. According to Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, who accompanied the Cherokees from the Carolina-Tennessee mountains to England, everywhere *Ostenaco*, *Stalking Turkey* (Cunne Shote), and *Pouting Pidgeon* (Woyi) went in London, they were mobbed by spectators. The harlequinade dramatizes Londoners’ and the Cherokees’ exoticizing gazes as well as Garrick’s competition with the proprietor of Vauxhall Gardens, Jonathan Tyers, to create the most spectacular cascade—either of tin or water—on stage or at Vauxhall.

THURSDAY / JEUDI, 30.07.2015

**S155 (09:00 - 10:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)**

**Philosophy and Imagination**

*Organizer / Chair: Myrthe van Nus*

**Mühlbacher, Manuel: *Mimicry Under Control. Philosophy and Imagination in Shaftesbury***

Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, initially published in 1711, employs numerous literary devices. Personification, the epistolary form and the philosophical dialogue testify to the fact that fiction is a privileged mode of thinking for Shaftesbury. Moreover, as has repeatedly been observed in Shaftesbury scholarship, the literary form of the texts ties in with pivotal concepts of his philosophy, such as the moral sense. Upon closer examination, though, it turns out that the way Shaftesbury deals with fiction and imagination is a highly ambivalent one. For Shaftesbury, enthusiasm and imagination are closely interrelated concepts that have to be considered within the framework of the ancient debates of mimesis as outlined in Plato's *Politeia* and Aristotle's *Poetics*. While enthusiasm, imagination and mimesis can be said to be indispensable for human thinking, it remains that there is always a laudable and a problematic version of these terms. The deist's sublime enthusiasm corresponds to the superstition of the fanatic. It does not come as a surprise, then, that there is also a dangerous version of mimesis, which Shaftesbury terms as "mimicry" in his stoic notebooks, the *Askêmata*. To counter the effects of this vulgar version of mimesis, Shaftesbury elaborates his famous technique of soliloquy, a method of selfexamination based on the Platonic dialogues. Given that Shaftesbury understands the philosophical dialogue – following Aristotle – as a form of mimesis, he fights the dangers of mimicry with a more philosophical form of imitation, the technique of soliloquy. In my paper, I would like to examine Shaftesbury's ambiguous relationship to fiction and mimesis and consider how philosophy deals with the unpredictable potential of imagination.

**Silva, Lourenço: *Condillac's Statue: "Logic Fiction" as Image of Reality***

Condillac's *Treatise on Sensations* describes an imaginary statue which gains senses progressively. The work's aim is to analyze the formation of the objective world through the gradual organization of sensations. But it has been sometimes pointed out the apparent absurdity of Condillac's execution of his *Treatise*: it would seem paradoxical to describe the very concreteness of empirical experience through an exercise of imagination concerning an impossible statue. However, it is possible to draw a justification of this so-called *Traité's* "logic fiction" based on Condillac's early works and influences, specially on his conceptions of metaphysics, imagination and truth, on the assimilation of the newtonian method and on his recuperation of ancient rhetoric. The analysis of his *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* and the difficulties which arise from it may lead to the understanding of how this new approach may elaborate a scenario in which reality and fiction are not so well distinguishable. In a clear emphasis on a mainly rhetorical view of thought and rationality, Condillac – the "master of method" in french enlightenment – reconsiders language towards a new foundation of truth (i.e., consistency, seen as essential property of consciousness itself). As a fruitful consequence, the weak and dubious discourse, in all its expressions, is seen as a necessary means of construction of man's understanding of his own world: a logic fiction as the only possible image of reality.

**Yamaguchi, Yoko: *Genius and the association of ideas***

Hume conceives association of ideas, the prevailing idea of the eighteenth century, the "cement of the universe" in his words, as a creative principle in literary genius. However, when the principle of association is used for literary criticism, as Hume defends classical literary values, the question is how mere train of ideas can form the unity of a composition. This paper shows how both associationist Gerard and anti-associationist Reid refuted Hume's argument, stating the necessity of the power of

judgment for establishing the unity of a composition, and what Hume's answer to the problem is. In the part inserted in the third section of the 1748-1772 editions of EHU, Hume explains the unity which brings ideas under one design in genius's literary composition in terms of the principles of the association. Against his account, Reid puts an emphasis on the necessity of judgement to adapt the ideas to the design of the whole. Although Gerard pays attention to the association between an idea and the design following Hume, he also thinks assistance from judgment requisite. For Hume, however, the associating principles of resemblance, contiguity, and cause and effect are not reduced to mechanical attractions between ideas, but enable imagination seek materials actively and direct the creation of a whole work. In his theory, association is not to be restrained by judgment to have unity, but on the contrary association itself enables unity of a composition.

**S156 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)**  
**Alternative Markets and Visual Culture in Eighteenth-Century France**  
*Organizer / Chair: Heather McPherson*

**Wehn, James: *Printed Designs as Social Currency: The Etching of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier's Silver Tureens for the Duke of Kingston***

In eighteenth-century France, architects and designers found an alternative market for their decorative designs in the form of reproductive prints, which depicted plans for domestic interiors, furniture, and household items. These prints appealed to members of the aristocracy and the wealthy middle class, whose taste in decorative arts was a matter of social display and closely linked to their roles as voracious consumers of these marketable goods. Inscribed illustrations in books like Jean Mariette's multiple volume *Architecture Française* (1727-38) listed the designer's name, specified the building project, and named the patron, thereby elevating the design to a form of social currency tied to celebrity and fashion. Closely related to these book illustrations, prints produced independently by architects and designers served to promote their work with even more immediacy. The royal architect and silversmith, Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, began working with printmakers early in his career to market his decorative designs, which Gabriel Huquier later combined into a single volume. As a case study, this paper explores an etching by Huquier of Meissonnier's plan for an elaborate silver centerpiece with two tureens made for the Duke of Kingston around 1735-40. As a document of Meissonnier's realized designs or an accurate representation of his patron's commission, the etching lacks verisimilitude. Yet the composition, which cleverly situates the viewer in the imaginative space of a luxurious rococo interior, suggests the etching should be read as an alluring and entertaining advertisement.

**McPherson, Heather: *Celebrity as Currency in Late Eighteenth-Century Portraiture***

Through the lens of Jacques-Louis David's portraits of prominent women from the revolutionary and post-revolutionary era, my paper will examine how female celebrity functioned as artistic currency, contributing to the conflation of public and private identities and shifting semantics of portraiture as a culturally-engaged mode of representation in which fashion, history, and gender coalesced. David's unfinished *Portrait of Juliette Récamier* (1800; Musée du Louvre), which helped launch a new portrait type—the reclining woman on a canapé—exemplifies portraiture's close alignment with fashion and Neoclassical aesthetics. Widely renowned for her beauty and charm and the unadorned simplicity of her dress, Madame Récamier's complicated public image was an artful construction that arguably left little room for artistic reinvention. As scholars like Mary Vidal and Philippe Bordes have demonstrated, David's portraits constitute a complex socio-historical chronicle of pre- and post-revolutionary France that blurs traditional distinctions between portrait-painting and history,

challenging aesthetic hierarchies. While David's iconic history paintings have been exhaustively analyzed, his portraits, especially those of women, warrant further attention. There is every reason to believe that he envisaged his portraits as ambitious artistic statements that transcended mere likeness. David was keenly aware of the publicity value of portraiture and the aesthetic and ideological signification of costume. The Neoclassical dress in his female portraits, which was promoted by fashionistas such as Joséphine de Beauharnais and Thérèse Tallien, falls between fashion actualities and the antique ideal, echoing and reinforcing the complex dialogue between nature and artifice, the beau ideal and modern fashion. We know that David intended to exhibit Madame Récamier's portrait with the recently completed Portrait of Madame de Verninac (1799) at the Salon. Intended to hang in Madame Récamier's celebrated neo-grec apartments, her portrait would have complemented and competed with the décor and the sitter's meticulously staged performance before her acolytes.

**S157 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Old Regime War and Society - A View From Below - the Experiences of the Common Soldier**

*Organizer / Chair: Ilya Berkovich*

**Staiano-Daniels, Lucia: *Competition and Contentment in the Late-17th Century Saxon Military Community***

Concentrating on the army of Electoral Saxony, this paper argues that early-modern German soldiers regarded all interaction between equals, even friendly ones, as a kind of competition, believing that it was essential to "be able to compare themselves with" their comrades. While this prickly desire to struggle for one's due led to squabbles, often lethal ones, the community of soldiers also exerted a powerful social pressure on fighters to be content with one another and mindful of themselves. The authorities have reacted positively to these expressions of soldierly pride – even though some of its features, like duelling, ran contrary to their own stated policies. The reason for this was that, on the whole, this culture of military honour was promoting values which the military authorities considered as highly desirable. Winning respect in military milieu meant behaving in a 'manly' way - i.e. being strong and bold – and flaunting this openly. Courage thus became an accepted norm which most soldiers were to follow themselves. The desire to excel among your comrades on the field of honour, did much to release officers from the need to police their men to make them fight. The main source material on which this paper is based are trial proceedings together with their attached documents who often contain letters from officers to the elector asking for advice or adding further comments on the case. Regimental Gerichtsbücher or trial books also offers much valuable material on this subject as do surviving writings of Saxon common soldiers, which are not as few as previously believed.

**Rischke-Ness , Janine: *'Against the Standard': Crime and Criminal Behaviour in Military Court Files and Regimental Records of the Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army***

Max Weber considered the Prussian military discipline as the embodiment of general discipline. Nineteenth-century historians used to explain the Prussian military prowess through “Prussian virtues” like courage, discipline, fighting resolve and a good training during peacetime. For a long time, it was considered unthinkable that Prussian soldiers could share the same social ills as some of their contemporary civilians. Yet, eighteenth-century Prussian soldiers were guilty of the same crimes and misdemeanours: they stole, cheated, committed violence and other different sorts of crime. Early-modern court proceedings indicate great similarity between the reactions of soldiers under trial to that of their civilian counterparts. Military men often utilised similar defence strategies exhibiting sound practical understanding of the judicial process, making use of any possible exonerating or easing circumstances, with drunkenness and ignorance being particularly common. Thus, the courts martial of soldiers and officers in eighteenth-century Prussia should also be seen as a ‘hearing zone’ where many actors communicate with each other to define and regulate the understanding of crime and punishment. The early-modern court files and the records of Prussian regiments represent these diverse strategies and understandings and also the flexibility of law, which often stopped short of full punishment as soon as discipline was restored and military authority was again complied with.

**Metwally, Hassan: *'Taming the Dogs of War': Discipline and Everyday Violence in the Prussian Army of the 18th Century***

In 1975 Michel Foucault published his influential 'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison'. One of the main sources of inspiration for, in Foucault's own terms – 'modern' techniques of disciplining, was the eighteenth-century Prussian Army. Foucault's work inspired a very productive debate, in which many of Foucault's most basic assertions were criticised. Nevertheless, his portrayal of the Prussian Army usually remains unchallenged. The conventional understanding of early-modern armies and their disciplinary policies precedes Foucault, going back to the nineteenth-century. It is taken for granted that rigid control and harsh physical punishments were necessary to rule in the mob of vagabonds, beggars and petty criminals, who are said to have made up lower ranks of old-regime armies. Based on my on-going PhD thesis on violence in the eighteenth-century Prussian army, I am going to challenge this view. I will argue that the eighteenth-century Prussian Army was neither the total institution Foucault imagined it to be, nor was it particularly violent. In fact, when compared to other social spheres, the Prussian Army gave the soldiers a relatively high degree of personal freedom and also protected them against everyday violence. This hypothesis of course brings up the question, what, if not discipline, has kept men serving and fighting? Although the accepted opinion about the supposed general illiteracy of the common soldiers has been revised somewhat recent years, first-hand testimonies about daily life in old-regime armies are quite rare, and some of the better known ones, like that of Ulrich Braeker, appear to support the conventional view. For this reason I have supplemented these sources with official military regulations and the writings of early-modern military critics, which I also compared with modern research on control and violence in the civilian sphere.

**S158 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-18: Lund: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Voltaire et L'Histoire du Commerce**

*Organisateur/Président: Nicholas Cronk*

**Laudin, Gérard: *Espace baltique, espace adriatique dans les Annales de l'Empire***

L'exposé portera sur la présentation par Voltaire des activités des villes hanséatiques. Dans les "Annales de l'Empire", elles apparaissent comme un contre-modèle politique et culturel de celui des chevaliers Teutoniques, leurs contemporains. Le tertium comparationis sous-jacent est Venise.

**Meriam-Bourdet, Myrtille: *Voltaire: commerce et puissance***

Si Voltaire affirme parfois que 'le commerce est fait pour être le lien des nations, pour consoler la terre, et non pour la dévaster', l'observation qu'il fait du développement des échanges commerciaux dans ses œuvres historiques ne laisse cependant pas beaucoup de place à l'optimisme car les principes sont bien éloignés de la réalité. Non seulement l'histoire de son expansion démontre que les querelles armées furent partie prenante de celle-ci, mais les développements les plus récents des conflits européens attestent que le commerce peut être un nouveau facteur de troubles. La domination de la mer grâce aux forces navales constitue notamment le premier point d'achoppement de l'idéal associant commerce et paix. On s'attachera donc à voir comment Voltaire, dans une démarche politique, appréhende le phénomène en l'inscrivant dans une observation plus générale relative à la constitution des empires et au déplacement des sources de la puissance.

**Gil, Linda: *Le commerce des idées dans la première édition de la Correspondance de Voltaire : Voltaire, Condorcet et la République des Lettres***

La première édition posthume des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire, l'édition dite « de Kehl » présente un cas particulier dans la bibliographie des éditions voltairiennes : elle fonde une nouvelle tradition éditoriale, mettant en œuvre une série d'innovations économiques et commerciales, littéraires, intellectuelles et éditoriales. L'enjeu est une nouvelle définition de l'idée d'œuvre et d'auteur. Elle inaugure la publication de la correspondance, conçue comme un corpus à part entière, rassemblé de haute lutte par l'équipe réunie autour de Beaumarchais. Quatre mille cinq cents lettres sont ainsi sélectionnées pour leur intérêt, parce qu'elles illustrent la trajectoire intellectuelle, littéraire et personnelle de Voltaire au sein de l'espace européen et de la République des Lettres. Les notes de Condorcet, en marge du texte épistolaire, instaurent un dialogue personnel, esthétique et philosophique avec le nouveau corpus mis au jour par les éditeurs. Mais ce dialogue dépasse la relation entre l'auteur et l'éditeur, entre le maître et le disciple pour reconstituer la vie de la République des Lettres par un rappel des échanges et des polémiques dans lesquels Voltaire a été impliqué. Par ses notes, Condorcet souligne la richesse du commerce des idées que Voltaire a généré par son intense activité épistolaire, dont Condorcet souligne les enjeux tout en fondant une nouvelle tradition littéraire, dans laquelle se réinvente l'image de Voltaire. Nous souhaiterions, au cours de cette communication, réfléchir sur les enjeux de l'ensemble de ce dispositif éditorial, pensé comme un nouvel instrument de diffusion de la pensée et de l'œuvre de Voltaire.

**S159 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Luxury**

**Yeh, Tsai-ching: *South-Sea Bubble in Augustan Literature.***

This paper aims to investigate the financial crisis—the South-Sea Bubble—discussed in the literary works in the Augustan age, with the focus on the works of Daniel Defoe (1661?-1731). The occurrence of the South-Sea Bubble in 1720 and 1721 had a serious impact on the stability of English society. Critics have tried to deal with this issue in terms of political, economic, or historical perspectives; however, the neglect of the contribution of poets and novelists would lead to a partial study of this significant event. Augustan writers attempt to express their concerns for society and country in literary works, which provide the reader with a different viewpoint to perceive the adversity. Unanimously, all Defoe, Pope, and Swift condemn the irresponsibility of the government officials and the directors of the South-Sea Company, and yet it is noteworthy that they also censure the corrupted values in society, speculation in the stock market, and avarice of people. Contrary to this conservative attitude that emphasizes morality and personal virtues, their contemporary philosopher and political economist, Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) proposes in *The Fable of Bees* (1729) an ambitious opinion, regarding avarice and vanity as necessary vices to help the society improve and prosper, as private vices bring public benefits, which appears to offer a reasonable argument to the madness of the crowd. Therefore, this study hopes to construct the South-Sea Bubble event in Augustan literature, while the concept of morality will be the main theme for discussion. In addition, based on the theoretical thinking of Mandeville, this paper will try to analyze and solve the conflict among philosophical reasoning, economic proposition, and literary contemplation. Keywords: South-Sea Bubble, Defoe, Pope, Swift, Mandeville, avarice

**Damiao, Carla: *Taste: an Eighteenth Century Aesthetic, Social and Economic Category***

We present for discussion the emergence of taste as a relevant category through a philosophical, social and economic perspective. It is possible to observe how current interpretations of taste, its source being the Scottish Enlightenment in 18th-century, tend to equate taste with the development of capitalist economy, far removed from the sphere of epistemological concerns. On the one hand, there is the constitution of the category of taste as a refined perception, whose epistemological emphasis is based on morality and on a positive idea of nature. The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson developed theories closely relating taste, nature, morality and disinterest. David Hume continues the discussion, - in which Edmund Burke is also included, - in an attempt to achieve a standard of taste connected to the beautiful and to the sublime as aesthetic judgements. On the other hand, we see in the birth of this discussion an application of taste, - which is far from acquiring a disinterested status,- serving as a basis for Adam Smith's economic theory, Smith being a former student of Hutcheson. In this sense, Adam Smith's theory contained that which has recently been considered by authors who refer to the social and economic value of taste as a strong constitutive element of capitalism. Taste became a standard for superfluous commodities and a kind of artificial social sensitivity. Initially motivated by the trade in exotic or ethnographic goods, taste acquires an economic value which determined a social alienated habit. Our intention is to point out the theories on taste in the 18th century context, in order to examine the source of critical reflections of current theories on the subject.

**Pedreira de Almeida, Maria Cecília: *Le luxe et la prospérité dans la pensée de Pierre Bayle***

Dans l'Europe du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle il y avait une opinion répandue, selon laquelle certaines sectes, en particulier celle des athées ou celle des idolâtres devraient être interdites en raison de ses conséquences morales et politiques prétendument nocives. Défenseur de la tolérance, Pierre Bayle cherche à montrer que, au contraire, l'institutionnalisation de la pluralité est entièrement compatible avec le maintien de l'ordre public. La tolérance n'est pas la cause de désordre, mais une source de paix, et même de la prospérité. Bayle introduit une comparaison qui est largement utilisée tout au long du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: une société tolérante avec la diversité des croyances et des sectes peut être comparée à un marché avec une variété de produits, tous coexistant harmonieusement. C'est possible donc entrevoir dans l'œuvre de Bayle une construction qui dépasse la simple compatibilité de tolérance avec la paix publique, mais un lien entre cette notion et la prospérité, y compris l'aspect économique. Cependant, cette connexion ne se produit pas de manière directe et évidente. Contrairement à Voltaire, enthousiaste du commerce et du luxe, Bayle prend plutôt une attitude paradoxale : d'une part, il critique ceux qui condamnent le luxe pour des raisons religieuses ; de l'autre, il ne nie pas que le luxe puisse mener à la corruption morale. en effet, si l'auteur reconnaît en son temps une politesse accomplie et un degré plus élevé de civilisation, il souligne également qu'en ce qui concerne l'intolérance et la persécution, son temps n'est pas différent de l'époque les plus barbares et sauvages. Suivant cette ligne de recherche, l'intention est d'examiner comment Bayle articule les notions de tolérance, de luxe et de la vertu en montrant la double valeur que la notion de prospérité peut prendre dans sa pensée, où elle tient parfois un caractère économique et parfois un aspect moral.

**S160 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Biology, Race, and Natural History**

*Organizer / Chair: Devin Vartija*

**Carey, Brycchan: *Two views of early Caribbean ecology and slavery: the holistic Richard Ligon and the reductionist Hans Sloane***

This paper contrasts descriptions of the ecology of Caribbean islands made by two early English visitors to the region. Richard Ligon (1585? -1662) visited Barbados in the 1640s and published an account of the island a decade later which emphasized the connectedness of the natural and human environments. Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), whose visit to Jamaica in 1688 provided material for three eighteenth-century publications about the wildlife of the island, emphasized the separation between human and natural environments. This paper argues that Ligon's holistic approach allowed him to question the legitimacy of the distinctions that were drawn between free Europeans and enslaved Africans, while Sloane's reductionist approach led him into descriptions of Jamaica that both naturalized and legitimized slavery. While Ligon saw slavery as new and unnatural, Sloane saw it as timeless and natural. Ultimately, while both contributed to emerging discourses of slavery and empire, Sloane's vision became the dominant discourse of the early to mid-eighteenth century.

**Ramos, Luis: *Remapping América: Maps, Map-making and the Invention of Jesuit New World Imaginaries, 1767-1810***

This paper examines how eighteenth-century debates about the so-called degeneracy of the New World created a new regime of representation in the Americas—a regime that increasingly imagined territorial sovereignty and cultural autonomy as inextricably linked ends. Arguing that the most significant literary and cartographic works of eighteenth-century Spanish American Jesuits share similar strategies of portraying their homelands as virile national bodies and as ancient and rational geographies, I demonstrate how these strategies play a formative role in the writings of future pro-independence authors. Exiled to the Papal States by the Bourbon dynasty in its effort to administer

its colonies more efficiently, the writings of Francisco Clavijero (Mexico) and Juan Ignacio Molina (Chile) represent some of the first works of New World history and geography published by authors from the region. Coming across the works of influential European naturalists for the first time as exiled clerics in Italy, Clavijero and Molina respond to their claims by creating images of their homelands as virile and productive bodies and as ancient and rational landscapes. Far from imagining a future unencumbered by Spanish colonial rule, these authors create histories of an idealized indigenous past and cartographies of a fertile and prosperous present. Yet by reconfiguring the spatial and temporal parameters of their homelands in a narrative register that extolls their natural resources and productive capacity, their works anticipate the writings of a future generation of authors who advocate for independence against Spain on economic as well as political grounds (Miranda, Bello and Bolívar).

**S161 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Europe's Asian Exchanges : influences, Encounters, Repercussions On Knowledge Systems**

*Organizer / Chair: Florence Dsouza*

**Dsouza, Florence: *Col. Colin Mackenzie's textual transcriptions of knowledge about South Indian territories***

The Scottish colonial administrator, Colin MACKENZIE ( 1754-1821), spent some thirty-seven years in India (from 1783 till his death in 1821), during which he conducted intensive topographical surveys over nearly twenty years, first of the Nizam's domains in peninsular India (1792-1799), and then of the Mysore region (1799-1810), after the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799. Mackenzie's methods of knowledge gathering can be perceived as an example of the adaptation of British practices of sociability to field conditions in South India. For example, he deployed Western mapping and surveying techniques by triangulation, while also incorporating traditional Indian approaches to recording historical and geographical information, through his interactions with contemporary Indian scholars. Mackenzie's collections of drawings, inscriptions, historical artefacts as also his sparse survey reports published in the Calcutta journal ASIATICK RESEARCHES, were assembled with collaboration from his British and Indian colleagues, and can therefore be studied as manifestations of evolving networks of sociability in Britain 's South Indian territories.

**Jokic, Olivera: *Trading words: stories for histories in the early British Empire***

This paper will focus on academic treatments of the relationship between the presentation of historical information in India in the late eighteenth century and the textual research and scholarship undertaken among those working for the East India Company. The paper has methodological interest, and approaches the material formally. It examines how particular kinds of textual forms become forms of historical knowledge, how events from the eighteenth century get established as events through textual interpretation, and what constitutes particular kinds of style as 'legitimate' forms of reporting, now and in the eighteenth century. Looking at how legitimation emerges through processes of publication, retention in the archive, circulation among private writers who exchange information about the materials, through networks of friends, colleagues, and outsiders, the paper is ultimately concerned with the ways in which interdisciplinary scholarship depends on particular models of interpretation and attention to the text. 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 repositories of historical documentation, but also literary texts referencing colonial domains. This work suggests that there is a continuity of composition between the seemingly disparate domains of fiction and documentation, and aims to investigate how writers employed by a

colonial outfit such as the East India Company simultaneously articulated political and intellectual rationales for these now separate fields of textual interpretation.

**Vaghi, Massimiliano: *Between commerce and conquest: Franco-Anglo-Indian relations in the middle of the 18th century***

In the course of the 18th century, European trade companies radically changed the character of the administration of their territories in India. The central decade of that century, in fact, saw a change from the pioneering phase of the English and the French colonial experiences in India (16th to 17th centuries), marked by a prevailing interest for exotic goods and commodities, to a new more political phase aimed at a territorial expansion for the control of the areas most important in strategical or economical terms (and this new phase, in a global context, will reach its apex only in the second half of the 19th century). The rivalry between the two European rising powers, France and England, is called 'struggle for India'. Indeed the European conflict of 1740-1748 brought to an end the long cooperation amongst the trade companies based in the subcontinent. From the war of the Austrian Succession to the Napoleonic adventure (which put an end to any lingering French hopes to regain some influence in the region) there was increasing conflict between the English and the French trade companies and a growing interference by the European officers (the 'governors') in the internal politics of the Indian principalities, with an increasing expansion of their authority over ever wider territories to the detriment of Indian princes, resulting finally in the actual political and economic control of whole provinces. At the same time, moreover, beside the rising power of the colonial governors, the political and decision-making role of the metropolitan governments of France and England kept increasing despite the traditional autonomy of their respective trade companies in India, and despite some doubts and hesitations on the part of some cultural and political metropolitan elites.

**Valdameri, Elena: *Circulating Ideas in a Colonial Context: the Indian Case (Late 18<sup>th</sup> century – 19<sup>th</sup> century)***

In India, liberalism represented a remarkable phenomenon, being the intellectual field in which the theory of the nation grew. The ideas of the French Revolution and of the British - but not only British - liberal thinkers reached the subcontinent through colonialism and following the familiarisation of the learned Indians with the English language, especially in those regions, such as Bengal and Maharashtra, which were culturally liveliest. Nonetheless, the historiography on India has not paid a great deal of attention to the history of political thought. As a matter of fact, in a scholarly context still characterised by an Asian-centric stand, the history of the ideas has been left aside, because its study would imply to see colonialism as a process of "East" - "West" exchange, with ideas moving freely in the space of the Empire and used according to the needs of the colonial context. A fortiori liberalism is generally dismissed as the core ideology of imperialism, as something cunningly concealing the real nature of the British *Raj*. Only of late, the importance of the history of political thought has surfaced in some seminal works. This new historiographical trend has a considerable weight in the academic panorama, because it is gradually filling a gap, is promoting new historical analyses and, thanks to a new emphasis given to the cultural exchanges existing within the imperial space, is shortening the distance between 'centre' and 'periphery' and overcoming the simplistic dichotomy between colonised and colonizer and between "East" and "West". This paper draws on this recent effort and wants to show that Indian liberalism, adapted to a situation utterly different from the European one, became a powerful intellectual tool in the struggle against the British rule and advocated freedom and equality better than British liberalism did.

**S162 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)**

**Worlding the Eighteenth Century**

*Organizer / Chair: David Porter*

**Aravamudan, Srinivas: "The Eighteenth Century After the Anthropocene"**

What is the impact of climate change on 18th-century studies? Climate change is a phenomenon that has been discovered in the past half-century. The eighteenth century spoke about climate, and even climate change, but not in the way that we perceive it. We are also bothered with the question of species extinction, which is a post-Darwinian problematic. Therefore, climate change and species extinction don't exist for the eighteenth century. However, what if climate change is not strictly explicable by 18th-century terms but is at war with snuffing out the "myth" of progress? Climate change is a sign of determinist thinking where the human had emerged from his immaturity and stretched out toward the long horizon of futurity. Now we are being told that we are not entitled to that future. That earth science knows better. And that we are consigned to the flames of secular hell, or call it global warming, rising tides, and desertification. The future is increasingly catachronistic, catching up with the present, and propelling the history of the human backwards from its projected inglorious end. Necrophiliac history, the opposite of everything that the eighteenth century could be said to stand for. It's time to man the barricades, as this kind of futurity is a fool's errand that will cut our throats and give it to us as change for the asking. There is no history other than that we can make. And the future, to be the future, is radically open. Otherwise, is there, any point to studying the eighteenth century any more?

**Dobie, Madeleine: *Chronologies, Geographies and the Thousand and one Nights***

Arguments for the "long 18th century" have rejected century breaks as arbitrary historical cut-offs, calling instead for periodization that is better attuned to political, social, economic and cultural transitions. But the "long 18th century" itself raises certain questions. Affiliated with the narrative of the 'rise of the nation state' and the construct of 'European history' it is less observant of global history and the dynamics of empire. It may, indeed, have the effect of reinforcing the organization of historical and literary scholarship around national and regional units. But it is possible to imagine alternative modes of re-periodization grounded in 'trans-national' and 'global' perspectives: modes of historical scholarship that are chronotopic or indeed multichronotopic. Certain objects of historical study demand this kind of approach and may offer models for a wider rethinking of chronological and geographical divisions. This paper considers a prominent case, that of the *Thousand and one Nights*, a corpus of texts whose very identity is not only cross-regional (as is widely known and acknowledged), but also trans-historical. The first part of this paper considers the *Nights* as a phenomenon that challenges national, regional and linguistic divisions as well as historically-based cultural delineations such as 'rococo' or 'Enlightenment,' and which, as Srinivas Aravamudan has shown, resists the pull of literary-historical teleology. The second half examines the *Nights* in light of a 'very long' and indeed still ongoing eighteenth century, considers how adaptations and rewritings of the *Nights* by contemporary writers from the Middle East and North Africa, for example Salim Bachi and Hanan al-Shaykh, engage the cultural history of East-West relations and European orientalism. I also consider the implications of examining the *Nights* through the lens of 'world' literature, a concept that originated in the eighteenth century and which has been revisited by contemporary scholars. I argue that this conceptual model, notably as defined by David Damrosch, implies not only the circulation of texts across space but also an historical unfolding: the reception, translation and transmission of literary objects over time.

**Postel, Philippe: *Novel and sentimentalism in Europe and China (XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries)***

Among the values promoted by European as well as Chinese classical novels, “sentiment” seems to be the most representative. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* in France, *The Story of the Stone* (Dream of the Red Chamber, *Honglou meng*) in China are often considered as epitomizing the ideological promotion of heart feelings in the novel. Literary criticism, then, will technically formulate two subgenres of the novel—roman sentimental, *renqing xiaoshuo* —, which refers to this social and moral value. Besides, those two monumental novels are clearly connected with many novels, rather disregarded by traditional criticism, and yet promoting as well the value of sentiment. The paper will examine the real state of what seems an ideological convergence between Chinese and European novels in XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, as well as the historical and philosophical conditions which could have made this convergence possible.

**Porter, David: *Comparison and Cosmopolitanism***

This paper will offer a series of methodological reflections on the usefulness and pitfalls of comparative methodologies in leveraging commonalities among disparate literary traditions in the eighteenth-century in the service of attempts to “world” or render more capacious our traditional conceptions of the period.

**S163 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)**

**Travels and Transformations of the Portrait Genre**

*Organizer / chair: Lieke van Deinsen*

**Cicmil, Milica: *Portraits of the Poetess from Academy of Arcadia in Rome in the 18th Century***

In accordance with the cultural tendencies of Grand Tour, eighteenth-century Rome had many pillars of culture, including the prominent literary Academy of Arcadia, the first Italian academy to admit women. This headquarters of intellect and art was a place where portraits of the most prominent Arcads had been gathered and preserved from the second half of the eighteenth century. Those are not only a visual memory of the poets, but also a testimony of visual identity of the individuals, group and entire cultural institution. The female portraits represent independent professional poetesses who contributed to the shaping of Italian Enlightenment. Among them are portraits of Faustina Maratti Zappi (Aglauro Cidonia), Marilli Etrusca, Fidalma Partenide and Giacinta Orsini, made by some of the most important painters of the time, such as Pompeo Batoni and Angelika Kauffmann. Today, some of them are exposed as part of the gallery of portraits in Biblioteca Angelica, the seat of today’s Academy. Others belong to Museum of Rome in Palazzo Braschi. Unfortunately, only a few are exposed to the public.

**Masse, Isabelle: *Mediating through Visual Form: Louis Tocqué’s Queenly Portraits in France, Russia and Denmark***

From 1756 to 1759, the French portraitist Louis Tocqué (1696-1772) undertook a journey that led him to the courts of Saint Petersburg and Copenhagen. In the wake of this journey, the artist left portraits of dignitaries, aristocrats and members of the Russian and Danish royal families, including the formal portraits of Empress Elisabeth of Russia (1758) and Juliane-Marie, Queen of Denmark and Norway (1762). These two monumental compositions are strikingly similar to a portrait of Marie Leszczyńska, Queen of France, painted by the artist two decades earlier (1740). Not only do they share most of the codes and conventions characteristic of royal effigies, but more significantly, they replicate the painting’s formal organization. Three highly standardised images of sovereigns thus circulate between the French, Russian and Danish courts. This paper explores the links forged between Tocqué’s portraits, concentrating specifically on the pictures’ visual structure. It focuses on

the impact of the cross-European migration of representation modes. Its aim is to rethink the mediating function of portraiture which is commonly associated in the literature with travelling objects. In the case of Tocqué's paintings, the mediation operates less through the material artworks themselves, which as it happens are difficult to move, than through the dissemination across Europe of a visual and formal composition. In this light, the paper will examine how the three portraits bridge by visual means different political and cultural contexts and how they tend to smooth out the national distinctions between France, Russia and Denmark.

**Wozniak, Katarzyna: *Leonardo da Vinci. Lady with an Ermine & La Bella Principessa. 1798-1802.***

This paper presents the entwined fortunes of two female portraits by Leonardo da Vinci - Lady with an Ermine and La Bella Principessa - between 1798 and 1802. Lady with an Ermine arrived in Pulawy, Poland, at the court of countess Izabela Czartoryska, between 1798 and 1800. On the other hand, the crucial rebinding of the Polish copy of La Sforziada and, according to Prof. Martin Kemp, parallel excision of the Portrait of a Young Fiancée, took place at the turn of the 18th and 19th century. As my recently published paper by The Leonardo da Vinci Society describes in detail [\*], Czartoryskis and Zamoyskis, (who owned Sforziad from the beginning of the 17th century), were very closely related. In 1798 Stanislaw Zamoyski, owner of the library to which this incunabulum belonged, married Zofia Czartoryska, beloved daughter of Izabela, founder of the first Polish museum. They not only supported each other's passions for collecting of precious artifacts, but extensively searched for them on the local and European art markets, and, sometimes, exchanged them... In my paper I would like to focus on the "women by Leonardo", as quoted in a diary by a close family friend of Izabela Czartoryska and the house of Princes Czartoryski. \* This paper will appear in less than a month from today - 12.01.2015.

**S164(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)**

**The Danube, the Black Sea and the Levante as Colonial Area in the Long 18th Century (I)**

*Organizer / Chair: Harald Heppner, Olga Katsiardi-Hering*

**Laiou, Sophia: *The Ottomans and the Black Sea Trade at the End of the 18th and Beginning of the 19th Century***

The provision of Istanbul with food supplies such as meat, dairy products and grain, from the Danubian Principalities and –generally- the Black Sea was one of the most important priorities of the Ottoman state in the period under discussion. To this end, the system of the kapan merchants and ship-owners was established, in order to regularize under the state control the purchase, transfer and distribution of the food supplies to the members of the Ottoman guilds. Thus, the kapan group was a closely controlled by the Ottoman state group of mostly Muslim entrepreneurs, who consistently negotiated with the Ottoman state for the conditions of their trade and in which some non-Muslim entrepreneurs also participated. In addition, in the provision of the Ottoman capital other Muslim and non-Muslim merchants and entrepreneurs also participated, who, however, were not part of the kapan system. The paper is based on two Ottoman registers of 1792/3 and 1802/3 respectively, which describe the provision of Istanbul from the western coasts of the Black Sea. They include the names of the merchants-cum-shipowners, their partners, the amounts of the food supplies as well as their value. The entrepreneurs are members of the kapan group as well as "free-lancers", who invested in the Black Sea trade. Some of the issues that will be discussed refer to the extent of the state's intervention in this trade as well as the entrepreneurial networks that were formed extending from the Ottoman capital to the eastern Balkans.

**Harlaftis, Gelina: *The formation of entrepreneurial networks from the New Russian port-cities linking the Black Sea with western Europe (1780s-1820s)***

From the last third of the 18th century to the 19th century the Black Sea coastal line witnessed an unprecedented commercial revolution as it was transformed to an international market with western European linkages. By the end of the 19th century, the region became world's leading grain-exporting area and triggered development and convergence of regional markets with the western European economy. All the port cities planned by Russian politicians were filled by entrepreneurial immigrants of ethnic minorities from central and southeastern Europe. Among them, Greeks became one of the most prominent entrepreneurial groups of trading companies involved in the external trade not only of the South of Russia but of the whole Russian Empire. They formed a widespread entrepreneurial network which was strengthened during the last third of the 18th century, when the political and economic conjuncture in the European countries and the Ottoman Empire transformed the Greeks of the Ionian and the Aegean Islands into the main sea carriers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Neutrals in the Anglo-French rivalry during the Napoleonic Wars, the Greeks formed a substantial fleet of about 800 sailing ships and undertook the export trade of the Ottoman Empire and the Black Sea, carrying primarily grain westwards. This was a critical turning point that led to the accumulation of capital and business know-how, and further more to the exit from the Eastern Mediterranean into the international markets and the consolidation of a worldwide entrepreneurial network.

The aim of this paper is to chart the formation of the networks of Greek merchants and indicate the way they integrated the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea markets to the West connecting the local-regional to the international.

**Kontogeorgis, Dimitrios: *Adapting to a new environment or not? Balkan Orthodox Merchants of Hermannstadt/Sibiu and Kronstadt/Braşov and the "opening" of the Danube during the early 19th century***

Since the mid 16th century, in the autonomous Transylvanian Principality, and during the 18th century, in the Habsburg Monarchy, the Greek Orthodox merchants of the southern Transylvanian cities Hermannstadt/Sibiu and Kronstadt/Braşov constituted an indispensable factor for the promotion of international and regional trade. Despite the fierce competition of the local Saxon traders, they kept under their control an important part of the overland "oriental goods" commerce, thanks, to a large degree to the granting of substantial privileges both by the Transylvanian Princes (Georg Rákóczi I and Michael Apafi) and the Habsburg Emperors (Leopold I, Maria Theresa). These merchants, usually Ottoman subjects and originated mainly from Macedonia, Thrace and Bulgaria, maintained close relations with their coreligionists south of the Danube, and forged extended networks. They participated in the founding and administration of special, self governed, associations, the "Compagnie" of Hermannstadt/Sibiu (1639) and Kronstadt/Braşov (1678), which acted not as commercial enterprises but as professional organizations, with wide range juridical, fiscal and representative functions. The well established position of the Balkan merchants faced increasing pressure during the last quarter of the 18th century. The systematic policy of the Habsburg authorities in favor merchants who were Austrian subjects was instrumental in the creation of a dynamic stratum of "native" traders, often descendants of Balkan immigrants. Furthermore, the efforts of the Habsburg policy makers to promote, through the Danube, fluvial trade and navigation culminated in the 1784 Sened and the decisions of the Vienna Congress (1814-1815), challenging the until then dominant position of large scale land trade and threatening the position of the Balkan Orthodox mercantile elites of Sibiu and Braşov. The presentation aims therefore to explore the various responses to the changing economic environment and the different institutional framework not only of the Greek "Compagnie" but also of individual commercial houses.

**Ardeleanu, Constantin: *“The Danubian ports in the second half of the 18th century. Between requisition and free commerce”***

Starting with mid 18th century, the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, autonomous states under Ottoman domination, witnessed a gradual, yet slow process of political, economic and cultural development. However, their growth was obstructed by the Porte’s “relative” monopoly over the Principalities’ foreign trade, meaning a limitation of their ability to trade their products freely, at market prices. Wallachia and Moldavia were compelled to supply large quantities of grain (mainly wheat and barley), livestock (sheep), animal fat, butter, pressed cheese, honey, wax, timber, salt-peter, etc. for the needs of the Ottoman army, of the Turkish Danubian strongholds and of the Constantinopolitan market, either free or at fixed prices much under the real value of the merchandise. Besides the restrictive trade in the products requisitioned by the Porte, Moldavia and Wallachia were also engaged, in the last quarter of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century, in continuously increasing free commercial exchanges with the Ottoman Empire and other partners (Austria in the first place). The main categories of freely exported merchandise were live animals and animal products, technical plants, worked textiles, raw and worked hides, salt, etc., whereas the main imports were represented by textiles, fruit and luxury goods, as the modernization and westernization of Romanian society enhanced the demand of these products. This paper will focus on how the trade of the Danubian port of Galați evolved during this period (second half of the 18th century, up to 1829), and how the neighbouring Turkish citadel of Brăila also acted as the loading port of the provisions sent to the market of Constantinople.

**S164(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-08: Leuven: Van Der Goot Building)**

**The Danube, the Black Sea and the Levante as Colonial Area in the Long 18th Century (II)**

*Organizer / Chair: Harald Heppner*

**Parvev, Ivan: *Economic aspects of Habsburg Balkan policy, 1683-1791***

The paper examines what was the driving force behind Habsburg foreign policy in South-Eastern Europe between the second Siege of Vienna (1683) and the Peace of Sistova (1791). Did reasons connected to state security prevail? Or maybe the struggle for aggrandizement of the Habsburg realm did come first? Or maybe it was something else. It is a well known fact, that the last Early Modern decades witnessed the rising popularity of mercantilist and cameralist ideas in the Holy Roman Empire. But do the works and ideas of authors like Hornick, Justi, Sonnefels etc. influenced Habsburg Balkan policy during all these years? If we examine the Austrian stand toward the Balkans, no matter if it was the Ottoman or the Habsburg part, we can easily find out, if the cameralist ideas were fully or partly adapted or rather ignored by the decision makers at the Vienna court.

**Baramova, Maria: *Austria Est Imperare Omni Danubio. Habsburg Trade in the Lower Danube as a public discourse, 1718-1756***

Till the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) the relations between Vienna and the Sublime Porte were dominated primarily by the questions of war and peace. With the signing of the Treaty of commerce between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire in 1718 new elements came up in bilateral contacts – that of trade and economy. The aim of the paper is to examine how the public in the Habsburg Monarchy perceived these new elements. Were the benefits of developing trade and commercial contacts with the Turks, the Balkans and the Danubian Principalities, regarded as something positive at all? Or were they still ignored, remaining in the shadow of the military confrontation between the two states? The paper will focus on three case studies – the perception of

the Austrian-Turkish treaty of commerce signed in 1718, the activity of “Imperial Privileged Oriental Company“ („Kaiserliche privilegierte orientalische Kompagnie“) in the early 1720-s and the public reaction to the commercial agreement, accompanying the Habsburg-Ottoman convention of 1747, which transformed the Peace of Belgrade (1739) from a truce with fixed duration of years into a treaty with no such limitation. The sources of this study are the Austrian newspapers from the years 1718-1756, i.e. from Passarowitz to the outbreak of the Seven Years War, as well as some popular works from that period dedicated to trade and commerce in the Lower Danube area.

**Djordjevic, Milos and Miljkovic, Ema: *Neoacquistica-Lands as Border Provinces. State Measures for Economic Development***

The subject of this paper will primarily be regarding conditions in which business activities were carried out at the border areas between the Habsburg monarchy and Ottoman Empire, which included the newly occupied territories of the Habsburg monarchy following the Vienna War (1683-1699) and the war 1716-1718. The consequences of these wars were in certain extent always visible on the ground – the desolation of territory, destroyed fortresses, burnt villages, lack of food and starvation, diseases. The cross-border trade of goods, accompanied by migrations, prompted the Habsburg monarchy to create a more effective system of border control. Creation of a sanitary cordon at the border with the Ottoman Empire, and the organisation of customs services in general, assumed ever more advanced methods. On the basis of the reports and protocols of border agencies it is possible to analyse the scale of trade, the status of tradesmen on both sides of the border, as well as the actions of customs employees in a variety of situations. Factors such as plague epidemic, and the privileged position of trading companies, also played an important role in the economic life of border provinces. The way government institutions operated, as well as the commerce of the Imperial Privileged Oriental Company in the Neoacquistica-Lands, was governed by special legal policies. The West European populace inhabiting places along the banks of Danube and Sava had, amongst other, a goal to advance the economic life in Neoacquistica-Lands, but also to include the local population into the contemporary business processes. Following the Austro-Turkish war from 1737-1739 a shifting of border between the two empires occurred, which brought about new migrations of people and new social relations in the border territories.

**Luca, Christian: *The emergence of Triestine merchants and of other Italians as Austrian subjects in the maritime trade in the Black Sea and at the Lower Danube (1750–1797)***

Even before the opening of the Black Sea for the international trade and shipping by the effects of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), several Triestine merchants and other Italians as Austrian subjects managed to get access to the raw materials and grain coming from the markets of the Romanian Principalities and the northern Black Sea area. It was the case of Triestine merchant Jovo Kurtović, followed after 1774 by his townsmen (now using ships under Russian or Austrian flag) Giovanni Andrea Flantini, Pietro Pace and Giorgio Saraff, but also by Nicolò Sirolla from Fiume. Starting with the 1780s, Triestine merchants and other Italians as Austrian subjects were involved in trading raw materials and especially grain exported towards destinations from the Italian Peninsula (Trieste, Fiume, Genoa, Naples, Venice) through the ports from the mouths of the Danube and Novorossiya, then in full economic development. The commercial company of the Italians Austrian subjects Domenico Dellazia (Della Zia) and Andrea Brighenti was among the most important actors in the grain trade of the Black Sea ports. Other Italian Austrian subjects were also involved in trading grain and raw materials coming from Russia and the Romanian Principalities: Francesco Martiniz, Giovanni Battista Olivieri, Nicolò Nicolich, Giovanni Vassallo, a certain Fabri.

**S165 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Economie(S) de la Collection Naturaliste au XVIIIe Siècle.**

*Organisatrice/Président: Simona Boscani Leoni*

**Baumgartner, Sarah: *The Zurich Physical Society's collections***

The 18th century saw a tremendous increase of natural history collections. Learned institutions, as – for example – the Zurich Physical Society (Physicalische Gesellschaft Zürich), played an important role in this development. This scientific association possessed, besides its natural history collection, a library and a collection of scientific instruments. Established in 1746, it arranged its collections not as a cabinet of curiosities; rather, they are early examples of the emerging ‘scientific’ collections. Signs for that are the separation of different types of objects and the organisation of its natural history components according to the novel classification systems, notably the Linnean. Based on an examination of the association’s archives, as catalogues, bills and minutes, this paper aims to reveal the actors, practices and value systems that influenced these collections’ developments. They were in many aspects comparable to market-like exchange practices, even when money was not always involved. Under such circumstances, a society, with its gathered means, had better prospects than an individual did – and therefore, it played an important role in providing its members with otherwise not obtainable books or instruments. A considerable share of the collectibles were donations from individuals. One of the most important motives for bestowing this sort of gifts was the gain of social capital. The objects had a certain significance in the contemporary scientific discourse, but they also were marketable commodities. When achieving natural history objects, instruments or books by purchase, the monetary price had to be weighed up with their scientific value. The funds credited to different types of science-related objects represent an indicator for the importance the society attributed to them.

**Knittel, Meike: *Useful and costly? Plant exchange in the network of Johannes Gessner***

This talk explores the late-eighteenth century European market in natural history objects through the lens of the herbarium gathered together by the Zurich naturalist Johannes Gessner (1709-1790). Gessner compiled a 37-volume herbarium premised upon his own travels as well as an extensive correspondence network. His far-reaching contacts played a crucial role in the establishment of the Zurich botanical garden from 1748 onwards. Historians of botany have often emphasized the role of sociability and friendship in 18th-century learned networks, but the commercial aspects of plant exchange remain little understood. Based on a wide range of sources - from the bills of the Botanical Garden to Gessner's correspondence - this paper in particular examines the exchange of plants, since, according to Appadurai, it is during the exchange process the value is attributed to the object. Therefore, it asks who supplied Gessner with seeds as well as dried and living plants and what these men and women received in return. Focusing on the often-forgotten economic side of the collecting and exchange of plants, it seeks to contribute to our understanding of the currencies exchanged between eighteenth-century commercial and scientific agents around the world.

**Marrache-Gouraud, Myriam: *Ce qui est à voir, ce qui est à vendre : commerce ou exposition de merveilles ? Le cas des catalogues de Nicolas Chevalier (1685-1721)***

Différentes études ont déjà établi que Nicolas Chevalier, d'Amsterdam à Utrecht, fabriquait lui-même des médailles qu'il vendait ou intégrait à sa collection. Mais d'autres objets de sa collection sont sans doute aussi à vendre, notamment des naturalia. La lecture des catalogues qu'il a successivement rédigés de sa collection révèle en effet que parmi l'inventaire des merveilles se trouvent, très discrètement évoqués, certains objets qui ne sont destinés qu'à être vendus. Ainsi, le catalogue imprimé répond-il en fait à des objectifs croisés qui visent à attirer le visiteur pour en faire un client potentiel. L'écriture s'en ressent : nous voudrions ici non seulement établir quels sont les objets à vendre, mais aussi étudier les modalités de cette rhétorique de séduction de manière à démasquer le discours commercial du collectionneur sous ses apparences scientifiques.

**Ruvolo , Francesco: «*Farà d'uopo mandarlo in Sicilia.. onde vegga Stromboli*». *Travel naturalistic, collections and trade of natural objects Sicily in the eighteenth century . With unpublished documents***

The paper analyzes -with new documents- trips nature in Sicily of the eighteenth century , with particular depth to the market and the market of naturalistic objects cher had as end users collectors applicants . The objects could be natural shells , stones , minerals , insects , plants or objects " for Extraordinary " . el contribution will also be presenting tables and figures relating to collections Sicilian and not containing naturalistic objects sourced island , and if possible their feedback to date in the various current and science museums . Think of the remarkable collections of shells and fossils from Sicily , Calabria and Messina Agostino Scilla of Malta (1629-1700) , painter and naturalist who worked in Rome and dispersed after death ; or the magnificent book Pamphyton Siculum . , Francesco Cupani ( Mirto therein 1657- 1710) published posthumously in Palermo in 1713. It is a collection , in three volumes, prints reproducing plants, insects, birds, etc . illustrative of a " natural history of Sicily " , covering the fields of zoology , botany and mineralogy . The mention of the title recalls the collection of John Targioni Tozzetti and recall of the Aeolian Islands and Stromboli after travel and books among others- Spallanzani and Dolomieu .

**S166 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M1-19: Athene: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Le Penser de Voltaire**

*Organisateur/Président: Maria Klimova*

**Pedro Miguel, Santos: *Voltaire: Histoire et Critique Philosophique***

La théologie essaie de faire un repetoire et une systematisation ce que la révélation et la foi apportent au croyant sur le problème du sens de l'histoire, du pèlerinage au cours du temps de l'humanité vue dans son ensemble. Ainsi, le discours théologique met en relief pas seulement la connaissance, mais encore l'état spirituel de bonheur vers lequel l'humanité doit monter avant la fin de la vie sur la terre. Les hommes modernes n'acceptent pas l'avis théologique et ils ont l'ambition de descentrer l'histoire traditionnellement conduite dans une vision christocentrique du monde. L'historien exempté de la faction prend le discours rationel sur la trajectoire humaine d'après un nouveau noyau référenciel interpretatif, c'est à dire, l'idée de humanité. Voltaire se croît un représentant légitime de cette perspective. L'histoire dans optique voltairienne se pose comme problème et pas comme dogmatique qui a les caratéristiques d'une acquisition définitive. Le problème historique c'est de comprendre le monde actuel et l'humanité qu'il comporte. L'objectif de ce travail est, donc, de présenter la proposition théologique pour l'histoire et la critique de l'approche moderne du phénomène historique.

**Menezes, Edmilson: *Histoire et progrès : Voltaire lecteur de Pascal***

Pascal et Voltaire semblent admettre un même principe : il ya chez l'homme un centre référentiel qui est sujet aux changements. Cependant, la forme dont ils développeront ce point implique deux conceptions distinctes de progrès. en effet, la modernité caractérisera leur idée de progrès à partir de deux axes : le progrès technico-scientifique et le progrès moral. Ce qui divise les penseurs de la période réside dans la relation qui existe ou non entre ces deux manifestations du progrès. Pour Pascal, la marche du temps est ascendante sur le plan de la connaissance expérimentale du monde créée. L'histoire valide se confond avec les degrés du savoir physico - mathématiques. Néanmoins, l'homme doit être vu, primordialement, dans la confrontation de ses risques surnaturels, et il ne se résume, en aucune façon, au plan du progrès et de la connaissance scientifique, en revanche, ces défauts équivalent aux clés interprétatives qui élucident les incohérences et les erreurs dont le progrès scientifique se voit souvent menacé. Selon Voltaire, il est intéressant de connaître le mieux possible les coutumes des hommes et les révolutions de l'esprit humain, de telle sorte que nous puissions en extraire les éléments capables de prouver, dans l'histoire, que nous progressons vers le bonheur et le bien-être des peuples. Selon ce qui peut être vu, une ambivalence s'installe, de manière radicale et frappante, dans l'idée même de progrès, ainsi nous trouvons un cadre important à fins d'évaluer l'histoire comme un problème posé philosophiquement. Par conséquent, l'objectif de ce travail est de présenter les deux réflexions sur le progrès et mettre en relief la manière dont la structure de la philosophie de l'histoire voltairienne est redevable, en grande partie, d' une lecture attentive des questions posées par Pascal au XVIIIe et sa défiance au immanent comme critère phare de l'histoire humaine.

**Bedê, Ana Luiza Reis: *"Vous êtes lévite, laissez-moi être Samaritain": l'idée de vertu chez Voltaire***

Dans le Dictionnaire philosophique émerge l'idée de la vertu comme bienfaisance en dépit des notions de la vertu prêchées par la religion chétienne. Voltaire non seulement défendait l'importance de la sociabilité liée à la vertu, mais lui-même a lutté contre l'injustice dans les célèbres affaires judiciaires à partir de 1762. De cette façon, il a manifesté la consonance entre « écrire » et « agir ». Dans cette communication, nous analyserons la lettre datée du 1er mars 1765 adressée à Damilaville, où une partie de l'argumentation de Voltaire reste tributaire du Nouveau Testament. Le patriarche de Ferney, auteur des critiques caustiques contre les Écritures, emploie, néanmoins, la parabole du Bon Samaritain à fin d'explicitier la haute mission du philosophe.

**S167 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-10: Rochester: Van Der Goot Building)**

**French Political Economy**

*Chair: Michael Mosher*

**Chottin, Marion: *Turgot et le rôle des "idées sensibles" dans la distinction des catégories sociales***

Il s'agit d'étudier comment, sur le fond d'une anthropologie unifiée d'après laquelle tous les hommes ont "le goût de la propriété", Turgot parvient à décrire la genèse des différentes catégories sociales en ayant recours à la variété des "idées sensibles", relative au contexte de production. Nous découvrons ainsi que Turgot mobilise l'empirisme des Lumières pour fonder la diversité sociale des comportements économiques.

**Laffont, Jean-Luc: *La police des subsistances au quotidien dans les villes de la France méridionale au XIIIe siècle (vers 1690-1790)***

Située à la croisée de nombreux chantiers historiographiques (l'histoire économique, sociale, urbaine, voire culturelle, mais aussi du commerce, des métiers, de l'alimentation/de la consommation, de la démographie, de la circulation, etc.), la question des subsistances et ses multiples et diverses composantes n'en présente pas moins une profonde cohérence dès lors qu'on se situe au niveau des municipalités qui, en vertu de leur omnipotence en fait de police, en avaient la charge. C'est donc à travers ce prisme municipal, en se fondant plus particulièrement sur la production réglementaire de consulats méridionaux (laquelle était peu développée à l'époque moderne mais avait tendance à augmenter au siècle des Lumières) qu'on se situera. Il sera alors intéressant de voir la place qu'y tiennent les subsistances, et ce faisant quels étaient les secteurs privilégiés par les édiles. On pourra alors tenter de discerner d'éventuelles évolutions selon les domaines de la police des subsistances, dans le temps, mais aussi dans l'espace. Pour ce faire, l'on considèrera des villes de différentes importances permettant d'embrasser toute la gamme de la hiérarchie urbaine, de la capitale provinciale (Toulouse), à la métropole régionale (Auch, Pamiers, Perpignan) jusqu'au chef-lieu de châtellenie (l'Isle-en-Dodon, Muret, Samatan).

**S168 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Colonial Subjects and / as Agents**

*Organizer / Chair: Dorothee Sturkenboom*

**Silva, Luiz Geraldo: *African descent and change of status in Brazil: changes in the petitions of the pardos throughout the eighteenth century.***

Throughout the eighteenth century significant changes were operated in the discourses of the African descents called pardos about their hierarchical position in the Portuguese America. Through petitions that requested letters patent, remuneration for services rendered, honors, and privileges, the pardos introduced new concepts in the field of discourse, which tried to circumvent the color prejudice and to require their assimilation those which are born honored and without blemish. Part of these new categories was the result of transformations operated in the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century. However, the laws issued by Marquis of Pombal after 1760 were also decisive to create that discursive field in the Portuguese Atlantic world. This communication, therefore, proposes that such petitions reflected, on the one hand, a significant change in the use of certain categories by the pardos as a result of those laws and, on the other hand, that this change was not political, but only aspired the possibility to change their position of the outsiders to the established under the Old Regime.

**Daniels, Charlotte: *Turning the tables: Rethinking the slave-trading négociant.***

In her 2000 article, Susan Buck-Morss pointed to Simon Schama's work on the early republic of Holland, *An Embarrassment of Riches*, as a model of both the virtues and the limits of cultural history. She showed that Schama's account of the circulation of luxury objects ranging from books to delftware, while fascinating and complex, completely overlooked a central role played by slavery and the slave trade. Cultural history has ever since been grappling with Buck-Morss' (and others') call to action. My paper will be chapter of a broader book-length project, *Race, the Slave Trade and the Modern Invention of the Self*, under contract with Columbia University Press. It takes as a point of departure the study of *négociants* living in the Atlantic-coast cities of Nantes and La Rochelle, all of whom were unquestionably at the forefront of what Robert Darnton once called the "reading revolution" of eighteenth-century France. While the memoirs and letters of these men (and a few women) provide invaluable perspectives on slaving in the creation of modern conceptions of the self—modern, free and independent—these documents provide only the most minimal data on the experience of the traded "commodity," the slaves themselves. In these narratives, the slaves remain ever an object and never an agent. How are we, as 21st century scholars, to avoid re-enacting this exclusion in our own accounts of the era? This paper, benefitting from the explosion of fresh research on the history of Saint Domingue and the early nation of Haïti, takes on this challenge.

**van Tilburg, Marja: *The Forsters In the South Seas: Creating Identities in Cross-cultural, Historical Contexts***

Father and son Forster were employed as respectively botanist and drawer on Cook's second expedition to the Pacific (1772-1775). Each published an extensive account of the voyage – presenting a distinct view of the peoples met on the way. These differences have been related, so far, to age or to personality. This paper presents a poststructuralist textual analysis of their travelogues showing the explorers noticing different signs and drawing on different currents within Enlightenment thought to make sense of them. The analysis focuses on the respective representations of indigenous women's sexual behaviour. It shows father and son having different perceptions of 'femininity' as well as 'civilization'. Moreover, it shows father and son identifying with opposite sides of the late-Enlightenment debate regarding women's 'nature' and its implications – in particular if women should they live their lives in accordance with their reproductive function. More importantly, the analysis makes apparent that Forster Sr. is occupied with establishing order – at least on paper –, while Forster Jr. tries to take cultural diversity in stride and make sense of events – distinguishing between relatively 'civilised' and more 'savage' peoples and developing a novel take on the traditional European dichotomy between 'good' and 'bad' women.

**S169 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: M3-04: Auckland: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Construction and Overcoming New Borders in Early Modern Times – Cutting Through Economic, Cultural and Legal Entities in Eighteenth Century East Central Europe**

*Organizer / Chair: Elisabeth Lobenwein*

**Maegraith, Janine Christina: *Borders for Disease: Cordon Sanitaire and Medical Regulations in Austrian Silesia after 1742***

Medical and sanitary regulation played an important role in eighteenth century politics in Habsburg territory. Based on the mercantilist idea that state power depended to a large extent on the size of the population, public health provisions were put into place to protect the population from infectious diseases from across the borders. A well-known example is the cordon sanitaire along the Habsburg's territorial border with the Ottoman Empire to contain the plague. After the new border in Silesia between Prussia and Austria was established, public health was consequently a main concern of the authorities. In this paper I look at two aspects of the changes in the medical regulation in Austrian Silesia after 1742. First is the control of and protection from infectious diseases within the border region. Here the regional physicians played a crucial role in reporting and containing any infections in the region, mediating between the affected citizens and the authorities. And second, the establishment of the cordon sanitaire which rendered the political border also into a medical barrier and had huge implications on interactions across it. By looking at specific case studies, I will investigate the changes these measures had for the local people and how they responded to this containment of their mobility and how mercantilist objectives shaped a new border region.

**Čapská, Veronika: *Bohemian Lands as a Space of Translation Flows in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries***

In my paper I will explore Silesia from the perspectives of book culture and circulation. I will focus on three case studies and examine how publication and book circulation were affected by the division of Silesia in 1742. I will look at the Silesian metropolis Wrocław/Breslau in which the only university in Silesia, Leopoldina (since 1702), and its printing office (since ca 1726) were key forces in shaping the book culture and circulation in the eighteenth century. My second example will be the Upper Silesian town of Opava which seems to have shared significant features with Vienna with respect to the popularity of printing piracy and the strong role of the nobility in book subscriptions. As a third case I will discuss a major centre of Pietist book printing in the Brandenburg town of Halle from which books were distributed to Silesia and via Silesia to other lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Poland etc.). This will enable me to analyse the major axis of book circulation between two Pietists centres, both outside and in Silesia: Halle and Cieszyn/Teschen. Building on these three case studies I will explore how the book circulation relied on various networks (Pietist, Jesuit, nobility etc.), what continuities and changes can be observed with the emergence of a new state border between Austria and Prussia in 1742, and what consequences this change of borders had for cultural transfers and entanglements.

**Forster, Ellinor: *Determining and Governing the New Border: Landmarks, Decrees and creating the Idea of Borders in Silesia in the 1740ies***

When the new border in Silesia of 1742 between Prussia and Austria was to be drawn, a lot of discussion and negotiation was needed. Finally it was orientated along some historical borderlines of Silesian duchies, but some newly negotiated borderlines cut right through villages and towns. This caused a lot of administration work such as setting landmarks and decrees to inform the local people about the new political, legal and economic situation. From the authorities' perspective local people had to accept the new borderline as a barrier which could not be crossed without permission. However, all the family ties, common marriage markets and trading connections were affected by this new border. Not least the confessional minorities and majorities had changed. Within the Habsburg lands the Protestants of Silesia had always been a minority. Those Protestants who now became part of Prussian Silesia found themselves all of a sudden in a Protestant country whereas the Protestants remaining in Austrian Silesia were even fewer than before with less power to enforce their rights. This paper aims to show the area of conflict between the authorities' point of view and the one of the local people, when it came to exercising common practises or forced changes in it – caused by the existence of the new border and all its impacts.

**S172(I) (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)**

**How to Pray? I (I)**

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

*Organizer / Chair: Sabine Volk-Birke, Laura Stevens*

**Marasinova, Elena: *Prayer of the Russian Empress (Moratorium on Capital Punishment in the Eighteenth Century Russia)***

There is popular belief that Russian Empress Elizabeth abolished capital punishment at the very inception of her reign. According to memoirs, in the early morning before seizing the throne, she prayed before an icon and vowed that if she were successful, she would abolish capital punishment. The ukase of the 7th May 1744, issued less than three years after Elizabeth's coming to the throne, suspended the execution of convicts sentenced to death. Despite the complaints of local authorities (now forced to feed the pardoned criminals), and the "great misgivings" of the Senate, not a single execution took place during the twenty years of her reign. The Empress also refrained from so-called 'political execution,' consisting of a theatricalised imitation of the act, or the "placing on the chopping block." According to the French diplomat and man of letters Joseph de Maistre, Elizabeth's 'abolition' of the death penalty was nothing but "false philanthropy." The Italian philosopher Cesare Beccaria, however, took inspiration from the "renowned example of the Empress of Moscovia" and, three years after her death, published his "On Crimes and Punishments." The suspension of the death penalty in the reign of Elizabeth is a phenomenon unique not only for Russian history, but for that of all states in the modern era, though one which has yet to receive scientific interpretation. Moreover, research into this issue has at its disposal a wealth of materials with potential for research into other matters, such as the self-perception of the Imperial personage, the channels of representation of power, mechanisms of social control, and the correlation between Divine and state law in the minds of contemporaries.

**Pataki, Katalin: *Social Utility and Changing Devotional Practices in Joseph II's Church Reforms***

My paper investigates the implementation of Joseph II's church reforms in eighteenth-century Hungary. Two main fields of the reforms - the secularization of a high number of monasteries and the rearrangement of the parish system – were both carried out in the name of social utility and they enabled the state to fashion itself as the main supporter of the renewal of the Catholic Church and as the provider of its subjects well-being and happiness even in the after-life. Joseph II's hard-handed interference into church affairs proved to be divisive and generated controversial reactions. Though his policies were also in line with the endeavors of reform-minded intellectuals of the Catholic Church, both the upper and lower clergy of Hungary developed different forms of resistance to and compliance with the state. Several conflicts and negotiations evolved in consequence of restrictions on several forms of devotional practices including controversies over the contemplative lifestyle of certain religious orders and several manifestations of “baroque piety”. I set into focus the grassroots level of these conflicts through the study of the attempt of transforming one-time monks and nuns into “useful members” of the society. I investigate testimonies written by the members of religious orders expressing their choice on alternatives offered for them after the dissolution of their monasteries. The testimonies –instead of making clear statements - often turned to be petitions for further, more fitting alternatives and challenged the feasibility of the reforms. The choices on “lifestyles” imply moral considerations and strives for keeping monastic vows and practices. The testimonies present not only the secularization of monasteries, but also the 'confessionalization' of the secular, as contemplative practices could be occasionally better defended under the protection of secular liberty than in highly controlled and (re-)regulated cloisters providing educational, medical and parish services.

**Meditz, Linda: *The Captive at Prayer: Cross-Cultural Trauma as Revealed in the Diary of Stephen Williams***

In the pre-dawn hours of February 29, 1704, an array of forces engaged in the struggle for dominance in North America between France and England converged at the tiny frontier settlement of Deerfield, Massachusetts, where French-backed Indians sacked the town and took hostages, including ten year-old Stephen Williams, son of the local minister. Williams witnessed horrific acts that day, including the murder of two younger siblings. His mother died on the march to Canada. Williams himself spent over a year in captivity before his safe return to New England. The impact of these traumatic events left a lifelong impression on Williams which he expressed in the voice of prayer. For most of the eighteenth century (from 1716 to 1782), Williams kept a vast spiritual diary while serving as the minister at Longmeadow, Massachusetts. As such, this diary represents one of the most sustained records of prayer that survives from early New England. Here Williams combined the genres of prayer and diary- keeping by crafting daily entries in which he gave everyday affairs transcendent meaning by concluding them with various modes of prayer. Williams also used his diary as a site to rehearse his public prayers: on the eve of the Lord's Supper, Williams wrote out elaborate prayers before delivering them extemporaneously before his flock on the following day. While disciplined, Williams's prayer life was vexed: for decades he struggled with uncertainty as to his own salvation, and with misgivings as to his worthiness given God's preserving him while others were left to perish during Deerfield raid. This paper aims to describe the interplay between Williams's childhood trauma, sustained in the crucible of cross-cultural confrontation at the dawn of the eighteenth century, and his rich and sustained practice of prayer across the decades that followed.

**Kohn, Denise: *Rowlandson and Prayer: The Revision of Private Devotional Practice into Public Narrative.***

This paper explores the way that Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative revises the conventions of devotional practice in early America. The front matter to her book creates a detailed "cover" story, presenting her unconventional narrative to readers as her act of conventional devotional practice. The cover page to *Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, printed in Cambridge in 1682, asserts that Rowlandson wrote "[e]specially to her dear Children and Relations." The preface declares that the "Narrative was penned by the Gentlewoman her self, to be to her a memorandum of Gods dealing with her, that she may never forget (65)," titillating readers with the novelty of her captivity story and assuring them that Rowlandson was a respectable member of the upper class who wrote as an expression of piety. Writing brief memoirs and diaries was an act of devotional practice for many colonists—both men and women were encouraged to pen accounts as a way to remember and meditate upon God's power and to share their testimonies with family and friends. Puritans such as John Dane, Sarah Goodhue, Anne Bradstreet and others wrote remembrances as part of devotional practice. While we don't know, of course, Rowlandson's intentions as a writer, I want to argue that when we compare her narrative to other Puritan autobiographical accounts, Rowlandson's narrative both employs and flaunts the standards of personal devotional practice. The intensely public, literary, oratorical, and defensive style of her narrative suggests that Rowlandson sought an audience larger than the "cover" story of the title and preface. Her motivations were likely quite complicated, and may have included a desire to squelch rumors that she had "married" a Native American. Regardless of her reasons, though, Rowlandson's revision of private devotional practice into a public account helped to sanction the publication and readership of her remarkable narrative.

**S172(II) (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-02: Mandeville Building)**

**How to Pray? II (II)**

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

*Organizer / Chair: Laura Stevens, William Gibson*

**Marcinkowska, Małgorzata: *Polish Enlightenment Prayers. Literature and religious practice***

The presentation will concern Polish prayer books from the period of the Enlightenment and the instructions contained in them. Diverse, interdisciplinary research perspectives will be applied to the interpretation of the texts. It is especially interesting to examine the changes that occurred in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the recitation of prayers, in regard to its location in time and space, and to the environmental factor. It will be important to discuss how the genre standards of prayer could be adapted for specific, sociologically defined audiences. An important aspect of the inquiry will also be to indicate: 1. What, according to the authors of prayer books, determined the efficacy of prayer; 2. To what behaviors and attitudes of the faithful in the temple they paid particular attention; 3. What elements of the eighteenth century Polish culture permeated the prayer books of that period; 4. What are the significant features of the Enlightenment Polish spirituality that can be found in the works of prayer that were created during this period; 5. What conditions (pragmatic, emotional or artistic) primarily determined the position, number and order of the compositional elements and thematic motifs in the given texts. Analysis of the collected prayers will aim to identify phenomena and trends which determined the differences that can be observed in the various readings, and which thus had a significant impact on the "refreshing" of the traditional prayer speech pattern. The paper will be accompanied by a presentation of the texts of the Enlightenment, and also prayers from earlier period for comparative purposes.

**Andrle, Jan: *Transformations and Continuity of Religious Representations in Czech Prayer Books during the Long 18th Century***

The paper is based on the research of Czech Catholic prayer books printed during the long 18th Century. The prayer book was one of the most widespread book types of the Early Modern Era. It was often the only book of its owner (or in a household). The everyday use of a prayer book had certainly a considerable influence over its users. Moreover, its reach was not limited to literate individuals only, as the early modern practice of reading aloud extended its influence also to illiterate people. For the purposes of the research, a definition of a common prayer book was created. As a common prayer book such a book is understood, which contains prayer texts covering completely the everyday religious life of an early modern Catholic laic, i. e. prayer complexes for elementary Catholic ritual practices (morning and evening prayers and prayers for the mass, confession and communion). In addition, individual prayer books contain also other sections, most often prayers to Mary, to the Saints or for various occasions, where the main specifics and differences among them lie. The paper concentrates on the structural and content analysis of the mentioned prayer books. It aims at answering the following questions: Which religious representations and spiritual practices did prayers books offer to their early modern users? Did these representations and practices change during the long 18th century and how? And how were they shaped by various factors as the author's (and translator's) intention, interests of the printer or the bookseller (and the situation on the book market), purchasers' demand (and their favoured style), the pressure of the Church and, starting from the mid-18th century, also the state (Enlightenment) censorship?

**Volk-Birke, Sabine: *Catholic or Protestant prayer? Francis de Sales' La Vie Dévot in Britain***

Despite the fact that Roman Catholicism was anathema to British Anglicans, some very influential devotional texts crossed national, denominational, and linguistic borders. A case in point is the Introduction to a Devout Life, first published by the Catholic Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, as *La Vie Dévot* in 1608. Its influence on Anglican piety flows partly through the indirect channel of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, with Taylor openly acknowledging his reading, but there are also numerous full, if not always faithful, English translations. At least two of these are edited (or expurgated) for Protestant use: one by Henry Dodwell in 1673, and one by William Nicholls in 1701. They are followed by several further translations in the course of the 18th century, some of them anonymous. The most prominent one is Bishop Challoner's, first published in 1762, which he views as an improvement on a preceding translation, in that he claims to follow the source text more closely. My paper will address the question of doctrinal differences in the concept of and instructions for prayer in the various versions of this important devotional text, comparing particularly the 'corrections' that were deemed necessary to tailor it to the specific needs of different denominations in a changing political climate.

**Stevens, Laura: *Mary's Magnificat in Eighteenth-Century Britain***

This paper will consider the Protestant treatment of the Virgin Mary's Magnificat, her song of praise to God (Luke 1.46-55), in Anglophone writings of the eighteenth century, including sermons, theological tracts, and more popularly oriented writings such as collections of sacred songs and children's histories of the Bible. It will argue that a focus on the Magnificat fit neatly within the efforts of early eighteenth-century Latitudinarians to assert the reasonableness of Christianity, the historicity of the Bible, but also the importance of faith in response to deism. With its overtones of ecstatic praise and personal connection to the deity, however, it also resonated with the foregrounding of emotion in the mid-century Methodist revival, the Great Awakening, and culture of sensibility. Bridging these two aspects and eras of Enlightenment Christianity, the Magnificat was perhaps most significant for its centrality to the process by which Protestants of several denominations in Britain and its North American colonies sought to transform Mary from a Roman

Catholic icon to a model of both general, non-gendered Protestant piety and appropriate female comportment. Downplaying her physical connection to Jesus and focusing instead on her spiritual devotion to him, these treatments of Mary epitomize a Protestant emphasis on interiority and personal piety, even as they evidence a new sort of fusion of secular poetry and devotional writing with some emphasis on the feminized position of the Christian believer in relation to God. To survey the Magnificat's treatment in the Anglophone eighteenth century is therefore to encounter several of the major components of the Enlightenment engagement with religion.

**S173 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)**

**Sweden's Ordinance Relating to Freedom of Writing and of the Press, 1766 – 2016: History, Context and Significance**

*Organizer / Chair: David Goldberg*

**Laursen, John Christian: "Northern Ideas About Freedom of the Press: Was Spinoza or Hume more important?"**

Peter Forsskal's manuscript and pamphlet on freedom of the press of 1759, Johann Friedrich Struensee's writings on freedom of expression in 1763-4, the translation of David Hume's essay on freedom of the press into Danish in 1771 and the rest of the free-press debate in Copenhagen, and Heinrich Friedrich Diez's essays of 1781 set the intellectual context for the two great Scandinavian declarations of freedom of the press in Sweden in 1766 and in Denmark in 1770. Jonathan Israel's recent work has invited us to think that the most important philosophical influence was Benedict de Spinoza, but there was also a significant influence from moderates like Hume and Hutcheson. This essay will attempt to bring out some of these influences, and attempt to arrive at a balanced view of the intellectual context of these early declarations of freedom of the press.

**Nordin, Jonas: *Universal Structure and Local Chance: origins of the freedom of expression in eighteenth-century Sweden***

Sweden's Freedom of Print Act of 1766 is supposedly the first ordinance anywhere in the World establishing freedom of expression in positive law. How and why did this document come into being, and from where did it draw intellectual inspiration? Although the law as such might have been unique at the time, its ideas were not. The ordinance originated from contemporary philosophical conceptions and a fortunate combination of structure and chance provided by the Swedish parliamentary system. It reflected general European currents, at the same time as it was firmly rooted in domestic politics. This paper will try to explain the intellectual background as well as institutional prerequisites for the increasing radicalization of politics towards the end of the Swedish so called Age of Liberty (1718–1772).

**Rydholm, Lena: "The image of China in 18th Century Sweden and the Swedish Freedom of the Press Act of 1766"**

The world's first freedom of information act: His Majesty's Gracious Ordinance Relating to Freedom of Writing and of the Press was passed in the Swedish Diet in 1766. It is hard to imagine today that this had anything to do with China, but Swedish politicians, such as Anders Nordencrantz and Anders Chydenius, drew some of their arguments from Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, claiming that the freedom of writing and of information existed in China since ancient times, and was the very reason for China's prosperity and political stability (as has been discussed in publications by Marie-Christine Skuncke). In this paper I compare the political pamphlets written by Nordencrantz: *Thoughts about the Freedom to use Reason, Pens and Printing*, and how far this Freedom should be

extended in a free Society, along with its Consequences and Chydenius: An Account of the Chinese Freedom of Writing: Translated from Danish, with Du Halde's work and with Danish politician Friderich Lütken's "Some Chinese rules of State and economic maxims or customs: extracts from Father Du Halde", from which these Swedish politicians drew their inspiration with regard to the image of China and of the freedom of writing in China.

**Skuncke, Marie-Christine: *"The Parliamentary Struggle for Freedom of Information in Eighteenth-Century Sweden"***

A ground-breaking aspect of the 1766 Freedom of the Press Act was that it introduced the principle of open access in Swedish public life: most documents from the Diet, the government, the civil service and the law courts became accessible to citizens who wanted to publish them in print. The principle of open access – in Swedish *offentlighetsprincipen* – has remained central in Swedish legislation until our time. The paper will explore – in dialogue with Jonas Nordin's and Lena Rydholm's contributions – the parliamentary struggles within the Swedish Diet (the Riksdag) which led to the adoption of this principle in 1766, as Swedish radicals in the three commoner estates, Clergy, Burghers and Peasantry, skilfully used existing institutional structures in order to achieve their aims.

**S174 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-16: Mandeville Building)**

**Translation as A Political Weapon in the Hispanic World of the Enlightenment.**

*Organizer / Chair: Jesus Astigarraga, María Victoria López-Cordón*

**López-Cordón Cortezo, M. Victoria: *History and translation in the eighteenth century in Spain: from the general to the particular narratives.***

The initiatives in favor of the historical research, proliferating during the eighteenth century in Spain. An essential expression of this issue was the realization and publication of translations of historical treaties of the European Enlightenment. Although the critical history had excellent individual representatives in Spain, such as Mayans, Nasarre or Martínez Pingaron, the schools that made a relevant use of the translation of those treaties were much broader. Its extensive translation work must be interpreted by connecting its activities with three basic aspects of the European historiography: the universalization of history; the cultural perspective; and, the most innovative one, the broadening of the social space for the diffusion of historical ideas. In fact, the translation of historic treaties in the Spanish eighteenth-century included a very broad spectrum of works. It not only comprised works that were easy to assimilate in Spain, due to religious and political reasons, such as, among many others, those of Bossuet, Vertto, Morelli or Duchesne, but also other more controversial works, such as those from Voltaire, Raynal or Gibbon, although in some cases they were made known in Spain with a notable historical delay and with some censorship restrictions. The presentation in this International Congress is not aiming at elaborating an exhaustive list of the historic works translated and published in Spain during the Age of the Reason, but at presenting a qualitative analysis of its contents, dissemination, closeness to the date of the original publication, and its alternative circulation's routes

**Nava Rodriguez, Teresa: *Translators in the King's service: politics, opinion and linguistic erudition in the Spanish Enlightenment***

Based on the view of the translator as “political actor”, this task focuses on the biographical and professional course of a set of individuals who translated different kinds of texts in the service of the Spanish monarchy during the second half of the 18th century, either at the request of the king himself and his ministers, or as members of the Bourbon institutions. Its development is grounded in two pillars. The first, aims to describe the role of translation in the context of the administrative and political reforms supported by public authorities. What were the most meaningful bodies and positions? What roles and objectives contextualize the work of these translators who are required stealth, loyalty and a gift for languages? The second, focuses on a dual social and ideological perspective. The purpose would be to study the political and intellectual biography of some of these individuals within the socio-cultural history of the time, paying special attention to specific translation or translation projects that were requested, conceived and/or made with an essentially political purpose. Figures such as Bernardo de Iriarte, Pablo de Olavide or Felipe Scio, among others, will act as a guide to offer a dynamic perspective on the role of translation as an instrument of ideological dissemination.

**Astigarraga, Jesus and Usoz, Javier: *Translate to promote reforms. Spanish versions of Claude-Jacques Herbert's Essai sur la Police générale des grains (1753)*.**

The *Essai sur la Police générale des grains* (1753) written by the French Jean-Claude Herbert was a central book in the doctrinal debates about the grain trade that took place in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact, it was one of the texts on Political Economy most translated during this period, during which three versions of it were elaborated. They were published in 1755, 1765 and 1795. The first two were not full versions: they only included a few chapters or a few excerpts from the Herbert's *Essai*. Thus, the most important of the three was the latest one. It was written by the Aragonese Tomás Anzano. It was a very critical interpretation of Herbert's liberalizing ideas. Anzano's critiques were informed by an inclination to defend the interests of consumers and agrarian workers. They were influenced by the English political model and also by a certain degree of republican humanism. Anzano's economic doctrines enshrined an approach that emphasized regulation and administration, and were marked by anti-physiocrat and cameralist influences. His translation of Herbert implied a critique of the liberal approach defended by several authors of the mainstream of the Spanish Political Economy of the Enlightenment, such as Campomanes and Jovellanos. In any case, the Anzano's version, like the two previous of Herbert, come to show the use of translations during the Spanish Enlightenment with a very specific political purpose: to provide coverage for the realization of certain socioeconomic reforms.

**S175 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)**

**Stage Negotiations: Aesthetics of theater and Social Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century Europe**

*Organizer / Chair: Kirill Ospovat, Tatiana Korneeva*

**Ospovat, Kirill: *Speaking Truth to Power: Poetics of Favoritism in Schiller's "Don Karlos"***

The paper will deal with the complex interaction between poetics of tragedy and the “political anthropology” (Walter Benjamin) associated with the royal court as a space of power. While Schiller's tragic theater has been too often associated with Enlightenment critique and demystification of kingship, I will argue for a reading of the historical tragedy “Don Karlos” (1787) which emphasizes its fascination with the “baroque” machinery of power, central both for pre-Enlightenment visions of rule and for early modern tragic drama. Specifically, I will focus on Marquis Posa whose role in the play revolves around his singular speech act, a harangue addressed to King Philipp entreating him to renounce tyranny. I will explore the ways in which this harangue, usually

seen as a climax of Schiller's anachronistic and subversive Enlightenment utopianism, in fact followed a pattern deeply rooted in early modern visions of court politics and paramount for absolutist interpretations of literature itself. Benefiting from formal characteristics of dramatic genre, Schiller employs it to expose a logic of power where – just as in drama itself – word and deed, action and its representation become indistinguishable. As I will come to show, Schiller's dramatic fiction highlights a specific aesthetic of courtly conduct situated on the intersection of political and moral philosophy with the aesthetic theory of the sublime and dependent on inherently aesthetic (and, particularly, theatrical) visions of identity, action and effect.

**Evstratov , Alexei: *Dramatic continuity or revolutionary change? The social world seen from the pit.***

This paper will deal with private accounts of theatregoing in France during the Revolution, in order to explore how dramatic scripts informed people's thinking about the society in general and their role in it in particular. Cultural historians of the French Revolution (Lynn Hunt, Paul Friedland, and others) have highlighted the role of theatre in the mediation of political change. The repertoire of public theatres supervised by revolutionary authorities was, indeed, directly linked to the political agenda via the institution of censorship, for instance. Scholarship inspired by Jürgen Habermas's concept of bourgeois public sphere seeks to nuance the resulting picture of political domination through cultural institutions discovering the origins of the revolutionary democracy in the rise of new type of theatre audience, openly and actively reacting to the onstage action (see Jeffrey S. Revel's book). As Sarah Maza has demonstrated, the social programme of the Revolution's political actors changed constantly, which resulted in the elasticity of concepts used to represent the society (such as bourgeois or aristocrat). The language of political representations aimed to shape reality taking advantage of the fundamental instability of the social world and using all available media to this purpose. The purpose of this paper is to find out how successful this project was when it came to individuals. I scrutinise private accounts of a diverse group of theatregoers in order to reconstruct what they saw on stage and how they linked dramatic representations of the social world to their experience of everyday interactions, as well as to a more general picture of events shaped outside the playhouse.

**Perovic, Sanja: *Islands of Natures/Spaces of Reason: Performing Utopia in Eighteenth-Century French Theatre***

Sylvain Maréchal's *Le Jugement dernier des rois* is arguably the most famous and influential play of Year II. Breaking almost all the conventions of staged representation, this play has been frequently cited as a precursor to future avant-garde theatre, such as Mayakovsky's *Mystery-Bouffe* or Alfred Jarry's *Ubu roi*. Yet the main scenario – the relegation of all of Europe's monarchs on a deserted island where they are destroyed by an exploding volcano – also strongly echoes Marivaux's much earlier *La Dispute* and *L'Île des esclaves*. In all three plays an island of nature also serves as a stage of reason, a space to pose such questions as: what is sovereignty? What is obedience and submission? What are the limits of tolerance and compassion? How can rights be vindicated and by whom? In addition all three plays offer an opportunity to probe more deeply a curious overdetermination that is quite frequent in the experimental theatre of Diderot, Lessing, Mercier and others: namely that an action taken rationally, determined by free will, is often represented as 'seconded' or 'approved' by a law of nature. In other words, a contingent history made by particular actors whose wills are weak is made to re-appear as a restoration of a 'law of nature'. To rephrase this using the terms of theatre, a scenario that at one level appears to be constructed out of a series of coups de théâtre is re-enacted in the form of a dramatic tableau.

My aim in this paper is thus twofold: to assess this double nature of the theatrical island to see what it tells about the relation between freedom, or self-determination, and natural law. Secondly to

consider more generally if, and to what extent, avant-garde theatre owes something to these eighteenth-century experiments in performing utopia.

**S176 (14:00 - 15:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)**

**Negotiating Strangers Within**

*Organizer / Chair: Janet Sorensen*

**Cahill, Samara: *Trading Fictions: Realism, Asia, and the Jacobite Diaspora***

In light of Nancy Armstrong's recent call to see the nation as a "network" in the eighteenth-century novel, this paper will focus on trade commodities to show that Defoe, Swift, and the not-yet-canonical Jacobite writer Jane Barker used trade networks to contest each other's mutually exclusive versions of "realism." Given Barker's gender, her ideological allegiances, and her narrative form, my paper coincides with Rachel Carnell's recent argument that the "Whig" realism of the novel must be decentered in order to do recognize the contested terrain of early eighteenth-century fiction. Significantly—particularly considering Edward Said's identification of the rise of the realist novel with the rise of empire—though a Western male protagonist is enslaved in "Robinson Crusoe" (1719), "Gulliver's Travels" (1726; 1735), and "The Lining of the Patchwork Screen" (1726), it is only in Barker's novel that the protagonist (a Jacobite) does not ultimately betray his non-Western allies or potential allies. Thus the exiling of the Jacobite version of realism from the English canon reinforces the marginalizing of non-Western perspectives in the novels of the 1720s (and afterward).

**Lee, Natasha: *Owning Others***

Building on Saree Makdisi and others scholars' work on the ways in which discursive strategies of imperial domination are folded back onto national contexts, identifying and situating "the stranger within," my paper will examine cases in the French Enlightenment where the opposite strategy was carried out. By considering legal and fictional discourses on the feudal system that was foundational to French society before the Revolution, such as Renauldon's 1765 *Traité historique et pratique des droits seigneuriaux*, I will argue that existing structures of seigniorial rights legitimated the appropriation of bodies in servitude and serfdom on French soil, and ultimately paved the way to justify the appropriation of populations on a global scale. As the French historian Colette Capitan has shown in *La Nature à l'ordre du jour*, beyond the analogies of slavery that are found in Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* and other contemporary texts, a renewed examination of seigniorial rights, and serfdom in particular, acts to lay the blueprint for social differentiations to come. In conflating *droits réels* (on things), and *droits personnels* (on persons), the feudal system constructed social categories through the appropriation of labor-power; as such, it brought together discrete individuals into a material category, oppressed through an economical, and juridically sanctioned, relation. Documents on serfdom further show that individuals resisted taking on the personal status of belonging to a taxable category, and refused commissaries' requests that they declare themselves 'tithable,' with its specific connotation or servility, that would equate accepting the macula of nebula *servitutis*, or the mark of servitude. Ultimately, the legal strictures of the feudal regime served to legitimate the appropriation of other groups on a global scale in the context of colonial expansion.

**O'Quinn, Daniel: *Proxy Israelites: The Violent Incorporation of Daniel Mendoza***

The theatre was the preeminent space of public entertainment in the Georgian period—the place where Londoners convened on a nightly basis not only to socialize with one another, but also to observe interpersonal exchange both on and off the stage. But we tend to forget that the patent theatres had historically been sites of intense rioting and violent disturbance. Even when the whole house was not enveloped by disorder, the papers inform us repeatedly of instances of physical conflict in the lobbies, the pit and the galleries. The employment of bruisers to keep order was commonplace. Potential violence was in some ways endemic to the theatrical experience in the Georgian period and one could develop a sliding scale of disorder from the momentary interruption required to eject a drunk from the pit to the all out insurrection that enveloped Covent-Garden theatre during the OP riots in 1809. I will be discussing the latter events in the second half of this essay, but I will get there by way of a second form of sociability whose theatricality meant that it was equally the subject of attention of the press. Prize-fighting was an illegal practice in the late eighteenth century and did not occur with the same regularity as plays, but their mediation was in many ways modeled on theatrical reporting. The highly stylized works of writers such as John Badcock and Pierce Egan, whose *Boxiana* series modified earlier print materials into an extended narrative of boxing's history in England, leaned heavily on allegory and allusion to playfully aestheticize the pugilistic world. And that aestheticization warrants our attention because of the way that it handles differences of rank, ethnicity and race. These differences are important because the most famous fights of the period were “multi-ethnic spectacles”. The term was developed by Michael Ragussis in order to characterize a largely ignored shift in the representational economy of the Georgian theatre. A similar argument can be made with even more force with relation to world of prizefighting. The most famous fights in the period were contests between specifically English fighters and representative challengers who were identified with their ethnicity or race. In this essay, I focus on perhaps the most famous fighter of his generation: Daniel Mendoza, popularly known as the “Star of Jerusalem” and declared by “One of the Fancy” in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine's* 1819-20 series ‘*Boxiana; or Sketches of Pugilism*’ “the great founder of the Jewish School” of pugilism. In this paper I analyze the mediation of Mendoza's rise to fame in the celebrated fights against Richard Humphries immediately before and after the French Revolution in order to argue for a crucial alteration in the way that ethnicity, sociability and space are figured at this historical moment.

**S177 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-09: Bergen: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Opening Knowledge. Unlocking Archives: the Dano-Norwegian Journal System in the Context of A European Knowledge Economy**

*Organizer / Chair: Søren Peter Hansen*

**Bjerring-Hansen, Jens: *Expanding the European Republic of Letters: Learned journals and their audience(s) in late 17th and early 18th century Denmark-Norway***

In the late 1600s, Europe saw a flourishing of learned journals with abstracts and notices of recent publications and currents in the Republic of Letters, supplementing the epistolary networks as a powerful new tool for knowledge transfer among European Intellectuals. The the Paris-based *Journal des Sçavans* (1665-), the *Acta Eruditorum* in Leipzig (1682–1782), Pierre Bayles Amsterdam publication *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684–1718, the Roman *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia* (1668–1681) are a few, famous titles. At least 300 such journals were founded before 1730. From the perspective of the European periphery, this paper aims to explore and discuss the various beginnings of the learned journal in Denmark-Norway in the decades around 1700. What we want to consider and discuss, in particular through paratextual and material evidence, is the intended readership of the journals. Three publications are in focus. First, the internationally and

interdisciplinary scoped *Acta medica et philosophica Hafniensia*, published in Copenhagen by Thomas Bartholin in the 1670s. Second, the *Nova literaria maris Balthici & Septentrionis edita*, initiated by Jacob v. Melle in Leipzig (1698-1703), also in Latin but with a clearer geographical focus on “northern” matters, i.e. books and news from the area around the Baltic Sea. And, finally, the *Lærde Efterretninger*, engl. ‘Learned News’ (1720-1836), introduced by the entrepreneurial printer-bookseller Joachim Wielandt. It is the longest-lived of the Danish publications. However, in the first decades of its existence the journal experienced both shifts in language (from the vernacular to Latin and back again), in publication frequency, and in physical form. This somewhat fluid identity, we argue, bears testimony to the uncertainty regarding intended audience(s) that characterized the early attempts to establish the pan-European periodical genre of the learned journal in a local, peripheral context.

**Mai, Anne-Marie: *Enlightened women: Portraits of women in Danish 18th Century journals***

The paper describes the portrayal of women and the women writers in selected Danish 18th century journals. Several of the leading 18th century male writers considered women as ideal users of the Danish mother tongue and the idea of the reading and writing woman appears in several journals. Some male writers even stated that they were trying to learn to write as women. The paper focuses on how women were pictured in journals like *Fruentimmer-Tidenden* (1767-68) and *Den Patriotiske Tilskuer* (1761-63) and discusses why women’s writing to some authors became an ideal.

**Horstbøll, Henrik: *Journals, Censorship and the Freedom of the Press: the Case of Denmark-Norway in the 18th Century***

From 1770 the Court Physician Johann Friedrich Struensee was in possession of absolute monarchical power, acting as Cabinet Minister and governing through Royal Cabinet Orders, signed only by him. He offered a bourgeois version of enlightened absolutism, and unlimited freedom of the press was the very first decree issued by him on 14 September 1770. The control of the press was reasserted in October 1773 after a coup from within the court had ended the government of Struensee in January 1772. However, the period of press freedom had by that time completely changed the history of censorship in Denmark-Norway, and it left a lasting legacy. The declaration of freedom of the press was followed by a flood of journals, periodicals and newspapers. One of the important lasting consequences of the law was the rise of printing outside Copenhagen with the birth of provincial periodicals in major towns in Denmark and Norway. The limitation of freedom of the press did not stop this development, because pre-publication censorship was not restored. Anonymity and pseudonymous texts in the journals became a practical and a political problem during the freedom of the press. The printers and the editors of the new patriotic journals experienced a necessity to draw new limits for publicity. They were forced to reinvent a new kind of editorial censorship: from censorship to editorship. My argument in the paper is that freedom of the press changed the function of journals in the system of communication, changed the use of anonymity and changed the role of the editor.

**Horne Kjældgaard, Lasse and Jelsbak, Torben: *The Danish 18th Century Journal System: Trends and Transformations***

From its emergence around 1700, the periodical press played an important role to the rise and ascent of the Enlightenment in Danish culture and society. 18th century journals served not only as media for the circulation of news and knowledge; they also performed a role as platform for public debate and reflexion on societal matters. The history of the emergence and development of the Danish journal system is, in many respects, a history of the development and modernization of 18th Danish society. Our talk will present a distant reading of the corpus of Danish 18th century journals, mapping their generic affiliations and tracing main trends and transformations in the material. On this basis, we will introduce the plans for a Center for Periodical Research devoted to the digitization and exploration of the material.

**S178 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M1-16: Heidelberg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Capitalism and Criminality**

*Organizer / Chair: Ashley L. Cohen*

**Nicolazzo, Sarah: *Police, Poetry, and Surplus Population: Global Vagrancy in Mary Robinson's Lyrical Tales***

Vagrancy laws in the eighteenth-century British Empire acted as a catchall category for criminalizing a wide range of "suspicious" behaviors. Above all, the proponents and enforcers of vagrancy law emphasized the supposed refusal to work as the central meaning of vagrancy. Vagrancy laws thus associated economic non-participation with the potential to pose unknown future threat. As London rapidly increased in population, commercial traffic, and imperial power, texts such as Patrick Colquhoun's *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (1797) portray crime and poverty in the capital as threats to the empire as a whole. Vagrancy, in the imaginations of both policy-makers and poets, took on a global scope, bringing the distant dispossessions of colonial exploitation and war into immediate view. These developments were intensely debated, not only among legal theorists and policy-makers, but also among literary authors, artists, and cultural commentators. While Wordsworth's fascination with vagrancy has received considerable scholarly attention, this paper foregrounds Mary Robinson's uniquely critical engagement with vagrancy in her last collection of poetry, the *Lyrical Tales* (1800). By gathering a multitude of figures dispossessed and abandoned by Britain's global economic expansion, Robinson turns her poetic attention to populations that Malthus deemed "redundant" and Marx would later term "surplus." Wordsworth famously seeks to humanize figures like the "Old Cumberland Beggar" by redeeming them from the charges of idleness, criminality, and valuelessness associated with vagrancy. Robinson, however, embraces these juridical registers of vagrancy, using established links between valuelessness, unaccountability, and unknowable threat as a source of critical poetic and affective power. In her portrayals of displaced figures such as "The Lascar," a destitute sailor from India left to wander and die in England, Robinson preserves vagrancy's rhetorical connections between policing and global commerce, but uses these connections to question whether the metropolis can—or indeed, ought to be—preserved from the violence endemic to labor extraction in the colonial periphery.

**Azfar, Farid: *Strange Ark: The Sixth Sense of Imperial Immunity and the Enlightenment Crisis of the Royal George***

In 1726, the London papers turned an imperial crisis of the asiento into an urban romance of the South Sea Company. Coffeehouse readers were presented, for months, with brief vignettes of ship-builders and carpenters rushing to repair the worm-eaten hulls of the Royal George, the permission ship allowed under the asiento. In years to come, coffeehouse denizens would learn of how the ship – a potent symbol of the promise and peril of the asiento – had, in essence, been pirated by its own supracargoes who had it condemned and abandoned in Antigua. The story of repair was, from the start, piled with distortions, simplifications, and exaggerations which, I argue, strengthened the Company's cultural, moral, and emotional foundations. The papers were sensationalist, but the sensation they sensationalized was a sixth sense of imperial immunity, a feeling of assurance in the face of volatility. This feeling of assurance was the crucible for the emergence of the insurance men who took it upon themselves to have the ship retrieved, and who raised the greatest outcry over its false “condemnation”. The Royal George animated a variety of contemporary abstractions – license, assurance, security, stability – with dramatic force. The political eros of the South Sea Company, as produced in the papers and experienced in the coffeehouse, helps reveal what E.P. Thompson has described as the “structures of mental distance” and “moral levity” which constituted “an emergency acting upon the sensibility of...men.”

**Farr, Jason: “*Female Labor and Crime in Sarah Scott’s A Journey Through Every Stage of Life*”**

This paper will examine women’s labor in the context of gender policing and legal transgression in Sarah Scott’s first novel, *A Journey through Every Stage of Life* (1754). Scott’s novel, so often overlooked by scholars in favor of *Millenium Hall* (1762), depicts the various exploits of two young cousins, Leonora and Louisa, who flee home due to the mistreatment they receive at the hands of their duplicitous stepmother. While on the run, Leonora and Louisa move from the resort town of Buxton to London, establishing themselves as partners in crime as Leonora assumes the habits of clergyman, painter, and school headmaster to support the queer family that they meet along the way. Through her “delicate” performance of these highly visible, exclusively male-oriented professions, Leonora fixes the societal problems that the narrative associates with unrefined, non-sentimental forms of masculinity. In each professional performance, Leonora is so convincing, and so attractive to the women that interface with her, that she becomes the object of both public notoriety and sapphic desire. In this way, Scott’s novel addresses the kinds of themes that Katherine Kittredge explores in the collection, *Lewd and Notorious*, especially in its simultaneous naturalization and complication of the “anti-ideal woman.” This paper will argue that, through its assertion of cross-dressing and queer kinship, *Every Stage of Life* not only puts pressure upon such coeval binaries as prostitutes and virgins, disagreeable criminals and chaste beauties, procreation and queerness, but that it brings the female laborer and consumer from legal condemnation to non-pathologized, even eulogized, status.

**Simon, Rebecca: *New Colonial Capitalists: Caribbean Pirates and Local Governor Corruption, 1695 - 1726***

Piracy was a common problem throughout the Caribbean in the eighteenth century. Many historians have considered them to be revolutionary terrorists interested in creating their own inclusive societies who used the Caribbean as a safe haven for their operations on islands such as Jamaica and the Bahamas. Yet new research shows that pirates were not after the creation of their own societies, but emerging capitalists during the long eighteenth century aided by the English governors who controlled island operations. Pirates’ notorious crimes of robbery and murder on the high seas would not have been possible were it not for the ready and enthusiastic cooperation of these colonial governors. Governors in Jamaica and the Bahama Islands, such as Colonel Nicholas Trott,

traded frequently with pirates, including the infamous Henry Avery, during the 'Golden Age of Piracy' at the beginning of the eighteenth century to bypass the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, which had been in place since the seventeenth century. The geography of the Caribbean was ideal for illicit trade thanks to isolated ports in Jamaica and the Bahamas and the busy trade routes used by competing European powers: the French, Spanish and Dutch. Using sources of letters and complaints filed in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series along with narrative and trial accounts by pirates and colonial governors, I will argue that pirates were not terrorists, but venture and cooperating capitalists aided by the corruption of colonial governors put in place by England's own colonial authorities to assert their dominance and jurisdiction of the Caribbean islands' international trade markets against their French, Spanish and Dutch competitors.

**S179 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M2-12: Shanghai: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Marketing of Self / Self-Marketing: Strategies of Behavior and Self-Representation in the 18th Century Russia**

*Organizer / Chair: Ekaterina Boltunova*

**Marker, Gary: "Feofan Prokopovich Between Self and Empire"**

This paper explores three interwoven themes: the formal inauguration of the Russian Empire in 1721; the invention of a Russian nation (Rossiia) with specifically-defined ascriptions; and the self-fashioning of the Empire's ideological progenitor, the Kyivan-educated Archbishop of Novgorod Feofan Prokopovich, as a specifically Russian ("russkii") subject. This troika of invention was, in my view, simultaneously epoch making and characterized by ambiguities, ambivalencies, and even irreconcilable contradictions, all of which Feofan understood and embodied.

**Boltunova, Ekaterina: "Inventing the Russian Emperor: Peter II as Peter I"**

The paper discusses both study program tailored for the Russian emperor Peter II as well as public positioning of the young monarch. The author argues that Andrey Osterman, an appointed governor to Peter II aimed to educate the monarch by promoting study of history. The main hero of the Ostreman's history modern was the first Russian emperor Peter I viewed as an absolute example of both emperor and warrior. The paper deals as well with representation of Peter II in topography of power (royal palaces, cathedrals, administrative buildings). Positioning of Peter II as Peter I remained stable notwithstanding political change that occurred during the reign: the fall of Alexander Menshikov and the rise of the Dolgorukov clan. Nor was it altered with the Grand Court relocation from the 'new' capital (St. Petersburg) to the old one (Moscow) that is traditionally interpreted as a step back to pre-imperial traditions and notions.

**Di Salvo, Maria: "Fedor Emin: Trying to Become a Recognized Writer in Catherinian Russia"**

The paper deals with the enigmatic figure of Fedor Emin, who, having reached Saint Petersburg after obscure adventures in Turkey and the Mediterranean, tried to find a place in the Russian literary milieu of the sixties. In order to achieve this aim he used various devices, from rewriting his own biography, to translating adventure novels and becoming the first Russian novelist, publishing a satirical journal (as suggested by the Empress), and finally writing a history of the Ottoman Porte in the wake of the Russo-Tuskish war. Emin was not lucky in his quest for recognition, but his efforts tell much about the changing literary situation of the time and of the king of reader he was trying to reach.

**Smilyanskaya, Elena: *"The Unvalued Service of the British Seaman in Russia: the Case of John Elphinston"***

The paper is based on a study of the manuscript diary of the rear admiral John Elphinston. His archive was bought by the Princeton University Library only in 2003 and is not still published. In 1770 Elphinston (1722-1785) was invited to Russia and appointed a chief of the second squadron of the Archipelago expedition. He participated in two big battles in Aegean, including the Cesme battle, but then in 1771 he was withdrawn to St. Petersburg where his career soon and suddenly finished. Later Elphinston himself as well as his son and grandson tried to use the diary (and Elphinston's version of historical events) in order to receive service money from the Russian Empress. The speaker will also pay special attention to the arguments that the British naval officer used for his self-representation in an uneasy situation whilst negotiating the price of his own heroic deeds.

**S180 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-03: Aberdeen: Van Der Goot Building)  
Stage Negotiations**

**Cullhed, Anna: *Moving Medea or Placing Child Murder on the European Stage 1750–1800***

In the eighteenth century, Medea entered the stage throughout Europe. She was the protagonist of French and Swedish opera, German melodrama, and British tragedy. Medea has been a focus for scholarly attention in the last decades, but her European history as a transcultural and spatial phenomenon of the second half of the eighteenth century is still to be written. This paper aims at an analysis of a set of Medea texts from the second half of the eighteenth century based on spatial theory (Robert T. Tally, Charles Withers & al.). It focuses on the spatial implications of stage directions and the choice of physical space of a number of Medea plays, including Richard Glover's tragedy *Medea* (1761), Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter's melodrama *Medea* (1775), Jean-Marie-Bernard Clément's tragedy *Médée* (1779), Bengt Lidner's opera libretto *Medea* (1784) and Friedrich Maximilian von Klingler's two *Medea* tragedies (*Medea in Korinth*, 1786; *Medea auf dem Kaukasos*, 1790). For example, the fact that Medea kills her two sons in the temple of Juno – the goddess protecting matrimony – supports the Swedish author Lidner's sentimental interpretation of the protagonist's innocence. Further, this paper discusses how the actual and the fictitious places of Greek and Roman Antiquity were connected with the favoured spaces and places of the eighteenth century, such as Tally's categories 'the national' space, 'the extra-territorial' space (colonies), 'the local' space, and finally 'the global' space. The 'extra-territorial' space is drawn into the local sphere of Stockholm, Sweden, by the connection between the *Medea* characters and French and British texts about slavery in the West Indies. Glover's tragedy represents national as well as colonial spaces of the British Empire, indicating the importance of political spaces of power. The analysis of the 18th-century European *Medea* thus contributes to a fundamentally local as well as transcultural literary history.

**Perot, Sandra: *Early Anglophone Women Playwrights and the Commodification of Words***

Early Anglophone playwrights Aphra Behn and Susanna Centlivre successfully produced popular plays. Both Behn and Centlivre worked within dramatic conventions and societal expectations that limited what they might acceptably produce during the times in which they wrote. Ultimately these women playwrights became commodities themselves as audiences purchased the experience to view their staged performances. Yet even though they wrote plays within thirty years of each other, the worlds in which they existed were quite different. Behn's world of the late seventeenth-century Restoration era allowed for greater moral laxity and dramatic ingenuity. As a playwright and as a woman Behn, could more easily create female characters in unconventional situations and she was less judged by society for her dramatic innovations. Yet this allowance for dramatic innovation did

not carry over very long into the eighteenth century. By the time Centlivre was producing plays in 1700, Britain was already becoming much more conservative. Centlivre's plays were often tinged with political and social commentary, yet they were already less overt than the political comments Behn had included in her plays just a few decades earlier. During Centlivre's extensive and successful theatre career with the Drury Lane Theatre, she moved in the highest literary circles, becoming close friends with actor and theatre manager Colley Cibber, playwright Nicolas Rowe (with whom she co-wrote several plays), and Irish writer Richard Steele. Her wit gained her the admiration of playwright George Farquhar (1677-1707), and she soon became friends with the actress Anne Oldfield (1683-1730), who often played the principal roles in her comedies. Centlivre followed Behn's adherence to cultural and societal expectations while at the same time presenting important contemporary political and social awareness to audiences.

**S182 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-05: Praag: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe: Economic and Social Activities in the Epoch of the "Enlightened Absolutism" (the Second Half of the 18th Century).**

*Organizer / Chair: Andrej Ryzhev*

**Petterson, Christina: *Oeconomia and Salvation: Moravian Brethren in 18th century Eastern Germany***

The Moravian Brethren, also known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, was, in the eighteenth century, a radical pietist group, which sent missionaries to most of the world and also had a significant number of communities in early modern Europe. One of their notable features was the choir system, which divided the congregation into groups of married men and women, widows and widowers, unmarried men and women, boys, girls and children. These groups were called choirs, had separate dwellings. The ideological underpinning of these choirs were the choir-speeches given mostly by the founder of the community Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf. While the choirs were conceptualised as pastoral care groups, they also constituted distinct economic units. At a more structural level, they functioned as the site where the members were individualised as part of a community. This dialectic between individual and community is a crucial part of the economic aspect of the Moravian Brethren as well as the formation of the modern individual within a state structure. Based on analyses of the unpublished choir-speeches, this paper analyses the choirs in their religious/social function as well as their economic practice to argue their place in the formation of the modern individual and citizen.

**Tretjakova, Diane: *In search of trade routes to the Orient: the Austrian Capuchins in the Kalmyk steppe.***

The paper focuses on the attempts of the Austrian Capuchins to found and explore the trade routes to Persia and India bypassing Turkey on South and South-Eastern territories of the Russian Empire in the second third of the eighteenth century. The penetration of the Capuchins in the Kalmyk khanate, their desire to establish constant relations with the Kalmyk upper estates were related with such attempts. The emergence of a Capuchin among the Kalmyks observed in the paper on the documents of the Russian authorities. The relations of Austrian missionaries with the central and local laity authorities characterized here also. It is shown that authorities favorably referred to the contacts of the Capuchins and the highest estates of the Kalmyk society in whole during the mentioned period.

**Ryazhev, Andrej: *Economic foundations of "enlightened" religious tolerance in the understanding of contemporaries: 1767, a view from Eastern Europe.***

The paper focuses on the attitude of economically active estates of society in Russia and Eastern Europe to the issue of toleration and the relative "enlightened" policy of the authorities from the mid-1750s through 1760s. The understanding of contemporaries in that times (educated townspeople, the clergy) of the causes of urban religious conflicts is presented here. The study is based on the unpublished report (1767) of the Orthodox Hegumen (Abbot) Cyril from the Courland town of Jakobstadt (Jākubmīsts, now Jēkabpils, Latvia) to the Russian St. Synod. The religious situation in the Duchy of Courland, the encounters between the Jakobstadt communities of Orthodox, Unites, Catholics and Protestants were considered, orders of that time in Russia, Central and Western Europe were compared in the mentioned document. The other documentary sources on those questions from the Russian archives are used in the work. The research expands scientific notions on the relations between society and the state on the grounds of "enlightened" religious tolerance in the region to the East of the Elbe.

**S183 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: M3-06: Luxemburg: Van Der Goot Building)**

**New Approaches to the Novel of the Long Eighteenth Century**

*Organizer / Chair: Lia van Gemert*

**Van Gemert, Lia: *Simple novels but complex questions. Identity and equality in late eighteenth century novels***

Dutch novels from the last decades of the eighteenth century have been characterized as "simple novels about simple problems". This paper argues that they touch upon many complicated problems of identity and equality however, for instance in the work of Cornelia van der Weyde and Henry des Villates. Their novels are a show case of tensions that the Enlightenment revolutionary theme of equality had brought to daily life in the Netherlands of the 1790s. To evaluate such literature within the wider international frame of its time, a New Historicist approach and computational topic modeling techniques can be of great help.

**Weeda, Ferrie: *Questions of identity in novels and travel guides in the Dutch Republic***

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, the self-image of the Dutch was determined by an intriguing combination of crisis and progress. In 1672 – remembered as the disastrous year ('Rampjaar') – the political and economic crisis had led to the lynching of Dutch governmental leader John de Witt and the official leadership of stadtholder William III of Orange, but this had not stopped the successful challenge of the Republic's economic and military hegemony by the English and the French. However, at the same time the exchange of ideas, people and goods grew impressively, thanks to major improvements of the physical infrastructure, consolidation of the middle class and development of (radical) ideas. All these developments promoted new interpretations of individual and communal identity. This paper will discuss the representation of self-images in travel guides and novels between 1670 and 1730, like *Reis-boek door de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën* ('Travel book through the United Dutch Provinces', four editions between 1670 and 1730) and *D'openhertige juffrouw* (1681, many editions, shortly after first print translated into English as *The politick whore*). Both genres encouraged a strong identification with the local landscape and with recent Dutch history. I will discuss the implications of this for further research on processes of identity in this period.

**Timmers, Myrthe and Wijckmans, Tessa: *Computational approaches to the Dutch novel: authorship attribution and automatic reading***

Over the past decade the Dutch literary novel finally attracted full attention of literary and computational scholars. Their research has offered new solutions to old problems, for instance the analysis of the genealogical developments in Dutch texts from the frivolous, libertine late seventeenth century novel to the calmer burgher novel of the late Enlightenment. But many questions are still triggering, like the identity of the anonymous professional writers who tried to make a living out of writing. Were they really just rebellious amateurs, as their critics maintained, or were they elite authors who choose anonymity on purpose or ... In fact the question is: who were they? In the first part of our paper we will focus on computational tools for authorship attribution. We will use Stylo for R to find the possible author of the anonymous novel *Het wonderlijk leven van 't Boulonnais Hondtje* (1681, *The sensational life of the dog from Boulogne*), partly a translation from a French text. This novel ruined the reputation of the famous Amsterdam political illustrator Romeyn de Hooghe, and so its authorship has been an important question for the Amsterdam political climate. It also proves to be important for other cultural phenomena, as we will show. Exploring authorship attribution raises the problem of building a voluminous text corpus and of orthographical variety in early modern texts. We will focus on the development of computational respelling tools for seventeenth and eighteenth century texts in the second part of our paper, like automatic lemmatization and orthographic layers.

Myrthe Timmers and Tessa Wijckmans completed their RMA Dutch Literature at the University of Amsterdam. They have specialized in computational approaches of early modern Dutch novels.

**S184 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-06: Mandeville Building)**

**La Théatralité et le XVIIIe Siècle**

*Organisateur/Président: Yasuyoshi Ao*

**Oku, Kaori: *Le théâtre de Marivaux comme lieu de la réflexion philosophique***

Dans la plupart des cas, les personnages de Marivaux ne sont pas conscients de ce qui leur arrive, ni du sentiment éprouvé envers l'autre au moment de la « surprise de l'amour ». Loin d'être dupe, le public le perçoit et le saisit au cours du spectacle et découvre donc ce qui échappe aux personnages. Ainsi, par les faits et les dires, les personnages de Marivaux font découvrir sans le savoir aux spectateurs, d'une part, l'incertitude de la perception de l'homme invisible dans la vie quotidienne, et d'autre part, la conscience sensorielle insaisissable par la raison. Comment s'opère plus exactement cette découverte du phénomène intérieur de l'homme chez l'auteur ? Il nous semble que le décalage entre le langage parlé et le langage corporel joue un rôle primordial dans cette opération. Chez Marivaux, le langage fonctionne souvent comme un masque qui cache le véritable sentiment des personnages, mais le geste et le regard finissent toujours par trahir ce qu'ils tentent de dissimuler. Les clefs de compréhension de l'œuvre résident donc bien dans la visibilité du corps sur scène. Certes, les paroles sont des instruments importants dans son théâtre, mais l'effet scénique produit par les gestes est considérablement mis en avant : le jeu de l'acteur y est aussi évidemment pris en compte. Dans l'esprit des Lumières, en profitant du moyen propre au théâtre et de son effet particulier, Marivaux met à jour la complexité de la nature de l'homme. Nous tenterons donc de montrer que le théâtre de Marivaux fonctionne comme lieu de la réflexion philosophique, en nous

focalisant sur le fonctionnement du langage et du corps, non seulement à part, mais aussi en combinaison, notamment dans les scènes de la « surprise ».

**Debowski, Marek: *La représentation du commerce dans le théâtre polonais à l'époque des Lumières***

Dans l'histoire du théâtre polonais nous distinguons deux époques séparées par l'année 1765. C'est en 1765 seulement que fut fondé à Varsovie, par le roi Stanislas August, le Théâtre National, scène public et professionnelle jouant régulièrement en langue polonaise. Avant cette date les formes les plus développées de l'art scénique en Pologne furent celles du théâtre de Cour et du théâtre scolaire. Au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce sont les jésuites qui possédaient le plus grand nombre de théâtres scolaires. Leur théâtre, très fidèle à la Contre-Réforme, devint rapidement l'instrument attractif de la propagation de la religion catholique. Dans ses tendances fondamentales le Théâtre National se détourne avec dédain de la tradition du théâtre jésuite et adopte les modèles de la comédie laïque, d'origine française le plus souvent. Dans les recherches consacrées aux premières décennies de la scène publique de Varsovie domine la tendance qui souligne son utilitarisme laïque et politique, ce qui repousse au deuxième plan les recherches consacrées à la promotion, par le biais du théâtre, des idées sociales et économiques des Lumières, qui influençaient les choix de thèmes des comédies et du répertoire. Ces idées apparaissent à Varsovie à la fin des années 1770 avec le drame bourgeois et ce nouveau genre de la littérature dramatique, en faisant la place aux problèmes de la vie professionnelle des bourgeois, attirait en grand nombre un public populaire de la capitale. L'une des plus grandes réussites de ce type du répertoire c'était *La brouette du vinaigrier* de Sébastien Mercier (le titre polonais : *Taczka octciarza*) pièce qui, adaptée aux circonstances polonaises du jour, flattait le bon cœur de la bourgeoisie et demandaient le respect de leurs commerces honnêtement acquis et prudemment exploités.

**Baba, Akira: *La représentation théâtrale des sensibilités et la première transformation de l'esthétique moderne naissante: le mélodrame Pygmalion de J.-J. Rousseau***

«Le mélodrame» ou «la scène lyrique» de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Pygmalion*, rédigé peut-être vers 1762, et représenté en 1770, renouvelle d'une manière moderne le «pygmalionisme» depuis les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide dont le dixième livre raconte l'histoire de Pygmalion, roi de Paphos, qui aima la statue sculptée par lui-même: Pygmalion présenté par Rousseau est un artiste moderne, fort conscient de son génie créateur surpassant la déesse Vénus par sa statue nommée Galathée. Certes, en ce sens, son mélodrame ne semble qu'un héritier de l'acte V du *Triomphe des Arts* (Opéra Ballet par De la Motte représenté en 1700), dont l'animation de la statue est due à «la récompense» par Vénus de l'art de Pygmalion, aussi bien dans l'acte IV présentant la donation généreuse par Alexandre le grand de sa concubine Campaspe à Apelle. Cependant, le mélodrame *Pygmalion* a été rédigé bien probablement en s'opposant à l'Acte de Ballet *Pygmalion* de J.-Ph. Rameau, (représenté en 1748), dont le texte par Ballot de Sauvot n'est rien d'autre qu'une version peu modifiée de l'acte du *Triomphe des Arts*. en fait, le mélodrame de Rousseau est plutôt une critique fort radicale à l'égard de la poétique des opéras baroques français contemporains, y compris ceux de De La Motte et de Rameau. Bien plus, en se liant positivement à ses essais autobiographiques et à son esthétique musicale anti-ramiste, cette critique pourrait s'étendre sur l'esthétique en générale de son temps. Surtout ma communication se propose de mettre au point la tactilité de la représentation théâtrale de ce mélodrame, suggérée bien consciemment dans le texte de Rousseau, dont les indications scéniques seraient aussi importantes. en ranimant la tactilité virtuelle du pygmalionisme depuis Ovide mais déjà soulignée par Jean de Meun, et développant la problématique depuis sa comédie *Narcisse*, le *Pygmalion* de Rousseau amorce une des ruptures sérieuses avec l'esthétique moderne naissante du 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle, esthétique axée souvent sur la visibilité simultanée mais bien réglée par «la vraisemblance» classique. Et cette théâtralité rousseauiste ne serait pas étrangère même implicitement à la nouvelle esthétique de tactilité chez Herder.

**Ao, Yasuyoshi: *Les recherches épistémologiques et la théâtralité***

Le siècle des Lumières, s'illustre avec beaucoup d'éclat dans le domaine théâtral. Cette richesse est sensible non seulement sur le plan quantitatif, avec l'augmentation des spectateurs et des salles de théâtre, mais aussi sur le plan qualitatif, grâce à l'approfondissement des recherches artistiques. Les nouvelles expériences théâtrales ne se limitent pas au champ littéraire, et les perspectives que toutes ces expériences ont ouvertes influencent des domaines très divers. Comme Catherine Ramond nous le montre bien, au milieu du XVIIIe siècle, les romans et les théâtres s'éloignent des normes classiques pour s'orienter vers la recherche d'une nouvelle esthétique fondée sur la notion de tableau, dont l'importance est soulignée par Pierre Frantz. Dans les textes médicaux, les auteurs comme Tissot et Bienville visent à convaincre le public des dangers néfastes en évoquant des tableaux horribles dont l'effet peut être augmenté par la sensibilité théâtrale. Pour Voltaire, héros des intellectuels de cette époque, la lutte pour la réhabilitation des Calas, n'est pas simplement un acte politique et social, mais aussi un acte esthétique et littéraire qui lui évoque une pièce tragique et splendide. Enfin il est important de signaler le fait que l'on essaie d'interpréter l'attentat mystérieux de Damiens en supposant un drame dans lequel de nombreux complices se coalisent secrètement pour la conspiration contre le monarque, malgré le désaveu de Damiens. Dans ces conditions, il est temps de considérer les raisons de ces interactions transdisciplinaires. Il s'agit là d'une réflexion d'ordre épistémologique visant à analyser ce qui permet l'application des perspectives théâtrales dans d'autres domaines. Dans notre communication, nous nous proposons de montrer que les perspectives théâtrales se fondent sur la visibilité qui peut assurer l'authenticité des discours, ce qui distingue ces perspectives de celles qui vont apparaître depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

**S185 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-10: Mandeville Building)**

**Poverty**

**Kantaro, Ohashi: *L'enjeu philosophique de la pauvreté au siècle des Lumières – le cas de Diderot –***

Les recherches récentes de l'histoire de la mentalité française nous indiquent souvent qu'au XVIIIe siècle, une nouvelle perception sur la pauvreté se propage dans la société française, en germe depuis le début du XVIIe: la pauvreté est bien encore représentée par les marginaux inutiles et désordonnés, mais elle l'est aussi par la plus grande partie de la population, cette majorité agricole, de surcroît la plus disciplinée, qui constitue les forces vives du pays. Les pauvres deviennent le peuple. L'âge des Lumières est aussi le temps où des pauvres sont disciplinés et mobilisés pour faire vivre le pays par leurs travaux. Dans l'article «Besoin, Nécessité, Indigence, Pauvreté, Disette» de l'Encyclopédie (1752), Diderot essaie de définir les situations des hommes qui n'ont pas de matériel suffisant de la vie. Diderot y distingue la pauvreté d'avec d'autres situations d'insuffisance matérielle, par exemple, la disette, ou l'indigence, et lui donne un statut plus ou moins privilégié comme germe de la pensée indépendante, en disant que « Un pauvre avec un peu de fierté, peut se passer de secours ». Cependant, cette pensée de Diderot semble exceptionnelle par rapport aux pensées dominantes des Lumières comme celle de Voltaire ou de Montesquieu, qui soutiennent le luxe comme condition nécessaire du développement social ou du raffinement du goût. Dans cet article, nous essayons de montrer l'importance à la fois théorique et situationnelle de la pauvreté dans la pensée de Diderot, qu'il exprime non seulement dans les articles de l'Encyclopédie, mais aussi dans l'introduction du Salon de 1769 intitulée «Regrets sur ma vieille robe de chambre», les descriptions du caractère parasite du Neveu de Rameau, et d'autres textes sur l'économie. Nous avons pour but par cela de mettre en relief la formation de la philosophie actuelle en face de la crise socio-économique.

**Lavrinovich, Maya: *How to Survive In the Early Modern City: Moscow Town Dwellers' Economic Strategies In the Late 18th Century***

The paper is based on the source documents of the Moscow police, Moscow Board of public relief and Moscow Founding house of the late 18th century. Town dwellers of the lowest tiers of the society (poor officials, destitute townspeople, non-commissioned officers, their widows and orphans, soldiers' wives and widows) were detained having committed minor offences and were examined by the Moscow police before being punished by placing in the newly opened (1775) Moscow work- and correction houses. The detainees could enjoy some freedom in the early modern Moscow although formally the majority of them were ascribed to landowners or were home serfs. Some of them had not got any legal passports or certificates from their owners or authorities. It complicated their life in the city. The majority of those detained for the indecent behavior were soldiers' wives and widows. They were excluded from their social tier (usually peasantry) as soon as their husbands were conscripted. They had not much opportunities to ensure the subsistence for themselves and their children. All that circumstances forced them to make choices in the everyday life and to act while fending for themselves. The examination speeches held in the police official records reveal different ways of survival of a pre-modern individual in a modernizing society. The detainees who possessed restricted economic resources described their strategies of survival in the society with the rigorous social delimitation. They used their social capital if they had it and resorted to different types of economic activities overcoming these restrictions. Yet there was a risk to slide into destitution, to commit a theft, or to become a prostitute. The modernizing social reality described in the source documents is represented as diverse and variable. It did not correspond the definitions of the law anymore.

**Fukagai, Yasunori: *Transit of Economic Languages on the Human Motives under the Light of Wealth / Poverty: from Bernard Mandeville to Thomas Robert Malthus***

During the eighteenth century, the style of economic discussions in English monographs experienced radical change under the effects of three dimensions at least. Firstly, the social mobility gradually brought the shift from the intimate rural relations in parish to the emphasis of actions for industrial marketing. Secondly, the treatment of lower ranks turned to be one of critical ones because of the disorder of poor laws. Thirdly, the grand design of market by government was in transition from the era of mercantilism to the internationally open one. In accounting these backgrounds, this paper is to focus to the transit of the usage and weight of those words describing human motives. In picking up the terms including diligent, emulation, frugal, honour, indigent, luxury, refine, vagabond, vanity, vice, et al, those texts from the Fable of Bees by Bernard Mandeville to the Essay of Population by Thomas Robert Malthus are to be examined. Adding to the major texts including Hume and Smith, some minor ones of Joseph Townsend and John M'Farlan during 1780s are to be in importance. For exploring the formation of political economy on wealth and poverty, this paper is to utilise the new method provided by various e-texts.

**S186 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-17: Mandeville Building)**

**The Circulation of Print**

**McBain, Jean: *Could press controls be evaded through literary technique? The case of the early eighteenth century London periodical press reconsidered.***

The early eighteenth-century English legal establishment was caught up in the problem of words and their interpretation. Libels and sedition were framed through innuendo, allegory, irony and other techniques, penned by satirists adept at the manipulation of the English language. Yet, while a piece of writing might have been “understood by every [sic] the meanest Capacity” to imply a particular criticism, as Lord Chief Justice Thomas Parker observed in 1713, it still had to have its duplicitous meaning proven in court. A series of major legal decisions in the decades following the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 established new precedents for the interpretation – and therefore the legal status – of libellous writing. Gradually the loopholes were closed. Nevertheless, as recent scholarship has emphasised, there was a grey area between the law and the popular understanding of it. As Andrew Benjamin Bricker has suggested “widespread perceptions of the law, whether accurate or not, should be central to our understanding of early modern law and literature” (ELH 2014, 890). Thus we may need to answer my titular question with an unsatisfying, ‘sometimes’. Further, it is essential that new research on press control and the liberty of the press in the early eighteenth century move beyond a narrow focus on the law. The Harley and Walpole governments were innovators in the development of a range of alternate means of press control, whether financial, collaborative, or extra-legal. Thanks to the publicising side-effects of libel prosecutions, these quieter means of controlling the press were often preferred. This paper considers the existing evidence for and against the efficacy of literary means of evading press controls, with a particular focus on the early eighteenth century periodical press.

**Blechet, Françoise: *Echanges culturels franco-hollandais: des hommes et des livres***

De la plus modeste des gazettes jusqu’aux périodiques les plus importants comme la Bibliothèque raisonnée, la Bibliothèque royale dans les années 1730, s’efforce de se procurer toutes les revues des Provinces-Unies. Elle mobilise à cet effet non seulement ses officiers mais aussi une multitude de commissionnaires plus ou moins familiers avec le monde du livre : diplomates, libraires, banquiers, agents des postes et capitaines de vaisseau. Cette quête incessante explique qu’elle conserve aujourd’hui l’une des collections les plus complètes. On constate en 1737 que 104 gazettes ont été collectées et la moisson est aussi riche dans les années suivantes. Dans les correspondances de ces acteurs culturels, on relève de nombreux échanges littéraires et aussi des indices économiques: taux de change, cours des deux monnaies européennes, la livre de France et le florin hollandais à une date précise, information précieuse parce que très rare. Cette étude de l’acheminement des périodiques hollandais en France est une prolongation des échanges entre les deux pays, qui mettent en jeu les plus grands noms du livre en Hollande: Gisbert Cuper, les de Hondt, Jansson van der Aa, ou des familles plus modestes comme les Wetstein. On y évoque les acquisitions hollandaises, qu’elles soient des fleurons de l’édition comme les Oeuvres de Fontenelle par Gosse et Neaulme ou les plus simples gazettes dont la Bibliothèque royale était très friande. Un réseau exceptionnel, politique, scientifique, académique, commercial, est ainsi constitué autour de la Bibliothèque du Roi, qui l’anime et le dirige, en véritable foyer de la République des Lettres au service de l’Etat. Ce réseau établi dans les Provinces-Unies est connecté aux autres similaires tissés dans les pays voisins. De la France savante à l’Europe savante, tous ces intermédiaires culturels défendent l’idéal irénique de la République des Lettres.

**Shek Brnardić, Teodora: *The Seven Years War (1756-1763) as a Space of Enlightenment: The Case of the Croatian Officers***

The Seven Years War (1756-1763) has been traditionally regarded as the "first world war" waged on several continents and grounded in completely secular foundations. Religious disagreements stopped to play role for the European powers, which were desperately trying to keep the balance between themselves. Likewise, the rules of warfare were different than before. The Seven Years War was conducted by following the principles of enlightened military theory; it was a "polite" kind of war. In this paper we will focus on the experience of some Croatian officers within the Austrian army during the captivity in the course of the Seven Years War. Paradoxically, the experience of the campaigns in this war was enlightening for them in many different ways. Related to this, the nature of the Seven Years War will be examined, especially its civilised side: sociability among the officer corps and the exchange of ideas that were regarded "enlightened" such as not only toleration and working ethics, but also libertinism and materialism. Enlightenment scholars remained satisfied with the argument that European military officers in general belonged to the audience which read the underground literature, or that their presence in the non-European territories, such as the Ottoman Empire, might have contributed to the "Europeanisation" of the manners of local boyars. In contrast, our aim will be to reconstruct officers' experience as consumers/recipients of new ideas, by using such sources as reports of contemporary social critics, mostly members of the clergy, and of books published during captivity. On the basis of the language used to describe different phenomena, among others the fascinating word "enlightened", it will be argued that the representatives of this social group proved to be extremely heterogeneous and so was their receptiveness to new settings, practices and ideas.

**Rigogne, Thierry: *Policing the Parisian Café***

This paper analyzes how the police shaped Parisian cafés: how the police defined the space of the café and how they implemented various forms of surveillance, reporting and intervention from the 1660s until the French Revolution. Cafés appeared in Paris in the 1660s, just as its police got organized along new, modern lines. The café met with immediate success because it offered a brand-new type of public space that encouraged new consumption practices and new forms of sociability. It played a major role in the formation of public opinion, which the police recognized right away, keeping close tabs on cafés ever since the first ones opened. The well-documented posting of spies in cafés participated of a larger system of reporting and of monitoring public opinion that reached up to the top of the Paris police and ultimately to the king. This paper analyzes much under-studied spy reports to determine what the police looked for and found in cafés, which cafés they spied on and where, who spied on whom, and how information was transmitted. Police action, however, extended far beyond passive eavesdropping: neighborhood patrols, enforcing opening hours, investigating crimes committed in cafés, arbitrating disputes between café owners and other trades, monitoring compliance with liqueur distillation rules, controlling foreigners, searching for "bad" books and their authors, or spreading government propaganda. The approaches pursued by various police actors in relation to coffeehouses, and their evolution over time, document how the café developed over the long eighteenth century and the role the police played in it. Looking at police sources in relation to literary and visual representations, notarial and bankruptcy records, laws and regulations, legal briefs, etc., also reveals how their approach interacted with attitudes, representations and practices developed by other institutions or in other quarters of society.

**S187 (16:00 - 17:30, Room: T3-35: Mandeville Building)**

**Technical Mediation in the Age of Enlightenment**

*Organizer / Chair: Paddy Bullard*

**Baldi, Rossella: *Médiateurs d'un savoir technique italien : les voyages de Fougeroux de Bondaroy et de Roland de la Platière***

À la fin de l'année 1781 paraissent les Lettres écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, de Sicile et de Malthe de l'inspecteur des manufactures Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière (1734-1793). Bien que le titre annonce un énième voyage d'Italie, l'ouvrage se distingue par les nombreux passages qu'il consacre aux manufactures et au commerce italiens. L'auteur avait parcouru l'Italie pour le compte de l'administration Trudaine entre 1776 et 1777 ; son livre relate, entre les lignes, la mission d'étude économique-commerciale qui lui avait été confiée. Appliquant au genre de la littérature de voyage d'Italie une langue et des arguments de nature technique, le livre de Roland de la Platière manifeste un phénomène qui caractérise la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : l'inscription de l'Italie au sein des trajectoires de la mobilité et de l'érudition techniques des Lumières. Cette inscription est favorisée par l'émergence d'une nouvelle catégorie de voyageurs, savants et d'administrateurs, qui mêlent curiosité scientifique et technologique aux rituels et aux plaisirs du Grand Tour. Notre contribution se propose d'interroger les médiateurs et les instances de médiation à l'œuvre dans cet effort d'acquisition et d'élaboration d'un savoir technique en Italie. Pour cela, on se focalisera notamment sur l'analyse des voyages de Roland de la Platière et du botaniste Fougeroux de Bondaroy, qui voyage en Italie en 1763, centrés sur la découverte de la réalité manufacturière italienne, et surtout sur l'examen de la production textile. On questionnera les modalités de constitution de leurs réseaux d'informateurs et de médiateurs, ainsi que celles de l'accès à l'information technique ; on interrogera ensuite le processus de négociation du savoir technique dans le passage du récit manuscrit, comme celui de Fougeroux de Bondaroy, au texte imprimé, comme dans le cas de Roland de la Platière.

**Kempf, Franz: *A Tool to See Ideas: The Eye in Goethe and Claude Lorrain***

From the aurora flask to the whirling table, Goethe used an array of tools for his scientific investigations. But when it came to "seeing," as in his Theory of Color, he rejected Newton's prism-based conception and relied instead on the eye as the apparatus of perception. Differentiating between a physical eye and a mental eye, Goethe maintains that we are equipped to see not only color arise out of the opposition of brightness and darkness but also a "heiter," or serene, "sensory-moral" effect in the colors' harmonious complementarity. The outer and the inner eyes bring together the scientific and aesthetic dimensions of seeing: "When we are able to survey an object [in nature] in every detail, grasp it correctly and produce it again in our mind, we can say that we intuit it in a real and higher sense." Goethe learned to see in this way while in Italy. His model was Claude Lorrain whose landscape paintings are often cited as the prototype for the English Garden. Fittingly, the so-called Claude glass, consisting of a convex, dark-tinted mirror, was widespread as a seeing aid. Few other artists cast such a lifelong spell on Goethe, as did Lorrain. Goethe found his minute "realism" so dazzlingly suffused with light that he declared: In him, "nature proclaims herself to be eternal." Rather than attempting another allegorical reading of Lorrain or search for traces of Lorrain in Goethe, this paper will show that Lorrain is central to Goethe's inquiry into the interpenetration of science and art in the act of "seeing," the role that light plays in the mechanics of perception, and, last but not least, the significance of the eye as a "tool" that not only sees but perceives ideas.

**Silver, Sean: *Time and Habit from Two Points of View***

This paper examines eighteenth-century theories of habit alongside technical achievements in clock-time. On the one hand, there is kind of time of the industrial workplace, the routinized day, and the discipline of bodily habits, which can be traced in a straightforward way to technical developments in time-keeping. On the other hand, habits (even of checking and keeping the time) have their own histories, logics, and durations, elaborated in networks between persons and things. Viewed this way, gestural knowledge drives a form of history that evades the linear and mechanical models that habit itself helps install. Attending to this second order of time sheds light on different orders of human experience, including enthusiasm, fascination, and what the age sometimes called “historical transport.” In thinking about tacit knowledge and orders of time, I take my inspiration from two sources: Michael Polanyi’s remarks on discipline, and Michel Serres’s thoughts about topology. I will offer, as examples, episodes drawn from several texts, including perhaps Samuel Pepys’s diary, Robert Plot’s *Natural History*, Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*, or Joseph Addison’s *Spectator*.

**RT303 (11:00 - 12:30, Room: M3-15 Forum: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Round table 4 - Exchange of Fire: Target and Respondent in Eighteenth-Century Satire**

*Organizer / chair: Paddy Bullard, Ivo Nieuwenhuis*

- Ballaster, Rosalind
- Bullard, Paddy
- Carey, Daniel
- Fowler, James
- Walsh, Marcus

**E320 (9:00 – 10:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Managing the Family and Household in Scotland and Overseas**

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

*Chair: Thomas Ahnert*

**Miller, Nicholas: *‘Domestic’ Policy in a Commercial Era: Sir James Steuart (1713–80) vs. Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi (1717–71) on the Scope of State Regulation of the Family***

This paper will compare the pre-Smithian debate on state regulation of the domestic sphere that took place in two Enlightenment contexts: Scotland and Germany. While the stimulation of population growth as well as better household management were discussed in the German-speaking world throughout the century, Scottish thinkers had less ambitious goals surrounding the possibilities of 'domestic' statecraft. However, economic thinkers in Scotland—both before and including Adam Smith—were influenced by Continental debates, and staked claims concerning the state of the family in their society and articulated politics of the family. Both are in need of further exposition. This paper will examine approaches to managing the family that Enlightenment-era state thinkers adopted in their growing appreciation of the primacy of commerce in the European economy. The thought of James Steuart (1713-80) and Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi (1717-71) will be examined and compared. Steuart is of special interest in view of his Continental (and specifically German) ties, as well as his status as Scotland's leading economic thinker before Smith. Justi was a major European economic thinker, an exponent of academic Cameralism in its institutionalization from Portugal to Russia during the second half of the eighteenth century. Justi’s work features a unique focus on the family. His *Physicalische und politische Betrachtungen über die Erzeugung des Menschen und Bevölkerung der Länder* (1769) was a systematic account of what the state could do to

encourage population growth. Included in his analysis was a comparison of possible marriage practices (polygamy, legalized divorce) and financial initiatives that the state could use for this purpose. Steuart examined these proposals in his *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767), and that work, largely written while Steuart was in residence at Tübingen, permits an examination of the mid-eighteenth century Scottish reception of Continental economic ideas.

**McCallum, Sandra: *The Educational Choices of an Enlightened Glasgow Family during the 1770s***

In *Education and the Scottish People*, R. D. Anderson specifically excluded from his discussion the perception of education by parents and pupils. However, he highlighted the need for more consideration of “how it was seen and used by those at the receiving end,” which is the central concern of this paper. Anderson’s general position on the cultural climate of the eighteenth century was that there was no major criticism of the secondary school system. He argued that since the clergymen whose reports were used for the *Statistical Account*, published in the 1790s, did not highlight any crisis in urban areas, this can be taken as evidence of the absence of any major dissatisfaction. This paper addresses the issue of how the parents of one Glasgow family interacted with the schooling available in Glasgow, primarily in the period from 1772 to 1776. It argues that it is possible to identify significant dissatisfaction with curriculum and methodology, and that elements of their choices indicate a radical approach to the principles and practices of education that preceded the curricular reforms of the nineteenth century.

**Singh, Frances B: *Cumming, Grant and Mackenzie: A Tale of Three Scottish Cousins in East India Company Employ, 1792–1804***

Sir Walter Scott famously remarked that “India is the corn chest for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send our black cattle to the south.” Through a micro-study of three first cousins, James Thomas Grant (1776-1804), George Cumming (1774-1800), and Lewis Mackenzie (1779-1800), based on archival research, I shall mount a small but potentially important challenge to this tidy generalization. What is immediately obvious is that none of these young men came from poor, cash-strapped families, and Cumming was a first born son. As a young man, George was aimless and fashionably sentimental, and his father thought that service in India would season him up. And while it is true that Grant and Mackenzie were younger sons, their fathers seem to have been motivated by a “get rich quick” mentality, that is greed or mammon. Nor did these young men live and die as cattle, without agency. Cumming started a family, incurred the wrath of his father but got his father to send for his children after his death. Grant found happiness in pursuing Scotland in India and establishing himself as a “laird” on the banks of the Ganges, and he avoided returning to Scotland. Mackenzie died just as his career was taking off and was memorialized by his father on a wall plaque in Greyfriar's Cemetery in Edinburgh. Thus, the larger issues raised by this conjoined biography of fallen sons and their fathers has to do with the kind of influence that fathers exercise in their sons' lives and how adulthood and independence may change the way that sons relate to their fathers.

**E321 (11:00–12:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Morality and Religion in the Scottish Enlightenment**

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

*Chair: Catherine Jones*

**Smith, Craig: *Adam Ferguson: Moral Science and Moralizing***

“...but notorious facts are foundation enough, upon which we may safely erect the fabric of moral science, so far as it is of any importance to mankind” (Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, 1: 115). Adam Ferguson’s reputation as a ‘father’ of modern social science has always been accompanied by an awareness that he remained wedded to a particular form of traditional moralizing. Ferguson is not always the most consistent of thinkers, and one puzzle that seems to be central to his work as a whole is the precise nature of the moral science that he purported to be advocating. I want to explore this puzzle by trying to understand the relationship between the empirical and normative elements in Ferguson’s writing, or, put another way, to understand the relationship between moral science and moralizing in his work. To this end I look in close detail at Ferguson’s various formulations of his project and methodology in the publications based on his Edinburgh lectures before considering those passages in his writing where he discusses the role and function of philosophy.

**Ahnert, Thomas: *Religion and Moral Culture in Enlightenment Scotland***

In the Scottish Enlightenment it was often argued that moral conduct rather than adherence to certain theological doctrines was the true measure of religious belief. The emphasis on conduct rather than doctrine is often attributed to the influence of “natural” or “reasonable religion,” which, it is said, was becoming more important among representatives of the religious or clerical Enlightenment, in Scotland and in Europe more generally. This characteristically “enlightened” emphasis on conduct in religion, however, was less reliant on arguments from reason alone than is commonly believed. In fact, many of the champions of the Scottish Enlightenment were deeply skeptical of the power of unassisted natural reason in achieving “enlightened” virtue and piety. They advocated a practical program of “moral culture,” in which revealed religion was of central importance. Their views were shaped by theological controversies going back as far as the Reformation concerning the key question of early modern theology, the conditions of salvation.

**Chen, Jeng-Guo S.: *Adam Smith’s Religious Sentiments***

In the last ten years or so, Adam Smith’s religious thought is a burgeoning interest among scholars. Interpretations of it are, however, curiously different from one another, and they often run into diametrical opposition. This paper argues that it is difficult and not always fruitful to examine how devoted Smith was as a Christian, and whether he was wholly convinced by Christianity. It claims that Smith developed his religious thinking along two lines: natural history and sociability. It is in elaborating and effectuating the theory of the impartial spectator that Smith discovered the nature of religious sentiments, in the face of the unavoidable limit both of sociability and social rendering of justice.

**E322 (16:00 – 17:30, Room: M1-17: Tokyo: Van Der Goot Building)**

**Scotland and Transatlantic Exchanges**

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

*Chair: Richard B. Sher*

**Landsman, Ned C.: *Under English Crown or British Crown?: Transatlantic Discussions of the Nature of Metropolitan Authority among Provincial Britons***

This paper will take off from a rather unusual debate that took place in, of all places, the colony of Connecticut in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The debate, which pitted Anglicans against Presbyterians, concerned whether that colony (and by implication, others), which had been chartered under the English Crown, was still controlled by that historic dependency, or whether that had been exchanged at the Union of 1707 for a new dependency on the British crown. What gave that question practical significance was that the Union, by severing the inherent link between the crown and other institutions of authority in church, law, and university, had rendered royal dependency less encompassing in its implications. The immediate implications were brought to the fore by aggressive Scottish ministers who set out to disrupt the exercise of Anglican authority in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Carolina. For those who took up the debate, a longer term result would be to link the question of the crowns to questions of the nature and extent of imperial authority and thereby overlapping matters of political and ecclesiastical dependency, which would resonate in radical Presbyterian circles on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Jones, Catherine: *Benjamin Franklin's Musical Diplomacy***

In 1953 Princeton University Press published a book that has become a standard for Witherspoon scholars interested in his Scottish career and in his call to become President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1768: L. H. Butterfield's *John Witherspoon Comes to America: A Documentary Account Based Largely on New Materials*. The "new materials" in Butterfield's title consisted of hitherto unpublished Witherspoon correspondence with Benjamin Rush, then a medical student at Edinburgh. Butterfield did not mention the protracted legal process in which Witherspoon had become embroiled since the publication of his 1762 sermon *Seasonable Advice to Young Persons*, an action for libel begun against him in the Scottish Court of Session by a group of five Paisley men, including a clever lawyer by the name of John Snodgrass. The determination of the case was not finalized until 1776, by which time Witherspoon had been in New Jersey some eight years and had become a committed and "involved" American.

This paper will discuss my new book, *The Lost World of John Witherspoon: Unravelling the Snodgrass Affair* (Aberdeen University Press, 2014), which is the first study of the entire court action and the role played in it by some of the leading Scottish advocates of the period. *The Lost World* also reveals the nature and extent of Witherspoon's debts, both ongoing legal expenses and, eventually, an obligation to clear the aggregate of his fine and costs once the unfavorable verdict was announced. The study concludes by identifying Witherspoon's debtors, showing how Witherspoon eventually paid off his debts and, above all, indicating the extent to which we should legitimately ascribe to the court action Witherspoon's decision to accept the call of America.

**Crawford, Ronald: *John Witherspoon and the Snodgrass Affair: New Light on John Witherspoon's Emigration to America***

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